

GRUNDRISS DER INDO-ARISCHEN PHILOGIE UND ALTERTUMSKUNDE

(ENCYCLOPEDIA OF INDO-ARYAN RESEARCH)

BEGRÜNDET VON G. BÜHLER, FORTGESETZT VON F. KIELHORN,

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON H. LÜDERS UND J. WACKERNAGEL.

I. BAND, 4. HEFT.

VEDIC GRAMMAR

BY

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INTRODUCTION.

1. General Scope of this Work.—Vedic grammar has never till now been treated separately and as a whole. Both in India and in the West the subject has hitherto been handled only in connexion with Classical Sanskrit. Hundreds of Pāṇini's Sūtras deal with the language of the Vedas; but the account they give of it is anything but comprehensive. In the West, BENFEY was the first, more than half a century ago (1852), to combine a description of the linguistic peculiarities of the Vedas with an account of the traditional matter of Pāṇini; but as Vedic studies were at that time still in their infancy, only the Sāmaveda¹ and about one-fourth of the R̥gveda² having as yet been published, the Vedic material utilized in his large grammar³ was necessarily very limited in extent. In WHITNEY's work⁴ the language of the Vedas, which is much more fully represented, is treated in its historical connexion with Classical Sanskrit. Partly for this reason, his work does not supply a definite account of the grammar of the Saṃhitās as compared with that of the later phases of the language; thus what is peculiar to the Brāhmaṇas or to a particular Saṃhitā is often not apparent. Professor WACKERNAGEL's grammar⁵, which when finished will present the ancient language of India more completely than any other work on the subject, deals with the combined Vedic and post-Vedic material from the point of view of Comparative Philology. Different sections or individual points of Vedic grammar have been the subject of separately published treatises or of special articles scattered in various Oriental and philological journals or other works of a miscellaneous character. It is advisable that all this as well as additional material⁶ should now be brought together so as to afford a general survey of the subject.

In view of the prominent position occupied by the Indo-Aryan branch in Comparative Philology and of the fact that the language of the Vedas

¹ Edited by BENFEY, with German translation and glossary, Leipzig 1848.

² Vol. I edited by MAX MÜLLER, London 1849, vol. VI 1875; 2nd ed. London 1890—92; edited by AUFRECHT, Berlin 1861 and 1863 (vols. VI and VII of Indische Studien), 2nd ed. Bonn 1877.

³ Vollständige Grammatik der Sanskritsprache, Leipzig 1852.

⁴ A Sanskrit Grammar, Leipzig 1879; 3rd ed. 1896.

⁵ Altindische Grammatik von JACOB Indo-arische Philologie. I. 4.

WACKERNAGEL, I. Lautlehre, Göttingen 1896; II, 1. Einleitung zur Wortlehre. Nominalkomposition, 1905. (Cp. BARTHOLOMAE, Beiträge zur altindischen Grammatik, ZDMG. 50, 674—735).

⁶ Such additional material is supplied in this work from collections made for me by my pupils Prof. H. C. NORMAN (Benares) from the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā, and Mr. A. B. KEITH from the Taittiriya Saṃhitā, the Mantras in the Aitareya Aranyaka, and the Khilas of the R̥gveda.

represents the foundation of the subsequent strata, it seems important for the sake of clearness and definiteness that the earliest phase should be treated as a whole independently of later developments. The present work will therefore deal with the grammar of only the Mantra portions of the Samhitās; that is to say, it will embrace the whole of the Ṛgveda, the Atharvaveda¹, the Sāmaveda², and the Vājasaneyi Samhitā³, but will exclude those portions of the Taittirīya Samhitā⁴, the Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā⁵ and the Kāthaka⁶ which have the character of Brāhmaṇas⁷. Reference will also be made to Mantra material not found in the canonical texts of the Samhitās, that is, to the Khilas⁸ of the Ṛgveda and the occasional Mantras of this type occurring in the Brāhmaṇas⁹ and Sūtras. As the linguistic material of the Ṛgveda is more ancient, extensive and authentic than that of the other Samhitās, all of which borrow largely from that text¹⁰, it is taken as the basis of the present work. Hence all forms stated without comment belong to the Ṛgveda, though they may occur in other Samhitās as well. From the other Vedas, such matter only is added as occurs in their independent parts or, if borrowed from the Ṛgveda, appears in an altered form, the source being in such cases indicated by an abbreviation in parentheses (as VS., TS., AV.). The addition of the abbreviation 'RV.' means that the form in question occurs in the Ṛgveda only.

2. Verbal Authenticity of the Texts¹¹.—In dealing with the linguistic material of the Samhitās the question of the authenticity of the forms which it embraces is of great importance. What guarantees then do we possess that the original form of the texts handed down by tradition has not in the course of ages undergone modification and modernization in respect to vocabulary, phonetics, and grammatical forms? This question must first be applied to the Ṛgveda, the oldest of the Samhitās, which forms the very foundation of Vedic tradition. The evidence of the Sarvānukramaṇī¹², which states the number of stanzas, the metre, and the deity for every hymn of the RV., shows that in general extent, form, and matter, this Samhitā was in the Sūtra period the same as now. The Prātiśākhya¹³ demonstrates that its phonetic character was also the same. Yāska's commentary¹⁴ proves that,

¹ Edited (Samhitā text only) by ROTH and WHITNEY, Berlin 1856 (Index Verborum in JAOS., vol. XII); translated by WHITNEY (Books I—XIX), with a critical and exegetical commentary, Cambridge, Mass., 1905 (vols. VII and VIII of the Harvard Oriental Series); also edited by SHANKAR P. PANDIT (both Samhitā and Pada text), Bombay 1895—99.

² Besides BENFEY's edition also that of SATYAVRATA SĀMAŚRAMĪ, 5 vols., Calcutta 1874—78 (Bibliotheca Indica).

³ Edited by WEBER, with the commentary of Mahīdhara, London and Berlin 1852.

⁴ Edited by WEBER (vols. XI and XII of Indische Studien), Berlin 1871—72.

⁵ Edited by L. v. SCHROEDER, Leipzig 1881—86.

⁶ Edited by L. v. SCHROEDER, vol. I (books I—XVIII), Leipzig 1900.

⁷ Cp. OLDENBERG, Die Hymnen des R̥gveda, Band I (Prolegomena), Berlin 1888, p. 294ff.

⁸ See AUFRECHT, Die Hymnen des R̥gveda², vol. II, 672—88; MAX MÜLLER, R̥gveda², vol. IV, 519—41; cp. MACDONELL, Bhāradvātā, vol. I, introduction, § 15 (Cambridge,

Mass., 1904); SCHEFFELOWITZ, Die Apokryphen des R̥gveda (edition of the Khilas), Breslau 1906 (cp. OLDENBERG, Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen 1907, 210—41).

⁹ Cp. OLDENBERG, op. cit., 359ff.; AUFRECHT, Das Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, Bonn 1879, p. 420f.

¹⁰ Cp. OLDENBERG, op. cit., chapter III; MACDONELL, History of Sanskrit Literature, 181 and 186.

¹¹ Cp. OLDENBERG, op. cit., chapter III (271—369) Der R̥ktext und der Text der jüngeren Samhitās und der Brāhmaṇas; LUDWIG, Ueber die Kritik des R̥gveda-Textes, Abhandlungen d. k. böhm. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Prag 1889.

¹² Edited by A. A. MACDONELL, Oxford 1886.

¹³ The R̥gveda Prātiśākhya, edited with German translation by MAX MÜLLER, Leipzig 1856—69; edited with UVATA's commentary, Benares Sanskrit Series 1894.

¹⁴ Yāska's Nirukta, edited by ROTH, Göttingen 1852; edited by SATYAVRATA SĀMAŚRAMĪ, 4 vols. (II—IV with the commentary

as regards the limited number of stanzas explained by him, his text was verbally identical with ours. The frequent statements of the Brāhmanas concerning the number of verses contained in a hymn or liturgical group agree with the extant text of the R̥gveda. The explanatory discussions of the Brāhmanas further indicate that the text of the R̥gveda must have been regarded as immutably fixed by that time. Thus the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, while speaking of the possibility of varying some of the formulas of the Yajurveda, rejects as impossible the notion of changing the text of a certain verse of the R̥gveda as proposed by some teachers¹.

Probably soon after the completion of the actual Brāhmanas the hymns of the R̥gveda were fixed in the phonetic form of the Saṃhitā text; and after no long interval, in order to guard that text from the possibility of any change or loss, the Pada text was constituted by Śākalya, whom the Āraṇyakas or appendixes to the Brāhmanas, the Nirukta, and the R̥gveda Prātiśākhya presuppose². By this analysis of the Saṃhitā text, its every word, stated in a separate form as unaffected by the rules of euphonic combination, has come down to us without change for about 2,500 years.

The Saṃhitā text itself, however, only represented the close of a long period in which the hymns, as originally composed by the seers, were handed down by oral tradition. For the condition of the text even in this earlier period we possess a large body of evidence corresponding to that of Mss. for other literary monuments. It was then that the text of the other Vedas, each of which borrowed extensively from the R̥gveda, was constituted. With each of them came into being a new and separate tradition in which the borrowed matter furnishes a body of various readings for the R̥gveda. The comparison of these variants, about 1200 in number, has shown that the text of the R̥gveda already existed, with comparatively few exceptions, in its present form when the text of the other Vedas was established. The number of instances is infinitely small in which the R̥gveda exhibits corruptions not appearing in the others. We have thus good reason for believing that the fixity of the text and the verbal integrity of the R̥gveda go several centuries further back than the date at which the Saṃhitā text came into existence. As handed down exclusively by oral tradition, the text could hardly have been preserved in perfectly authentic form from the time of the composers themselves; and research has shown that there are some undeniable corruptions in detail attributable to this earliest period. But apart from these, the Saṃhitā text, when the original metre has been restored by the removal of phonetic combinations which did not prevail in the time of the poets themselves, nearly always contains the very words, as represented by the Pada text, actually used by the seers. The modernization of the ancient text appearing in the Saṃhitā form is only partial and is inconsistently applied. It has preserved the smallest minutiae of detail most liable to corruption and the slightest differences in the matter of accent and alternative forms which might have been removed with the greatest ease. We are thus justified in assuming that the accents and grammatical forms of the R̥gveda, when divested of the euphonic rules applied in the Saṃhitā text, have come down to us, in the vast majority of cases, as they were uttered by the poets themselves.

Though the tradition of nearly all the later Saṃhitās has in a general way been guarded by Anukramaṇīs, Prātiśākhyas, and Pada texts, its value is clearly inferior to that of the R̥gveda. This is only natural in the case

of DURGA), Calcutta 1882—91 (Bibliotheca Indica).

¹ See OLDENBERG, op. cit., 352.

² See OLDENBERG, op. cit., 380 f.

of collections in which the matter was largely borrowed and arbitrarily cut up into groups of verses or into single verses solely with a view to meet new liturgical wants. Representing a later linguistic stage, these collections start from a modernized text in the material borrowed from the R̥gveda, as is unmistakable when that material is compared with the original passages. The text of the Sāmaveda is almost entirely secondary, containing only seventy-five stanzas not derived from the R̥gveda. Its variants are due in part to inferiority of tradition and in part to arbitrary alterations made for the purpose of adapting verses removed from their context to new ritual uses¹. An indication that the tradition of the Yajur and Atharva Vedas is less trustworthy than that of the R̥gveda is the great metrical irregularity which is characteristic of those texts². Of all these the Vājasaneyi Samhitā is the best preserved, being not only guarded by an Anukramanī, a Prātisākhya, and a Pada text, but partially incorporated in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, where the first 18 books are quoted word for word besides being commented on. The Taittirīya Samhitā has also been carefully handed down, being protected by an Anukramanī, a Prātisākhya, and a good Pada text³. The Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā is not so well authenticated, having no Prātisākhya and only an inferior Pada text, of which but a single somewhat incorrect Ms. is known⁴. Least trustworthy of all is the tradition of the Kāṭhaka which lacks both a Prātisākhya and a Pada text. Moreover only one complete Ms. of this Samhitā is known⁵. As that Ms. is unaccented, it has only been possible to mark the accent in small portions of that part of the text which has as yet been published (Books I–xviii). As, however, the texts of the Black Yajurveda often agree even verbally, and the Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā is closely connected with the Kāṭhaka, the readings of the latter can to some extent be checked by those of the cognate Samhitās.

The inferiority of tradition in the Atharvaveda was increased by the lateness of its recognition as a canonical text. It contains many corrupt and uncertain forms, especially in Book XIX, which is a later addition⁶. The text is guarded by Anukramanīs, a Prātisākhya, and a Padapāṭha⁷. The latter, however, contains serious errors both in regard to accentuation and the division of compound verbal forms, as well as in other respects. The Padapāṭha of Book XIX, which is different in origin from that of the earlier books⁸, is full of grave blunders⁹. The critical and exegetical notes contained in WHITNEY'S Translation of the Atharvaveda accordingly furnish important aid in estimating the value of the readings in the Śaunakīya recension of the Atharvaveda. The Paippalāda recension is known in only a single corrupt Ms., which has been reproduced in facsimile by Professors GARBE and BLOOMFIELD¹⁰. About one-eighth or one-ninth of this recension is original, being found neither in the Śaunakīya text of the Atharvaveda nor in any other known collection of Mantras¹¹. The various readings of this recension, in the

¹ On the Padapāṭha of the Sāmaveda see BENFEY'S edition of that Samhitā, p. LVII–LXIV.

² See WHITNEY'S Introduction to the Atharvaveda, p. CXXVII; BLOOMFIELD, The Atharvaveda, Grundriss II, 1 B, § 1.

³ Cp. WEBER'S edition p. viii f., and Indische Studien 13, 1–114 (Ueber den Padapāṭha der Taittirīya-Samhitā).

⁴ See L. v. SCHROEDER'S edition, Introduction, p. XXXVI f.

⁵ Cp. L. v. SCHROEDER'S Introduction to his edition, § 1.

⁶ See LANMAN'S Introduction to Book XIX in WHITNEY'S Translation of the Atharvaveda.

⁷ See LANMAN'S Introduction to WHITNEY'S Translation, p. LXIX–LXXIV.

⁸ The Padapāṭha of the Atharvaveda has been edited in full by SHANKAR P. PANDIT in his Atharvaveda.

⁹ Cp. BLOOMFIELD, The Atharvaveda p. 16.

¹⁰ The Kashmirian Atharva-Veda, Baltimore 1901.

¹¹ BLOOMFIELD, The Atharvaveda p. 15;

material common to both recensions, are given in the critical notes of WHITNEY's Translation. The variations range from slight differences to complete change of sense, and exact textual agreement between parallel stanzas is comparatively rare¹. The text of this recension has not yet been critically edited except Book I².

I. PHONOLOGY.

Rgveda Prāṭisākhya, ed. with German translation by MAX MÜLLER, Leipzig 1856—69; with UVĀTA's Commentary, Benares Sanskrit Series, 1894. — Atharvaveda Prāṭisākhya, ed. WHITNEY, JAOS. vols. VII and X. — Taittirīya Prāṭisākhya, ed. WHITNEY, JAOS. vol. IX, 1871. — Vājasaneyi Prāṭisākhya, ed. WEBER, IS. vol. IV, 1858; with UVĀTA's Commentary, Benares Sanskrit Series, 1888. — Riktantravyākaraṇa (= Prāṭisākhya of the SV.), ed. and transl. by BURNELL, Mangalore 1879.

BENFEY, Vollständige Grammatik p. 1—70. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar p. 1—87. — WACKERNAGEL, Altindische Grammatik. I. Lautlehre (very full bibliography).

3. **Ancient Pronunciation.**—Evidence throwing light on the phonetic character of the language of the Saṃhitās is furnished not only by the pronunciation of its sounds by the Brahmans of to-day, who still recite those texts, but also by the transcription of Sanskrit words in foreign languages, particularly Greek, in ancient times; by the summary information contained in the works of the old Sanskrit grammarians, Pāṇini and his successors; and more especially by the detailed statements of the Prāṭisākhyas and the Śikṣās. From these sources we derive a sufficiently exact knowledge of the pronunciation prevailing about 500 B. C. This pronunciation, however, need not necessarily have coincided in every particular with that of the Saṃhitās, which date from many centuries earlier. Nevertheless, judging by the internal evidence supplied by the phonetic changes and analogical formations occurring in the language of the texts themselves and by the external evidence of comparative philology, we are justified in concluding that the pronunciation, with the possible exception of a very few doubtful points, was practically the same.

4. **The Sounds of the Vedic Language.**—There are altogether 52 sounds, 13 of which are vocalic and 39 consonantal. They are the following:

A. Vocalic sounds.

1. Nine simple vowels: *a ā i ī u ū ṛ ṝ ṝ̄*.
2. Four diphthongs: *e o³ ai au⁴*.

B. Consonantal sounds.

1. Twenty-two mutes, divided into five classes, each of which has its class nasal, making a group of twenty-seven:
 - a) five gutturals: *k kh g gh ṅ*,
 - b) five palatals: *c ch j jh ñ*,
 - c) seven cerebrals: *ṭ ṭh ḍ ḍh ṇ* and *ṭ⁵ ḍ⁵ ṇ⁵*,
 - d) five dentals: *t th d dh n*,
 - e) five labials: *p ph b bh m*.

cp. WHITNEY's Translation of the Atharva-veda p. 1013—23.

¹ On the readings of the Paippalāda recension, see LANMAN's Introduction p. LXXIX—LXXXIX.

² The Kashmirian Atharva Veda, Book One. Edited with critical notes by LEROY CARR BARRET, in JAOS. 26, 197—295.

³ These are really simple long vowels, being diphthongs only in origin (= *āi*, *āu*).

⁴ Pronounced *āi*, *āu* (see WHITNEY on Apr. I. 40 and TPr. II. 29), but derived from diphthongs with a long first element.

⁵ These sounds take the place of *ḍ ḍh* respectively between vowels; e. g. *īḷe* (but *īḷya*), *mīḷhiṣe* (but *mīḷhiṣṇ*).

2. Four semivowels: *y r l v*.
3. Three sibilants: *ś* (palatal), *ṣ* (cerebral), *s* (dental).
4. One aspiration: *h*.
5. One pure nasal: *m* (*m̐*) called Anusvāra ('after-sound').
6. Three voiceless spirants: *ḥ* (Visarjanīya), *ḷ* (Jihvāmūliya), *ḹ* (Upadhmanīya).

5. Losses, changes, additions.—In order that the phonetic status of the Vedic language may be understood historically, the losses, changes, and additions which have taken place in it as compared with earlier linguistic stages, must be pointed out.

a. It has **lost** the IE. 1) short vowels *ē ō* and *ə*; 2) long vowels *ē̄ ō̄*; 3) diphthongs *ēi ōi*, *ēu ōu*; *āi ēi ōi*, *āu ēu ōu*; 4) sonant nasals; 5) voiced spirant *z*.

b. It has **replaced** a number of IE. sounds by others: 1) the short vowels *ē ō* by *ā*, *ə* by *i*; 2) the long vowels *ē̄ ō̄* by *ā̄*; 3) the diphthongs *ēi ōi* by *ē*, *ēu ōu* by *ō*; also *āz ēz ōz* by *ē ō*; 4) *ṛ* by *īr* (*ṛr*), *ḷ* by *r*; 5) *āi ēi ōi* by *āi*, *āu ēu ōu* by *āu*; 6) *r*, when followed by a nasal, has become *ṛ*; 7) gutturals (velars) have, under certain conditions, become palatals¹; 8) a palatal mute has become the palatal spirant *ś*².

c. It has **added** the whole series of eight cerebrals (including the spirant *ṣ*).

The above innovations are specifically Indian, excepting (1) the loss of the vowels *ē ō ə*, together with the diphthongs formed with them; (2) the loss of the sonant nasals; and (3) the addition of the spirants *ś* and *ṣ*. These the Avesta shares with the Vedas.

1. The simple vowels.

6. The vowel *a*.—This is by far the commonest vowel, being much more than twice as frequent as *ā*; while these two *a*-vowels combined occur as often as all the rest (including diphthongs) taken together³. According to the modern Indian pronunciation, *a* has the sound of a very short close neutral vowel like the English *u* in *but*. That such was its character as early as the time of Pāṇini appears from his last Sūtra, according to which *a* is not the short sound corresponding to *ā*. To the same effect are the statements of the Prātiśākhya⁴, which describe *a* as a 'close' (*saṃvṛta*) sound. This pronunciation is borne out by the reproduction of Indian words in Greek, where the vowel, though usually represented by *a*, appears as *ē* or *ō* also; on the other hand, the frequent reproduction of the Greek *a* by the Indian *ā* indicates that, to the Indian ear, that vowel was both longer and had more distinctively the sound of *a*. Similarly, Hindus of the present day make the observation that the English pronunciation of *ā* in Sanskrit words sounds long (*dirgha*) to them. As the ancient Iranian languages have the normal *ā* throughout, the close pronunciation must be an Indian innovation. But whether it already prevailed in the period when the Saṃhitās were composed is uncertain. The fact, however, that in the RV. the metre hardly ever admits of the *ā* being elided after *e* or *o*, though the written text drops it in about 75 per cent of its occurrences, seems to indicate that when the hymns of the RV. were composed, the pronunciation of *ā* was still open, but that at

¹ Cp. BRUGMANN, Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen 1902, I, 244.

² Op. cit. 233.

³ Cp. WHITNEY, 22 and 75.

⁴ APr. I. 36; VPr. I. 72.

the time when the Samhitā text was constituted, the close pronunciation was already becoming general.

a. Though *a* ordinarily represents IE. *ā ē ō*¹, it also often replaces an original sonant nasal² representing the reduced form of the unaccented Vedic syllables *a*+nasal: 1) *an* in derivative and inflexional syllables; e. g. *sat-ā* beside the stem *santi*- 'being'; *jūhva-ati* 'they sacrifice' (suffix otherwise *-anti*); 2) *a*+nasal in radical syllables; e. g. *ta-tā*- 'stretched': *√tan-*; *ga-tā*- 'gone': *√gam-*; *das-mā*- 'wondrous': *√dams-*; stem *pathi*- 'path', beside *pānthā-*; 3) in words as shown by comparative philology; e. g. *śatā-m* 'hundred' (Lat. *centum*), *dāśa* 'ten' (Lat. *decem*)³.

Very rarely *a* is a Prakritic representative of *r*, as in *vi-kaṭa*-4 'monstrous', beside *vi-krta*- 'deformed'.

7. The vowel *ā*.—This sound represents both a simple long vowel⁵ and a contraction; e. g. *ā-sthā-t* 'he has stood'; *āsam* 'I was' (= *ā-as-am*), *bhārāti* 'may he bear' (= *bhāra-a-ti*).

a. Like *a*, the long vowel *ā* frequently corresponds to or is derived from a syllable containing a nasal; e. g. *khā-tā*- 'dug': *√khan-*; *ā-tmān*- 'soul': *an*- 'breathe'. In very rare instances the nasal is retained in the RV.: *jighāmsati* 'desires to strike': *√han-*; *śrāntā*- 'wearied': *√śram-*; *dhvānti*- 'dark': *√dhvan-*; there are six or eight more instances in the later Samhitās⁶. Here the reappearance of the nasal in a weak radical syllable is an innovation due to the influence of other forms with nasals⁷.

8. The vowel *i*.—This sound in the first place is an original vowel; e. g. *dīu-i* 'in heaven'. It also frequently represents the low grade of *e* and *ya* both in roots⁸ and suffixes; e. g. *vid-mā* 'we know', beside *véd-a* 'I know'; *ndv-iṣṭha*- 'newest', beside *ndv-yas*- 'newer'. It further appears as the low grade of *ā* in roots containing that vowel: e. g. *siddhyati* 'succeeds', beside *sādhati*; *śiṣṭā*- 'taught', beside *śāsti* 'teaches'; especially when the vowel is final, as in *sthi-tā*- 'stood': *√sthā*-. From the latter use it came to assume the function of a 'connecting' vowel; e. g. *jan-i-ty-* 'begetter': *√jan-*; after heavy syllables also in the ending *-ire* of 3 pl. pf. mid. *vavand-ire* (beside *numudrē*). In *sithird-* 'loose' *i* would be a Prakritic representative of *r*, if the word is derived from *√srath-*⁹.

9. The vowel *ī*.—This sound is an original vowel, e. g. in *jīvd-* 'living'¹⁰. It also often represents the low grade of *yā* both in roots and suffixes; e. g. *jī-tā* (AV.), 'overcome': *√jyā-*; *aś-ī-māhi* 'we would attain', beside *aś-yām* 'I would attain'. It further seems to represent the low grade of both radical and suffixal *ā*; but this can probably in all instances be explained as either a low grade of *ai* or a later substitution for *i*; e. g. *gī-ṭha*- (AV.) beside *gā-ṭhā*- 'song', is from the root *gai-*; *adī-māhi* (VS.) and *dī-ṣva* (VS.), from *√2 dā-* and *√3 dā-*, occur beside forms in *i* from the three roots *dā-* which have *i* only in the RV.; *hīnd-* 'forsaken', from *√hā-*, occurs once in RV. x beside forms with *i* only in RV. i-ix. A similar explanation probably applies to the *-nī-* of the ninth class of verbs beside *-nā-*, e. g. *grbhñī-*: *grbhñā-*¹¹.

¹ Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 92, 104, 116.

² Cp. BRUGMANN 184.

³ See WACKERNAGEL I, 7 (p. 7-10).

⁴ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 146.

⁵ It represents IE. *ā ē ō*: cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 98, 110, 122. It also appears for IE. *ō* before single consonants: cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 10.

⁶ See below, past passive participles 574, 2 a.

⁷ See WACKERNAGEL I, 13.

⁸ This term will be retained in the present

work in its conventional sense (cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 365), and 'roots' will be quoted in the usually low grade form in which they appear in Sanskrit grammar. The term 'base' will be used to designate the phonetic unit which is the starting point of vowel gradation (cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 211). Thus *bhāva-* or *bhavi-* is a 'base', *bhū-* is a 'root'.

⁹ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 16 (p. 19, note).

¹⁰ Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 73.

¹¹ See WACKERNAGEL I, 18.

10. The vowel *u*.—This sound is an original vowel; e. g. *úpa* 'up to'; *duhitṛ-* 'daughter'; *máddhu-* 'sweetness'. It also represents the low grade of *o* or *va* both in roots and suffixes; e. g. *yugá-* m. n. 'yoke', beside *yóga-* m. 'yoking'; *suptá-* (AV.) 'asleep': *svápná-* m. 'sleep'; *kr̥nu-*: *kr̥nó-* present base of *kr-* 'make'.

11. The vowel *ū*.—This sound is an original vowel; e. g. *bhrū-* 'brow'; *śūra-* 'hero'. It is also the low grade for *avi*, *au*, *vā*; e. g. *bhū-t* 'has become': *bhavi-syāti* 'will become'; *dhūt-i-* 'shaken': *dhautīr-i-*, f. 'shaking'; *sūd-* 'sweeten': *svād-* 'enjoy'.

12. The vowel *r̥*.—The vowel *r̥*¹ is at the present day usually pronounced as *ri*; and that this pronunciation is old is shown by the confusion of the two sounds in inscriptions and Mss., as well as by the reproduction of *r̥* by *ri* in the Tibetan script². But *r̥* was originally pronounced as vocalic *r*. The Prātiśākhya of the RV., VS., AV.³ describe it as containing an *r*, which according to the RPr. is in the middle. According to the commentator on the VPr. this medial *r* constitutes one-half of the sound, the first and last quarter being *ā*⁴. This agrees with *ar̥a*, the equivalent of *r̥* in the Avesta.

Except in the acc. and gen. plur. of *r̥*-stems (where *r̄* is written), the long vowel is in the RV. represented by the sign for *r̥*: always in forms of the verb *mṛd-*⁵ 'be gracious', in the past participles *tr̥hā-* 'crushed', *dṛhā-* 'firm', in the gen. *nr̥nām*, and in the one occurrence of the gen. *tisr̥nām*⁶. In the later Samhitās, the vowel in these instances was pronounced short⁷; and it was doubtless for this reason that *r̥* came to be erroneously written for *r̄* in the text of the RV.

13. The vowel *r̄*⁸.—This long vowel, according to RPr. and APr.⁹, contains an *r* in its first half only. It appears only in the acc. and gen. plur. masc. fem. of *r̥*-stems; e. g. *pit̥r̄n*, *māt̥r̄s*; *pit̥r̄nām*, *svāt̥r̄nām*. Thus the *r̄* was written only where *a-* *i-* *u-*stems showed analogous forms with *ā* *i* *ū*; and prosodical evidence proves that, in the RV., *r̄* is required even in the two genitives in which *r̥* is written (*nr̥nām* and *tisr̥nām*)¹⁰. In the TS., however, all these genitives plur. have *r̄*¹¹ (that is, *pit̥r̄nām* as well as *nr̄nām*, *tisr̄nām*).

14. The vowel *ṛ*.—This sound, though pronounced as *lri* at the present day, was originally a vocalic *ṛ*. Its description in the Prātiśākhya¹² is analogous to that of *r̥*. It is found only in a few forms or derivatives of the verb *kṛp-* 'be in order': *cākkṛpṛé*, 3 pl. perf.; *cikṛpāti*, 3 sing. aor. subj.; *kṛpti-* (VS.) 'arrangement'. In the RV. *r̥* appears beside it in *kṛp-* 'form'¹³.

2. The diphthongs.

15. The diphthongs *e* and *o*.—At the present day these sounds are pronounced in India as long monophthongs like *ē* and *ō* in most European

¹ In several instances *r̥* appears to represent an IE. *l* sound. Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, p. 33.

² See WACKERNAGEL I, 28.

³ RPr. VIII. 14; VPr. IV. 145; APr. I. 37, 71.

⁴ Cp. BENFEY, *Vedica und Verwandtes* I, 18.

⁵ Except possibly RV. VII. 56¹⁷ where the vowel is metrically short; cp. op. cit. I, 6; ARNOLD, *Vedic Metre*, p. 143.

⁶ RV. V. 69².

⁷ In the AV. the vowel is still metrically long in some of these instances: OLDENBERG, *Prolegomena* 477.

⁸ The *r̄* of the gen. pl. is an Indian innovation; cp. 5, b 6 and 17. On the other hand, IE. *r̄* is represented by *ir̄* and (after labials) *ur̄*; e. g. from *kṛ-* 'commemorate', *kṛ-ir̄* 'fame'; *pṛ-* 'fill': *pṛ-ur̄*, n. 'reward'; as low grade of *r̄ā* in *dūrgh-ā* 'long', beside *drāgh-iyas-* 'longer'. Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 22.

⁹ RPr. XIII. 14; APr. I. 38.

¹⁰ See above, 5, b 6.

¹¹ Cp. BENFEY, *Vedica und Verwandtes* I, 3.

¹² RPr. XIII. 14; VPr. IV. 145.

¹³ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 31.

languages. That they already had this character at the time of the Prātisākhya¹ and of Pāṇini's successors Kātyāyana² and Patañjali³, appears from the accounts given by those authorities, who at the same time recognize these two sounds to be in many instances the result of the euphonic combination (*saṃdhi*, Sandhi) of *a + i* and *a + u* respectively. This evidence is borne out by the reproduction of Indian words by the Greeks⁴ and of Greek words by the Indians⁵ from about 300 B. C. onwards.

a. These two sounds as a rule represent earlier diphthongs of which the second element was *i* or *u* respectively. 1. This is most evidently so when they are produced in Sandhi by the coalescence of *ā* with *i* and *ū*. As the result of such a combination they are explicable only on the assumption of an earlier pronunciation of these sounds as the genuine diphthongs *āi* and *āu*. — 2. They are further based on prehistoric contractions within words in declension and conjugation; e. g. loc. sing. of *āśva-* 'horse': *āśve* (cp. *nāv-i-* 'in the ship'); nom. acc. du. neut. of *padā-* 'step': *padē* (cp. *vācas-i* 'two words'); 3. sing. pot. mid. *bhāveta* 'should become' (cp. *ās-īta* 'would sit'); *maghān-* weak stem (= *magha-un*) of *maghāvan-* 'bountiful'; *ā-voc-at* 3. sing. aor. of *vac-* 'speak' (= *ā-vac-at*)⁶. — 3. These two sounds also represent the high grade corresponding to the weak grade vowels *i* and *u*; e. g. *śacati* 'pours', beside *sik-tā-* 'poured'; *bhoj-am*, beside *bhuj-am*, aor. of *bhuj-* 'enjoy'.

b. 1. In a small number of words *e*¹⁰ represents Indo-Iranian *az* (still preserved in the Avesta) before *d dh* and *h* (= *dh*): *dehi* 'give', and *dhehi* 'set' (Av. *dazdi*); *e-dhi* 'be', beside *ās-ti*; *nēd-īyas-* 'very near', *nēd-iṣṭha-* 'nearest' (Av. *nazdyo*, *nazdiṣta-*); *medhā-* 'insight' (Av. *mazdā*); *miyēdha-* 'meat-juice' (Av. *myazda-*); *vedhās-* 'adorer' (Av. *vazdanh-*); *sed-*⁸ weak perf. of *sad-* 'sit' (Av. *hazd-* for Indo-Iranian *sazd-*)⁹. — 2. Similarly *o*¹⁰ represents *az* in stems ending in *-as* before the *bh* of case-endings, e. g. from *dvēṣ-as-* n. 'hatred', inst. pl. *dvēṣo-bhis*; and before secondary suffixes beginning with *y* or *v*: *amho-yū-* 'distressing' (but *apas-yū-* 'active'); *duvo-yū-* 'wishing to give' (beside *duvas-yū-*); *sāho-va-* (Av.) 'mighty', beside *sāhas-va-* (RV.). In derivatives of *ṣaṣ-* 'six', and of *vaḥ-* 'carry', *o* represents *az* before *d* or *dh*, which it cerebralizes: *ṣo-ḍaśa* (VS.) 'sixteen'; *ṣo-ḍhā* 'six-fold'; *vō-ḍhum* 'to carry'.

16. The diphthongs *ai* and *au*. — These sounds are pronounced at the present day in India as diphthongs in which the first element is short. Even at the time of the Prātisākhya they had the value of *āi* and *āu*¹¹. But that they are the etymological representatives of *āi* and *āu* is shown by their becoming *āy* and *āv* respectively before vowels both in Sandhi¹² and within words; e. g. *gāv-as* 'kine', beside *gāu-s* 'cow'¹³. That such was their original value is also indicated by the fact that in Sandhi *a* contracts with *e*¹⁴ to *ai*, and with *o* to *au*¹⁵.

17. Lengthening of vowels. — 1. Before *n*, vowels are lengthened only (except *r* in the gen. pl.) in the acc. pl. in *-ān*, *-īn*, *-ūn*, *-ṛn*¹⁶, where the long vowel is doubtless pre-Indian¹⁷.

2. Before suffixal *y*, *i* and *u* are phonetically lengthened: a) as finals of roots; e. g. *kṣī-yate* 'is destroyed' (*√kṣi-*); *sū-yāte* 'is pressed' (*√su-*); *śrū-yās* 'may he hear' (*√śru-*); b) as finals of nouns in denominatives formed with *-yā* and their derivatives; e. g. *janī-yānt-* 'desiring a wife' (*jāni-*); *valgū-*

¹ See WHITNEY on APr. I. 40.

² Vārttika on Pāṇini VIII. 2, 106.

³ Comment on Vārttika I and 3 on Pāṇini I. 1, 48.

⁴ Thus *Kekaya-*, name of a people, becomes *Kḗkai*; *Gōḡḡa-* name of a people, *Γῶḡḡαι*.

⁵ Thus *καμήλος* becomes *kramela-kā-*; *ὥρα* becomes *horā*.

⁶ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 33 b.

⁷ Op. cit. I, 33 c, d, e.

⁸ On this base see below on the Perfect, 483 a, 2.

⁹ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 34 a.

¹⁰ These *e* and *o* are not distinguished in

pronunciation from the monophthongs representing the diphthongs *āi* and *āu*.

¹¹ See WHITNEY on APr. I. 40 and TPr. II. 29.

¹² See below 73.

¹³ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 36.

¹⁴ That is, originally *ā + (e =) āi* became *āi*.

¹⁵ That is, originally *ā + (o =) āu* became *āu*.

¹⁶ For original *a i u r + ns*.

¹⁷ As the *s* which caused the length by position had already for the most part disappeared in the Vedic language.

yāti 'treats kindly' (*valgī-*); *gātū-yāti* 'desires free course' (*gātī-*; but also *gātu-yāti*)¹. The AV.² has a few exceptions: *arāti-yāti* 'is hostile'; *jani-yāti* as well as *jantī-yāti*³; **c)** *i* in the suffix *-ī-ya* and in the comparative suffix *-īyas*.

3. Before *r*, if radical, *i* and *u* seem to be lengthened when a consonant follows; e. g. *gīr-bhis* beside *gīr-as* (*gīr-* 'song of praise'); *pūr-śū* beside *pūr-as* (*pūr-* 'fort'), but *īr* and *ūr* here represent IE. *r̥*⁴. In a few instances this is extended by analogy to words in which the *r* is not radical: *āsīr* 'blessing' (*āsīs-*); *sajūr* 'together' (*√jūs-*)⁵.

4. Before *v*, the vowels *a i u* are lengthened: **a)** in some instances the augment: *avidhyat* 'he wounded' (*√vyadh-*)⁶; **b)** once before the primary suffix *-vāms* of the perfect participle: *jigī-vāms-* 'having conquered' (*√ji-*); **c)** often before the secondary suffixes *-van*, *-vana*, *-vant*, *-vala*, *-vin*; e. g. *ṛtā-van-* 'observing order'; *kīrṣī-vana-* (AV.) 'ploughman'; *yā-vant-* 'how great'; *śvāsī-vant-* (RV¹) 'snorting' (*√śvas-*); *-kṛṣī-vala-* 'ploughman'; *dvayī-vin-* 'dishonest'; **d)** often before the second member of a compound; e. g. *gūrtā-vasu-* 'whose treasures are welcome'⁷.

5. Before llr. *z* and *z̄*, when followed by one or more consonants, vowels are lengthened by way of compensation for the loss of the *z* or *z̄*⁸; **a)** *ā* (= *az*) in *tādhi* 'hew' (*√takṣ-*); *bādhā-* 'firm' (*√banh-*); *sādhy-* 'conquering', *d-śādha-* 'invincible' (*√sah-*); **b)** *ī* = *iz̄* in *īd-* 'adore' (*√yaj-* 'sacrifice', or *√is-* 'wish'); *nīdā-* 'nest'; *pīd-* 'press'; *mīdhā-* 'reward'; *mīdhvāms-* 'bounteous'; *ṛīdhā-* 'licked' (*√rih-*); *vīdhi-* 'swift'; *sīdati* (= *sizdati*) 'sits'; *hīd-* 'be angry' (cp. *hīms-* 'injure'). **c)** *ū* = *uz̄* in *ūdha-* 'borne' (*√vah-*); *gūdha-* 'concealed' (*√guh-*)⁹.

6. Vowels also appear lengthened under conditions other than those enumerated above (1-5).

a. Final *a i u* are very frequently lengthened in the Samhitās before a single consonant owing to rhythmical predilections; from this use the lengthening of the vowels is extended to syllables which are reduplicative or precede suffixes¹⁰.

b. For metrical reasons the length is in a few words shifted to another syllable. Thus *didīhi* often appears instead of the regular *dīdīhi*; and in *virā-śāt* 'ruling men', *virā-*¹¹ stands for *vīra-*. A similar explanation perhaps applies to *carātha-* 'moving', beside *carātha-*; and *māhina-* 'gladsome', beside *māhina-*.

c. The long vowel beside the short in the same stem appears in some instances to be due to vowel gradation; as in *tvāt-pitāras* (TS.) 'having thee as a father', beside *pitāras*; *prthu-jāghana-* 'broad-hipped', beside *jāghana-*

¹ Before this *-yā*, the final of *a*-stems is sometimes lengthened, but probably not phonetically; see below 6 d.

² See WHITNEY on APR. III. 18.

³ No lengthening takes place in the optative present of verbs of the 5th or 8th class, e. g. *śṛṇu-yāma* (*śru-* 'hear'); nor in adverbs formed with *-yā* from *u*-stems; e. g. *āsu-yā* 'swiftly'; *amū-yā* 'thus'.

⁴ See above on *r̥*, p. 8, note 8.

⁵ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 23. When *ir* stands for suffixal *-is*, it remains unchanged; e. g. *havīrbhis* 'with oblations' (*hav-is-*), *kṛvīr-datī* 'saw-toothed'; *-ur*, with genuine *u*, remains short in *urvārā-* 'field', *urvī-* 'wide', *urviyā* 'widely' (*uru-* 'wide'), *urv-āsī-* 'desire', *dur-*

(for *dus-*) e. g. in *dur-gā-* 'hard to traverse'.

⁶ The lengthening of the augment in *āyunak*, *āyukta* (*√yuj-*) and *āriyak*, *āraik* (*√ric-*), follows this analogy.

⁷ The lengthening here probably started from that in Sandhi: cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 42.

⁸ This appears to be the only kind of compensatory lengthening in the Vedic language. Cp. 17, 1.

⁹ On *e* and *o* for *az* *až*, see above, 15, a, b, and cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 40.

¹⁰ See WACKERNAGEL I, 43.

¹¹ Metrical shortening of a long syllable

'hip'; *ānu-sāk* 'in continuous order', beside *ānu-* 'along' as first member of a compound.

d. The lengthening of the vowel in a certain number of instances appears to be due to analogy; thus the denominatives in *-āyā* beside *-ayā* from *a*-stems (e. g. *rtāyā-* 'observe order', beside *rtayā-*)¹, seem to follow the model of those in *-īyāti* and *-ūyāti*, which would account for the fluctuation in quantity. *Tikṣṇā-* 'sharp' (beside *tigmd-*: *tij-* 'be sharp') and *hālīkṣṇa-* (TS.) beside *halīkṣṇa-* (VS.), a kind of animal, appear to owe their *ī* to the influence of desideratives which in several instances have *ī* (partly for older *i*) before *ks*. The reason for the *ū* in *tūṣṇīm* 'silently' (*tus-* 'become quiet'), and in *sūmnā-* (VS.), otherwise *sumnā-* 'favour', is, however, obscure.

18. Loss of vowels.—Vowels are very rarely dropped in the language of the Samhitās. Medial loss is almost entirely restricted² to the isolated disappearance of *u* before *v* and *m*. That vowel is dropped at the end of the first member of a compound in *anvartitā* (RV¹) 'wooer' (= *anu-vartitā*); *anvartīṣe* (AV.) 'I shall follow'³; *cār-vadana-* (AV. Paipp.) 'of lovely aspect' (= *cāru-vadana-*) and *cār-vāc-* (AV. Paipp.) 'speaking pleasantly'⁴. The only example of the loss of *ā* in this position seems to be *til-pīñja-* (AV¹) a kind of plant, beside *tila-pīñjī-* (AV¹). The vowel *u* is further dropped before the *m* of the 1 pers. pl. pres. ending of the 5th (*-nu-*) class, when the *u* is preceded by only one consonant, in *kṛṇ-mahe* and *kṛṇ-māsi* (AV.)⁵ 'we do'.

Initial vowels also occasionally disappear. The only vowel that is lost with any frequency is *ā*, which is dropped in Sandhi after *e* and *o*, according to the evidence of metre, in about one per cent of its occurrences in the RV. and about twenty per cent in the AV. and the metrical portions of the YV.⁶ In a few words its disappearance is prehistoric: in *vī-* 'bird'⁷ (Lat. *avi-*), possibly in *nī-* 'in' (Greek *ēvi*)⁸, in *pīd-* 'press'⁹, *bhī-sāj-*¹⁰ 'healer'. *ā* is lost in *tmān-*, beside *ā-tmān-*, but the reason has not been satisfactorily explained¹¹. In *va* 'like', beside *iva*, the loss of *i* is probably only apparent: cp. *vā* 'like' (Lat. *vē* 'or')¹². Initial *u* seems to be lost, if the reading is not corrupt, in *smāsi* (RV. II. 31⁶) beside *usmāsi* 'we desire' (*√vas-*).

19. Contraction.—Long vowels and diphthongs are often the result of contraction in Sandhi¹³. They have frequently a similar origin in the interior of words¹⁴.

a. Contractions of *a* with a vowel or diphthong are the following:

1. *ā* often stands for *a + a*, *ā + a*, or *a + ā*; e. g. *āj-at*, augmented imperfect (= *ā-aj-at*); *ād-a*, red. perf. (= *a-ād-a*); *bhārāti*, pres. subj. (= *bhāra-ati*); *ukthā*¹⁵, inst. sing. (= *ukthā-a*); *dśvās* 'mares', nom. pl. (= *dśvā-as*); *dāti*, aor. subj. (= *dā-ati*); *devām*, gen. pl. (= *devā-ām*).

2. *e* stands for *a + ī* and *ā + ī*; e. g. *dśve*, loc. sing. (= *dśva-i*); *padé*,

(at the end of a triṣṭubh-line), without interchange of quantity, appears in *sirāsu*, loc. plur. of *sirā-* 'stream'.

¹ See below, Denominatives, 563, a.

² Apart from the syncopation of *ā* in low grade syllables: cp. 25, A 1.

³ Cp. BÖHTLINGK, ZDMG. 39, 533; 44, 492f.; cp. OLDENBERG 324.

⁴ See BÖHTLINGK's Lexicon s. v. Perhaps also in *jāmbila-* (MS.) 'knee-pan', if = *jānu-vīla-*.

⁵ Cp. DELBRÜCK, AIV. 174; v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte des Veda 60 (r-Wurzeln).

⁶ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, p. 324; OLDEN-

BERG, ZDMG. 44, 321ff. (Der Abhinibhita Sandhi im Rgveda).

⁷ Cp. 25, A 1; WACKERNAGEL I, 71.

⁸ Cp. SCHMIDT, KZ. 26, 24; WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 73.

⁹ Op. cit. 2¹, p. 71 (bottom).

¹⁰ Op. cit. 2¹, p. 72 (bottom).

¹¹ Op. cit. I, p. 61 (top).

¹² Cp. op. cit. I, 53 c, note; ARNOLD, Vedic Metre, 129 (p. 78).

¹³ See below 69, 70.

¹⁴ See above 15, a 2.

¹⁵ The original inst. ending *-a* under the influence of this contracted form became *-ā*; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, p. 102, mid.

nom. acc. du. neut. (= *padā-ti*); *bhāves*, opt. pres. (= *bhāva-is*); *yamé* 'twin sisters', nom. acc. du. fem. (= *yamā-ti*).

3. *o* stands for *a+u*; e. g. *dvocam*, aor. of *vac-* 'speak' (= *dva-uc-am*).

4. *ai* stands for *ā+e* and, in augmented forms, *a+i*; e. g. *tāsmāi* 'to him', dat. sing. masc. (= *tāsmā-e*); *devyāi*, dat. sing. fem. (= *devyā-e*); *dicchat*, 3. sing. impf. (= *d-icchat*); *dirata*, 3. pl. impf. (= *d-irata*) 'set in motion'.

5. *au* stands for *a+ū* in augmented forms; e. g. *ducchat*, 3. sing. impf. of *vas-* 'shine' (= *d-ucchat*); *auhat*, 3. sing. impf. of *ūh-* 'remove' (= *a-ūh-at*).

b. Contractions of *i* with *i* or *ā* are the following:

1. *ī* stands for *i+i* in the nom. acc. pl. neut. of *i*-stems; e. g. *trī* 'three' (= *trī-i*).

2. *ī* stands for *i+i* in weak forms of the perfect, when the reduplicative vowel is immediately followed by *i* (either original or reduced from *ya*); e. g. *īś-īr* (= *i-īś-īr* from *iś-* 'speed'); *īj-é* (= *i-īj-é* from *yaj-* 'sacrifice').

3. *ī* stands for *i+ā* in the inst. sing. fem. and the nom. acc. du. masc. fem. of stems in *-i*; e. g. *matī* (= *matī-ā*) 'by thought'; *pātī* 'the two lords' (= *pātī-ā*, cp. *rtvij-ā*), *śūc-ī*, du. fem. 'the two bright ones' (= *śūcī-ā*).

4. *ī* stands for *i+ā* in compounds of *dvi-* 'two', *nī* 'down', *prāti* 'against', with the low grade of *āp-* 'water': *dāvīp-ā* 'island'; *nīp-ā* 'low-lying' (K.)¹; *prātīpām* 'against the stream'².

5. *ī* stands for *i+ā* when reduplicative *i* is followed by the low grade form of a root beginning with *ā*: *īpsa-ti* (AV.), desiderative of *āp-* 'obtain' (= *i-īp-sa*)³. A similar contraction takes place when initial radical *a* is long by position, in *īkṣ-ate* 'sees' (cp. *ākṣ-i* 'eye') and *mīkḥ-āyati* 'swings' (cp. *pari-ānkhāyāte* 'may he embrace'). In *īj-ate* 'drives', beside *dj-ati* 'drives', the contraction to *ī* of *i+ā* is perhaps due to analogy⁴.

c. Contractions of *u* with *u* or *ā* are the following:

1. *ū* stands for *u+u* in weak forms of the perfect when the reduplicative vowel is immediately followed by *u* (either original or reduced from *va*); e. g. *ūc-e*, 3 sing. mid. (= *u-uc-e*) from *uc-* 'like'; *ūc-īr* (= *u-uc-īr*) from *vac-* 'speak'.

2. *ū* stands for *u+ā* in the compound formed with *ānu* 'along' and the low grade of *āp-* 'water': *anūp-ā*⁴ 'pond'.

3. *ū* stands for *u+ā* in the nom. acc. du. masc. fem. of *u*-stems; e. g. *bāhū* 'the two arms' (= *bāhū-ā*).

4. *ū* seems to stand for *u+i* in the nom. acc. pl. neuter of *u*-stems; e. g. *vāsū* (= *vāsu-i*), from *vāsu-* 'good'; but the vowel may possibly be lengthened by analogy⁵, for the Pada text always has *ū*.

20. Hiatus.—a. In the written text of the Samhitās, hiatus is, as a rule, tolerated in diphthongs only, vowels being otherwise separated by consonants. It nevertheless appears:

1. in Sandhi, when a final *s y* or *v* has been dropped before a following vowel; when final *ī ū e* of dual endings are followed by vowels; when *a* remains after final *e* and *o*; and in some other instances⁶;

2. in compounds, when the final *s* of the first member has disappeared before a vowel; e. g. *āyo-agra-* 'iron-pointed' (*āyas-* 'iron'); *pura-cty-* 'leader' (*purās* 'before'); and when, by a Prakritism, *y* is lost in *prā-uga-* 'fore-part of the shaft' (= *prā-yuga-*);

¹ Cp. *nīp-ya-* (VS.), 'lying at the bottom'.

² Cp. *ānīka-* and *prātīka-* 'face'.

³ Cp. Samprasāraṇa *ī* and *ū* for *yā* and *vā*.

⁴ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 90 c, p. 104.

⁵ That is, of the *a* and *i* stems; e. g. *bhadrū*, *trī*.

⁶ See below, Sandhi 69—73.

3. in the simple word *tītai-*¹ 'sieve' (probably from *taṃs-* 'shake'), by a loss of *s*, due most likely to borrowing from an Iranian dialect (where medial *s* would have become *h*, which then disappeared).

b. 1. Though not written, hiatus is common elsewhere also in the Samhitās². The evidence of metre shows that *y* and *v* must often be pronounced as *i* and *u*, and that a long vowel or a diphthong has frequently the value of two vowels. When the long vowel or diphthong is the result of contraction, the two original vowels must often be restored, within a word as well as in Sandhi. Thus *pānti* 'they protect', may have to be read as *pā-anti* (= *pā-anti*)³, *āñjan* 'they anointed' as *ā-añjan*; *jyēṣṭha* 'mightiest' as *jyā-iṣṭha* (= *jyā-iṣṭha* from *jyā-* 'be mighty'); *dicchas* as *d-i-cchas* 'thou didst wish'; *aurṇos* as *a-ūrṇos* 'thou didst open'⁴.

2. Hiatus is further produced by distraction of long vowels⁵ which, as the metre shows, are in the R̥gveda often to be pronounced as two short vowels. This distraction was doubtless originally due partly to a slurred accentuation which practically divided a syllable into two halves, and partly to the resolution of etymological contraction. From such instances distraction spread to long vowels in which it was not historically justified. It appears most often in *ā*, especially in the gen. pl. in *-ām*, also in the abl. sing. in *-āt*, the nom. acc. pl. in *-ās*, *-āsas* of *a*-stems, in the acc. sing. in *-ām* of such words as *abjām* 'born in the water'; and in many individual words⁶. Distraction is further found in the diphthongs of words in which it is not etymologically justified; as in the genitives *vās* 'of a bird', *gās* 'of a cow', in *tridhā* 'threefold', *nātr-* 'leader', *rēkhas-* 'property', *śrēṇi-* 'row'; and in other words⁷.

21. Svarabhakti.—When a consonant is in conjunction with *r* or a nasal, a very short vocalic sound tends to be developed between them, and the evidence of metre shows that a vowel must often be pronounced between them. It is the general view of the Prātiśākhya⁸ that when an *r* precedes another consonant a vowel is sounded after it; according to some of them this also takes place after *l* or even after any voiced consonant. They call it *svarabhakti* or 'vowel-part', which they describe as equal to $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, or $\frac{1}{2}$ mora in length and generally as equivalent to *a* or *e* (probably = *ē*) in sound.

a. The metre of the RV. shows that an additional syllable is frequently required in words in which *r* either precedes or follows⁹ another consonant; e. g. *darsat-* 'worthy to be seen' (quadrisyllabic); *indra-*¹⁰, name of a god (very often trisyllabic); *prā* 'forth' (dissyllabic)¹¹.

¹ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 37 b, note.

² See OLDENBERG, Prolegomena 434 ff.: 'Hiatus und Contraction'; ARNOLD, Vedic Metre, chapter IV, p. 70 ff. (Sandhi), chapter V, p. 81 ff. (Syllabic Restoration).

³ As a rule, one vowel (including *e* and *o*) is shortened before another: see OLDENBERG, op. cit., 465 ff.; 447 ff.

⁴ WACKERNAGEL I, 46 b.

⁵ See OLDENBERG, op. cit., 163 ff. (Vocale mit zweisilbiger Geltung).

⁶ See WACKERNAGEL I, 44. This is a very old phenomenon, as it is found in the Avesta in the gen. pl. and in other forms: OLDENBERG 181; WACKERNAGEL I, p. 50.

⁷ WACKERNAGEL I, 46. This distraction of diphthongs is also pre-Vedic, parallels being found in the Avesta. Its use gradually decreases in the RV. and is lacking in the later Samhitās, doubtless owing to the dis-

appearance of slurred accentuation: WACKERNAGEL I, 47.

⁸ RPr. VI 13f., VPr. IV 16; TPr. XXI 15f.; APr. I 101 ff.

⁹ The vowel which has to be restored in the gen. loc. du. termination *-tros*, which must always be read as a dissyllable, is not to be explained as Svarabhakti, since *-taros* is the original ending.

¹⁰ Cp. OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 60, 711—745 (Die Messung von *indra*, *rudrā* u. a.).

¹¹ There seem to be a few instances of a Svarabhakti vowel being actually written: *tarāsantī*, beside *tras-* 'tremble'; the secondary derivative *śvaitārīm*, beside *śvitrd-* (AV.) 'white'; *pūruṣa-* and *pūruṣa-* 'man', probably for **pūruṣa-* (WACKERNAGEL I, 51, cp. 52). The initial vowel of *ulokā-*, which is commoner than *lokā-* 'world', has not yet been satisfactorily explained; cp. op. cit. I, 52 d.

b. When a consonant is followed by \tilde{n} , n , or m , the same parasitic vowel often appears; e. g. *yajñá-* (= *yajⁿñá-*) 'sacrifice'; *gnā-* (= *gⁿñá-*) 'woman'. It is, however, here frequent only as representing the second syllable after the caesura in triṣṭubh and jagatī verses; it rarely occurs at the beginning of such verses, and never at the end¹.

VOWEL GRADATION.

I. The Guṇa series: *e o ar*.

22. A. Low grade: *i u ṛ*.—In the same root or stem the simple vowels *i u ṛ* are found to interchange² with the respective high grade forms *e o ar* al³ called Guṇa ('secondary form'?) by the native grammarians, according to the conditions under which the formative elements are attached. Beside these appear, but much less frequently, the long grade forms *ai au ā* called Vṛddhi ('increase') by the same authorities. The latter regarded the simple vowels as the fundamental grade, which, from the Indian point of view, these vowels often evidently represent: thus from *ūrṇavābhī-* (SB.) 'spider', we have the derivative formation *aurṇavābhī-* 'sprung from a spider'⁴. Comparative grammar has, however, shown that in such forms we have only a secondary application of an old habit of gradation derived from the IE. period, and that Guṇa⁵ represents the normal stage from which the low grade form, with reduced or altogether lacking vowel⁶, arose in less accented syllables. This theory alone can satisfactorily explain the parallel treatment of Guṇa gradation (*e o ar* beside *i u ṛ*) and Samprasāraṇa gradation (*ya va ra* beside *i u ṛ*), as in *diṣ-ṭá-*, *dī-dēṣ-a* (*diṣ-* 'point out') and *iṣ-ṭá-*, *iyāj-a* (*yaj-* 'sacrifice'). In other words, *i u ṛ* can easily be explained as reduced forms of both Guṇa and Samprasāraṇa syllables (as ending or beginning with *i u ṛ*), while the divergent 'strengthening' of *i u ṛ*, under the same conditions, to *e o ar* or *ya va ra* cannot be accounted for⁷.

The interchange of Guṇa and simple vowel is generally accompanied by a shift of accent: Guṇa appears in the syllable which bears the accent, but is replaced by the simple vowel when the accent is transferred to the following syllable. This shows itself most clearly in inflexional forms; e. g. *é-mi* 'I go', but *i-mís* 'we go'; *āp-nó-mi* (AV.) 'I obtain', but *āp-nu-mís* 'we obtain'; *vārdhāya*, but *vṛdhāya* 'to further'. Hence it is highly probable that change of accent was the cause of the gradation⁸.

a. Long grade or Vṛddhi: *ai, au, ā*.—Vṛddhi is far more restricted in use than Guṇa, and as it nearly always appears where Guṇa is to be expected, it may be regarded as a lengthened variety of it⁹ dating back to the IE. period.

¹ See OLDENBERG, Prolegomena, 374, normal stage in the gradation of the *a*-vowels in many roots: see 24; WACKER-

² This interchange was already noticed by Yaska; see Nirukta X. 17.

³ The only root in which the gradation *ai:l* is found is *hīp-*, cp. 14. It is employed in word-formation much in the same way as in verbal and nominal inflexion.

⁴ See below a, 3 and cp. 25 B 2; WACKER-NAGEL I, 55, p. 62, note (top).

⁵ Both *a* and *ā* represent the Guṇa or

NAGEL I, 55 b.
⁶ The vowel sometimes disappears in the low grade of the *a*-series ('Schwundstufe') see 24.

⁷ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 55.

⁸ Occasional exceptions, such as *vṛka-* 'wolf', are capable of explanation: cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 57.

⁹ 'Dehnstufe'; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 61.

It is to be found **1**) in strong forms of a few monosyllabic substantives, in the nom. sing. of *sákhi-* 'friend' and of stems in *-r*, and in the loc. sing. of stems in *i* and *u*: *su-hārd-* 'good-hearted' (from *hṛd-* 'heart'), *dyáu-s* 'heaven' (from *dyil-*), *gáu-s* 'cow' (from *gú-*); *sákhā*, *pítī*²; *agnā*³ (from *agnī-* 'fire'), *aktāu* (from *aktī-* 'night'); **2**) before the primary nominal suffixes *-a*, *-i*, *-ti*, *-tna*, *-man*, *-vana*; e. g. *spārḥ-ā-* 'desirable' (*√sprh-*); *hārd-i-* 'heart' (from *hṛd-*); *kārṣ-i-* (VS.) 'drawing' (*√krṣ-*); *śráuṣ-ṭi* 'obedient' (*√śruṣ-*); *cyau-tnā-* 'stimulating' (*√cyu-*); *bhārman-* 'board' (*√bhr-*); *kārṣ-t-vana-* (AV.) 'ploughman'; **3**) in secondary nominal derivation, generally to form patronymics or adjectives expressive of connexion or relation⁴; e. g. *gairikṣitā-* 'descended from *giri-kṣit*'; *auśijā-* 'son of *Uśij*'; *śrautrá-* 'relating to the ear' (*śrāstra-*); *hairanyā-* 'golden' (*hīranya-* 'gold'); **4**) in the singular pres. of a few verbs of the second class and in the active *s*-aorist of roots ending in vowels: *kṣṇāu-mi* 'I sharpen' (*√kṣṇu-*); *māṛṣ-ṣi*⁵ 'he wipes' (*√mrj-*); *yāu-mi* (AV.) 'I unite' (*√yu-*); *a-jai-ṣam* 'I have conquered' (*√ji-*); *yāu-s*, 2 sing. 'ward off' (*√yu-*); *a-bhār-ṣam* 'I have borne' (*√bhr-*).

B. Low grade: *ī ū ṛ*.—The same Guṇa and Vṛddhi forms as a rule correspond to these long vowels as to their short forms *i u r*. Thus *bhī-* 'fear': *bi-bhāy-a* and *bi-bhāy-a*; *hū-* 'call': *ju-hāv-a*; *tī-* 'cross': *ta-tār-a*, beside *tir-āte* and *-tir-ṇa-* (just like *śri-* 'resort': *śi-śrāy-a*; *śru-* 'hear': *śu-śrāv-a*; *kr-* 'do': *ca-kār-a*). Before consonants the roots *prī-* 'love', *vī-* 'desire', *vī-* 'impel', *śī-* 'lie', *nī-* 'lead', *bhī-* 'fear', have Guṇa forms in *e*, the last two also Vṛddhi forms in *ai*; but roots in *ū* and *ṛ* have *avi*⁶ and *ari* as Guṇa, *āvi* and *āri* as Vṛddhi, respectively; e. g. *pū-* 'purify', aor. *pavi-ṣta* and *apāviṣur*; *kṛ-* 'scatter', aor. subj. *kāri-ṣat*⁷.

a. *ī* and *ū* instead of Guṇa. In a few verbs and some other words *ī* and *ū* are the old weak grade vowels (almost invariably medial) of *e* and *o*, the length of which has been preserved by the accent shifting to them (while when not thus protected they have been shortened to *ī* and *ū*), and which as thus accented, sometimes appear instead of the Guṇa vowels. Thus *ī* is found in *riṣ-ant-* 'injuring' (= **riṣ-ānt-*), beside *reṣa-*, the low grade form of the radical syllable otherwise becoming *riṣ*⁸. Similarly *gūhati* 'hides' appears beside *gōh-a-* 'hiding-place', the root being also shortened in *guh-yāte*, etc.; *dūṣ-āyati* 'spoils', beside *doṣ-ā-* and *doṣās-* (AV.) 'evening', also *dūṣ-ṭi-* (AV.) 'destruction'; *ūh-ati* 'removes', beside *śh-a-* 'gift'; *nū* 'now', *nū-tana-* 'new', *nū-nām* 'now', beside *nāva-* 'new', also *nū* 'now' (never at the beginning of a sentence); *mūs-* 'mouse', beside *mūsatha* 'ye rob', also *muṣitā-* 'stolen'; *yūpa-* 'post', beside *yuyōpa* 'has infringed', also *yupitā-* (AV.) 'smoothed'; *stūpa-* 'tuft', beside *sto-kā-* 'drop', also *stu-pā-* (VS.) 'tuft'⁹.

b. In a few roots ending in *v*¹⁰, the radical vowel *ī* represents the low

¹ With loss of the final element, which however, remains in datives like *tāsmāi*, probably because the diphthong was here pronounced with a slurred accent: cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 93.

² With loss of *r*, the preceding vowel having compensatory IE. lengthening (cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 61 c). In a few instances, the Vṛddhi of the nom. sing. spread to other cases (cp. 25 B b 1); e. g. *tār-as*, nom. pl., from old nom. sing. **stār* (beside *stīr-bhis*).

³ Also *agnāu*, like the *u*-stems.

⁴ See below 191.

⁵ From the present the *ār* spread to other forms, e. g. perf. *mamārja* (AV.).

⁶ They have *o* in the intensive reduplication only; e. g. *sosī-*: *√sī-*.

⁷ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 76.

⁸ The accentuation of *ī*, the low grade of *yā*, is probably to be explained similarly in feminines like *napī-*s (masc. *nāpāt-*); shortened to *nāpti* in voc.; cp. 19 b 3 and 29.

⁹ The accentuation of *ū*, the low grade of *vā* is probably to be explained similarly in feminines like *kadrū-*s (TS. B.) 'brown' (masc. *kādrū-m*, TS. B.); shortened to *u* in voc., e. g. *bābhru*; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 82.

¹⁰ That is, the original form would have been *īv-* or *īū-* according as a vowel or a consonant followed.

grade, but early began to supplant *e*; thus from *dīu-* 'play', beside *didēva* (AV.), *dēv-ana-* 'game of dice', occur *dīu-yati*, *dīu-é* and *dīu-i* dat. and loc. of *dīu-* 'game of dice'; from *srīu-* 'fail', beside *śrevāyant-*, *srīwayati* (AV.); but from *mīu-* 'push', only *mīu-ati* etc.; from *sīu-* 'sew', only *sīu-yati* etc. It is a peculiarity of these roots that *īu* appears before vowels and *y* only, becoming *yū* or *ū* before other consonants; thus *dyū-tī-* (AV.) 'play'; *-mū-ta-* 'impelled', *mū-rā-* 'dull', *mū-tra-* (AV. VS.) 'urine'; *syū-tā-* 'fastened', *sū-cī-* 'needle', *sū-tra-* (AV.) 'thread'; *srū-* 'lead ball'¹.

II. The Samprasāraṇa² series.

a. Gradation of *ya va ra*.

23. Low grade: *i u r*³.—In place of the accented syllables *ya va ra* (corresponding to the Guṇa vowels *e o ar*) appear the low grade vowels *i u r*⁴ when the accent shifts to the following syllable in some fourteen roots, viz. *yaj-* 'sacrifice', *vyac-* 'extend', *vyadh-* 'pierce', *vac-* 'speak', *vad-* 'speak', *vap-* 'strew', *vaś-* 'be eager', *vas-* 'dwell', *vas-* 'shine', *vah-* 'carry'; *svap-* 'sleep', *grabh-* and *grah-* 'seize', *pracch-* (properly *pras-*) 'ask', *vraśc-* 'hew'; e. g. *iś-tā-* : *yāś-tave*; *uś-māsi* : *vāś-ti*; *susup-vāms-* : *susvāpa*.

a. Besides these, a good many other roots, in occasional verbal forms or nominal derivatives, show the same gradation in the radical syllable.

1. *i* appears in *mimikṣūr* : *mimykṣa* perf. of *√myakṣ-*; *vithūra-* 'wavering', *vithuryāti* 'wavers', beside *vydth-ate* 'wavers'.

2. *u* in *īkṣant-* 'growing' : *varāḁṣa* 'has grown'; *śus-dnt-* : *śvas-iti* 'breathes'; *ju-hur-as* : *hūr-ati* 'is crooked'; *ur-ū-* 'broad' : comp. *vār-īyas*, superl. *vār-iṣṭha-*; *dūr-* : *dvār-* 'door'; *dhīm-i-* 'resounding' : *dhvan-i-* (AV.) 'sound'.

3. *r* in *kṛpate* 'laments' : aor. *akrapīṣṭa*; *grṇatti* (AV.) : *grath-itā-* 'tied'; *-śrīh-ita-* : *śrath-nāti* 'becomes loose'; *rj-ū-* 'straight' : *rāj-iṣṭha-* 'straightest'; *rbbh-ū-* 'adroit' : *rābh-ate* 'grasps'; *drh-ya* 'be firm' (impv.) : *drah-yāt* 'firmly'; *prth-ū-* 'broad' : *prāth-ati* 'spreads out'; *bhṛm-d-* 'error' : *bhram-d-* 'whirling flame'; *ā-ni-bhṛṣ-ṭa-* 'undefeated' : *bhraś-at* aor., *bhraś-tā-* (AV.) 'fallen'; *mṛd-ū-* 'soft' : *mrada* 'soften' (impv.), *ūrṇa-mradas-* 'soft as wool'; *śṛk-van-* : *srāk-va-* 'corner of the mouth'.

b. This gradation also appears in the stems of a few nouns and in certain nominal suffixes: *dyū-bhīs* : *dyāv-i* loc., *dyāu-s* nom. 'heaven'; *śīm-* : *śvā-*, *śvān-* 'dog'; *yūn-* (= *yū-un-*) : *yūva-*, *yūvān-* 'youth'; *catūr-* : *catvār-* 'four'; the superlative and comparative suffixes *-iṣṭha* and *-yas*; the perf. part. suffix *-uṣ* : *-vat*, *-vāṇus*⁵.

b. Gradation of *yā vā rā*.

24. Low grade: *ī ū ṛ*.—Corresponding to the reduction of the short syllables *ya va ra* to the short vowels *i u r*, the long syllables *yā vā rā* appear as *ī ū ṛ* (= IE. *ī*).

¹ The etymology of this word is, however, doubtful. Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 81.

² In the terminology of the native grammarians Samprasāraṇa ('distraction') designates the change of the semi-vowel only to the corresponding vowel (but see also Pāṇini VI, 1, 108). Here we use the word to express the reduction of the entire syllables *ya va ra* to the corresponding vowels *i u r*.

³ Though *r* seems invariably to have resulted from the reduction of Guṇa or Samprasāraṇa syllables, there is no reason to suppose that every *i* and *u* has a similar origin. On the contrary, it is more likely that IE. *i* and *u* have been preserved by the side of the reduced vowels and that the Guṇa grade has in many instances been subsequently added to original *i* and *u*. Cp. PEDERSEN, IF. 2, 323, note.

⁴ This reduction goes back to the IE. pre-tonic syncope of *ē ō*: cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 62 (p. 69, mid.). — On the two forms of the roots cp. also Nirukta II, 2 and Mahābhāṣya I, 112.

⁵ See WACKERNAGEL I, 63.

a. *ī* is found thus both in radical and suffixal syllables: 1. in *jī-tā* (AV.) *jī-yāte* (AV.) and *jī-yate*: *jyā-* 'might', *jyā-yas-* 'stronger', *jī-jyā-sant-* 'desiring to overcome'; 2. in the fem. suffix *-ī*: *kan-ī-nām* (for *kanī-nām*) from *kan-yā-* 'girl'; in nom. acc., e. g. *devī*, *devīm*, *devīs*, beside *-yā-* in dat. abl. gen. loc. sing. *devyāi* (= *devyā-e*), *devyās* (= *devyā-as*), *devyām* (= *devyā-am*); 3. in the optative, either before or after the accented syllable, beside *-yā-*; e. g. *bruv-ī-tā* and *bhāret* (= *bhāra-ī-t*), but *i-yā-t*.

b. *ū* is found: 1. in forms of *sūd-* 'put in order' (= 'make palatable'), e. g. *sū-sūd-ati*, *sūd-āyati*, *sam-sūd-ā* (TS.) 'gum', beside forms and derivatives of *svād-* 'enjoy', 'taste', e. g. *svāda-te*, *svāttā*, *svād-ī-* 'sweet'; 2. in fem. nouns in *-ū* beside *-vā* in dat. abl. gen. loc. sing.; e. g. *śvaśr-ū-* 'mother-in-law', dat. *śvaśr-vāi* (AV., = *śvaśr-vā-e*), gen. *śvaśr-vās* (AV., = *śvaśr-vā-as*), loc. *śvaśr-vām* (= *śvaśr-vā-am*).

c. *īr* (= *ī*) is found in *dīrgh-ā-* 'long', beside *drāgh-īyas-* 'longer', *drāgh-iṣṭha-* 'longest', *drāgh-mān-* 'length'.

III. The *ā*-series.

a. Gradation of *a*.

25. A. Low grade: *a* or *ṛ*.—Many roots and formatives have *a* in the Guṇa or normal stage. The reduction of *r* from *ar* or *ra* indicates that in low grade syllables this *a* would normally disappear. As a rule, however, it remains¹, doubtless because its loss would in most cases have led to unpronounceable or obscure forms². At the same time, the syncope takes place in a considerable number of instances:

1. in verbal forms: *ad-* 'eat': *d-ānt-* (= old pres. part.) 'tooth'; *as-* 'be': *s-ānti*, *s-yāt*, *s-ānt*, beside *ds-ti* 'is'; *gam-* 'go': *ja-gm-īr*; *ghas-* 'eat': *a-kṣ-an*, 3. pl. impf., *g-dha* (= *ghs-tā*), 3. sing. impf. mid., *ja-kṣ-īyāt*, perf. opt., beside *ghas-a-t* 'may he eat'; *pat-* 'fall': *pa-pt-ima*, *pa-pt-īr*, *pa-pt-ivāms-*, perf., *a-pa-pt-at*, aor., beside *pāt-anti*; *pad-* 'go': *pī-bd-a-māna-*, red. pres. part., *pī-bd-and-* 'standing firm', beside *pād-yate* 'goes'; *bhas-* 'chew': *ba-ps-ati*, 3. pl. pres., *bā-ps-at*, pres. part., beside *bhās-a-t* 'may he chew'; *sac-* 'follow': *sā-śc-ati*, 3. pl. red. pres., *sa-śc-ata*, 3. pl. impf. mid., *sa-śc-iré*, 3. pl. perf. mid., beside *sāc-ante* 'they accompany'; *sad-* 'sit': *sīd-ati* (= *sī-zd-ati*), 3. sing. pres., *sed-īr* (= *sa-zd-īr*), 3. pl. perf., beside *d-sad-at* 'he sat'; *han-* 'strike': *ghn-ānti*, 3. pl. pres., beside *hān-ti* 3. sing.

2. in nominal derivatives: *ghas-* 'eat': *a-g-dhād-* (TS.) 'eating what is uneaten' (= *a-ghs-ta-ad-*), *sā-g-dhi* (VS.) 'joint meal' (= *sa-ghs-ti-*); *bhas-* 'chew': *ā-ps-u-* 'foodless'; *pad-* 'walk': *upa-bd-ā-*, *upa-bd-l-* 'noise' (lit. 'tread'); *tur-īya-* 'fourth' (= **ktur-īya-*): *catīr-* 'four'; *napī-* 'granddaughter': *nāpāt-* 'grandson'.

3. in suffixes: *-s-* for *-as-* in *bhī-ṣ-ā*, inst. sing.: *bhīy-ds-ā* 'through fear'; *śīr-ṣ-ān-*: *śīr-as-* 'head'; *-s-* for *-as-* in the abl. gen. sing. ending of stems in *i u o*: e. g. *agné-s*, *vīśno-s*, *gób-s*.

B. Long grade: *ā*.—The Vrddhi corresponding to the *a* which represents the Guṇa stage is *ā*. It appears:

a. in the root:

1. in primary nominal derivation: thus *pād-* 'foot': *pād-*, *bā-* 'walk'; *rāj-*

¹ See WACKERNAGEL I, 70.

² When *a* is followed by *n* or *m*, the syllables *an* and *am*, if preceded by a consonant, usually lose the nasal before mutes; e. g. *han-* 'strike': *ha-thās* 2. du. pres.; *gam-*

'go': *ga-tā*; *dyu-mānt-*, inst. sing. *dyu-māt-ā*; *nā-man-*, inst. pl. *nāma-bhis*. The *a* in such low grade syllables is generally regarded as historically representing the sonant nasal *ṛ*: cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 66.

'king': *raḡ-*, *ṛḡ-* 'direct'; *vāc-* 'voice': *vac-*, *uc-* 'speak'; *kṣās*, nom., *kṣām*, acc., 'earth': *kṣam-*, *kṣm-*; *nābh-* 'well': *nābh-as*, *abh-rā-* (*abh-* = *nābh-*) 'cloud'. Also before primary suffixes: *āp-as*: *āp-as* 'work'; *vās-as* 'garment': *vas-*, *uṣ-* 'wear'; *vāh-as* 'offering': *rah-*, *uh-* 'convey'; *vās-tu* 'abode': *vas-*, *uṣ-* 'dwell'. Perhaps also *pāth-as* 'place': *path-* 'path'¹.

2. in secondary nominal derivation; e. g. *kṣānvā-* 'descended from Kṣaṇva'; *vāp-us-ā-* 'marvellous': *vāp-us-* 'marvel'.

3. in the active of the *s*-aorist: thus *a-cchānt-s-ur*: *chand-*, *chad-* (= *chud-*) 'appear'; *a-yāṇi-s-am*, 1. sing.: *yam-*, *ya-* (= *yṃ-*) 'stretch'; *sāk-s-āma*, also mid. *sāk-s-i*, *sāk-s-ate*: *sah-* 'overcome'².

b. in the suffix of nominal stems:

1. in the nom. sing. masc. of stems in *-mant* and *-vant*, and throughout the strong cases of stems in *-an*, of *mahāt-* 'great', and of *nāpāt-* 'grandson': thus *dyu-mān* 'brilliant': *dyu-mānt-*, *dyu-māt-* (= *-mūt-*); *re-vān* 'rich': *re-vānt-*, *re-vāt-* (= *vūt-*)³; *rāj-ā*, acc. *rāj-ān-am* 'king': *rāj-an-*, *rāj-ñ-*, *rāj-a-* (= *rāj-ṇ-*); *mah-ān*, acc. *mah-ānt-am*; *nāpāt-*, acc. *nāpāt-am*.

2. in the nom. acc. pl. neuter of stems in *-an* and *-as* and of one in *-ant*; thus *nāmā*⁴ 'names': *nāman*, *nāma-* (= *nāmy-*); *mānāms-i* 'minds': *mān-as*; *sānt-i*: *s-ānt-* 'being'.

c. in *ānu-* as first member of a compound in *ānu-śāk* and *ānukām* 'continuously': otherwise *anu-*.

b. Gradation of *ā*.

26. **Low grade:** *i*.—The vowel *ā* is not always the long grade vowel: in a number of roots it represents Guṇa. The low grade of this *ā* is normally *i*; it sometimes, however, appears as *ī*, owing to analogy⁵, and, especially with a secondary accent, as *a*. Thus *sthi-tā-*: *sthā-s* 'thou hast stood'; *dhi-tā-*: *dī-dhā-ti* 'places'; *pu-nī-hī-*: *pu-nā-ti*, from *pū-* 'purify'; *gūh-ana-* 'depth', *gūh-vara-* (AV.) 'hiding-place': *gūh-ate* 'plunges'.

a. The low grade vowel disappears: 1. in roots ending in *ā* before vowel terminations; in the weak forms of the reduplicated present base of *dā-* 'give' and *dhā-* 'put', before all terminations; and in the weak form of the suffix *-nā-* in the ninth class before vowel terminations; thus in the perf. of *dā-*: *dad-āthur*, *dad-atur*; *dad-ā-*, *dad-ī-*; *dad-é-*; in the pres. of *dhā-*: *dadh-māsi*; beside *pu-nā-ti* 'he purifies', *pu-n-ānti* 'they purify'. Similarly from *hā-* 'forsake' occurs, in the opt. pres., the form *jah-yāt* (AV.).

2. in the final member of compounds formed with the perf. part. passive of *dā-* 'give', and *dā-* 'cut', or with a substantive in *-ti* from *dā-* 'give': *devā-tta-*, a name ('given by the gods'); *śva-tta-* (VS.) 'cut off'; *pārī-tta-* (VS.) 'given up'; *d-prati-tta-* (AV.) 'not given back'; *bhāga-tti-* 'gift of fortune'; *maghā-tti-* 'gift of presents'; *vāsu-tti-* 'gift of wealth' (beside *vāsu-dhiti-* 'bestowal of wealth': *dhī-*). Also in *agnī-āh*⁶ 'fire-placer', a kind of priest⁷.

¹ Cp. AUFRECHT, BB. 14, 33; WACKER-NAGEL I, 72 (p. 79, bottom).

² Op. cit. I, 72 b 2 (p. So).

³ The long vowel in these nominatives is to be accounted for by IE. compensatory lengthening (*-mān* = *mant-s*, etc.); in the following examples it has spread from the nominative to other cases.

⁴ Such neuter plurals were in origin probably feminine singular collectives: cp. BRUG-MANN, KG. 481; WACKER-NAGEL I, 73 and 95.

⁵ That is, under the influence of *ī* as low grade of *ai* which before consonants appears as *ā*, as in *gī-tā-* beside *gā-thā-*, from *gai-* 'sing', pres. *gāy-ati*; cp. 27 a.

⁶ Cp. *agnī-dhāna-* 'fire-place'; in VS. *agnīdh-* appears instead, as if 'fire-kindler' (from *idh-* 'kindle').

⁷ For a few other examples (which are doubtful) of the loss of the low grade vowel in the final member of compounds, see WACKER-NAGEL I, p. 82 (mid.).

IV. The *ai* and *au* series.a. Gradation of *ai*.

27. Low grade: *i*.—As the final of roots and in suffixes *i* is graded with *ai* (as with *yā*¹), which appears as *āy-* before vowels and as *ā-* before consonants². The roots in which this gradation is found are stated by the Indian grammarians in five different forms. They are:

a. 1. roots given with *-ai-* (because their present base appears as *-āy-a*): *gai-* 'sing': *gī-tā-*, *gī-yā-māna-*, beside *gāy-ati* 'sings', *gāy-as* 'song', and *gā-s-i*, 1. sing. aor. mid., *gā-thā-* 'song'; *pyai-* 'swell': *pī-nā-*, beside *pyāy-ate*; *śrai-* 'boil': *śrī-nā-ti*, *śrī-tā-*, beside *śrāy-ati*, *śrā-tā-*. — 2. with *-āy-*: *cāy-* 'observe': *cikī-ḥi* (AV.), beside *cāy-amāna-*, *cāy-ī-* 'respectful'. — 3. with *-e-*: *dhe-* 'suck': *dhī-tā-*, beside *dhāy-as* 'drink', *dhāy-ī-* 'thirsty', and *dhā-tave* 'to suck', *dhā-rī-* (AV.) 'sucking'. — 4. with *-ā-*: *pā-* 'drink': *pī-tā-*, *pī-t-* 'drink', beside *pāy-āyati*, caus., *pāy-āna-* 'causing to drink', and *pā-t-*, aor., *pā-tave*; *rā-* 'give': *ra-rī-thās*, 2. sing. injv., beside *rāy-ā-* 'with wealth', and *rā-sva*, impv., *rā-m*, acc. — 5. with *-ī-*: *nī-* 'lead': *nī-tā-*, beside *nāy-ā-* 'leader', and *nā-thā-* (AV.) 'help'; *pī-* 'revile': *pī-yati*, *pī-ya-tu-* and *pī-y-ī-* 'reviler', beside *pāy-ī-* (VS.) 'anus'; *pī-* 'love': *pī-nā-ti*, *pī-tā-*, beside *pīy-as-e*³; *śī-*⁴ 'lie': *śī-zan-* 'lying', beside *a-śāy-ata*, 3. sing.⁵

b. This gradation also occurs in the final of dissyllabic bases: thus *grabhī-ṣa*, *a-grabhī-t*, *grbhī-tā-*, beside *grbhāy-dti* 'seizes'⁶; and in the base of the ninth class: *grbhī-ta*, 2. pl., beside *grbhā-ti*.

c. It is also found in the suffixes *-ethe* *-ete* and *-ethām* *-etām* of the 2. 3. du. mid. of the *a*-conjugation, which can only be explained as containing *īthe* *īte* and *īthām* *ītām*, with weak grade *i* corresponding to the accented *ā* of *āthe* *āte* and *āthām* *ātām* of the non-thematic conjugation (and parallel to the *-ī-* of the optative beside *-yā-*⁷).

b. Gradation of *au*.

28. Low grade: *ū*.—As the final of roots *ū* is graded with *au* (parallel with *vā*⁸), much in the same way as *i* with *ai*, appearing as *āv* before vowels, *ā* before consonants⁹; but the certain examples are few. Thus *dhū-nā-ti* 'shakes', *dhū-ti-* 'shaker', *dhū-nā-* 'smoke', beside *dhāv-ati* 'runs', *dhā-rā-* 'stream'; *dhū-tā-* 'washed', beside *dhāv-ati* 'washes'. But here *au* appears before consonants as well as *ā*; thus *dhau-tā-rī-* 'shaking', beside *dhū-* 'shake'; and *dhau-tī-* 'spring', *dhau-tā-* (SV.), beside *dhāv-ati* 'washes'. Similarly *gā-m*

¹ See above 24.

² *ai* appears only in the *s*-aor., as *nai-s-ta*, 2. pl., *nī-* 'lead', owing to the analogy of forms like *d-jai-s-ma*, from *ji-* 'conquer'.

³ Occurs RV. IV. 21⁷ (Pp. *prā dyase* (and is explained by BÖHLINGK (pw.) as = *prāyase*.

⁴ Perhaps also in *śī-* 'fall': *śīyate* (AV.), beside *śātā-yati* 'cuts off', which may be a denominative from **śā-tā-* 'fallen'. Cp. WHITNEY, Roots, under *√śat-* and *√ī śī-*; WACKERNAGEL I, 79 a & (p. 88).

⁵ In some of the above roots *e* appears instead of *ā* before consonants; e. g. *cē-ru-* 'devout', beside *cāy-ī-*; *pē-rī-* 'causing to drink', beside *pāy-āna-*; *dhe-nī-* 'milch cow', *dhē-nā-* id.; *śē-ṣa*, beside *a-śāy-ata*; *ne-t-*, beside *nāy-ā-*; *ste-nā-* 'thief', beside *stāy-ī-* (VS.) id., and *stāy-ānt-* (AV.) 'furtive'; *śenā-* 'missile', beside *śāy-āka-*. It is, perhaps, due

to this *e* that *ay-* sometimes appears instead of *āy-* in some of the above verbs; as *prāy-as* 'enjoyment', from *√prī-*; *ray-ī-* 'wealth', from *√rā-*; *śāy-e*, 3. sing., from *śī-* 'lie'.

⁶ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 79 b (p. 89).

⁷ Op. cit. I, 79 c (p. 89).

⁸ See above 24 b.

⁹ Similarly in the RV. the *-au* of duals and of *aṣṭau* 'eight' normally appears as *āv* before vowels and *ā* before consonants in Sandhi. The nominatives in *ā* of *-r* stems and *-an* stems, e. g. *mātā*, *śvā* 'dog', are probably due originally to the loss of the final *r* and *n* before consonants in the sentence, then becoming the regular form everywhere. Conversely *aṣṭau* has become the only independent form in the AV., *aṣṭā-* appearing only as first member of a compound. Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 94, 95.

and *gā-s*, acc., beside *gāv-as*, nom. pl., but *gāu-s*, nom. sing., 'cow'; and *dyā-m*, acc. sing., beside *dyāv-as*, nom. pl., but *dyāu-s*, nom. sing., 'heaven'.

V. Secondary shortening of \bar{i} \bar{u} \bar{r} .

29. Low grade: i u r .—Owing to the shift of the accent from its normal position in a word to its beginning, the low grade vowels \bar{i} \bar{u} \bar{r} ($=\bar{r}$) are often further shortened to i u r in compounds and reduplicated forms. A pre-tonic syllable thus acquires a post-tonic position, where the force of the accent is weakest. It is the same cause which shortens final weak grade \bar{i} and \bar{u} in the vocative singular; e. g. *dēvi*, nom. *devi*; *śvāsrū*, nom. *śvaśrūts*¹. This shortening often appears in:

a. compounds²:

1. those in which the final member is derived with *-ta-* and *-ti-*, the accent being regularly thrown back on the first member³: thus *d-ni-si-ta-* 'restless', *ni-si-tā* (TS. B.) 'night', from *śī* 'lie'; *prā-si-ti-* 'onset', beside *śāy-aka-* 'missile'⁴; *si-si-ti-* 'easy birth', beside *sūti-kā-* (AV.) 'lying-in woman'; *d-sr-ta-* 'unconquered', *d-ni-sr-ta-* 'not overthrown', beside *stīr-nā-*, from *stīr-* 'strew'⁵; *ā-hu-ti-* 'invocation', otherwise *-hū-ti-* in *sā-hū-ti-* 'joint invocation', *devā-hū-ti-* 'invocation of the gods', and other compounds.

2. those in which the final member is a root in \bar{r} ⁶ or \bar{u} with or without the suffix *-t*; e. g. *dhī-jī-* 'thought inspiring', beside *jū-* 'hastening', *jū-tī-* 'impelled'; very often *-bhū-*, beside *bhū-*, as in *d-pra-bhū-* 'powerless', *vi-bhū-* 'mighty'; *ni-yū-t-* 'team', beside *yū-* 'unite' (as in *yū-thā-* 'herd').

3. those in which the final member is formed with other suffixes; thus *madhyān-dī-na-* 'midday', *su-dī-na-* 'bright', beside *dī-* 'shine'; *su-ṣu-mānt-* 'very stimulating', beside *sū-tī-* 'impelled'; also in *tuvi-gr-d-* and *tuvi-gr-t-* 'much devouring', beside *saṃ-gir-t-* (AV.) 'devouring', as r here = r ⁷.

4. some Bahuvrīhis (in which the first member is normally accented)⁸; thus *brhād-ri-*⁹ 'possessing much wealth' (*rā-*); *try-udh-dn-* 'having three udders', beside *ūdh-an-* 'udder'.

b. reduplicated forms¹⁰ in which accentuation of the reduplicative syllable, especially in the third class and one form of the aorist, counteracts the normal accent of the verb; thus from *dī-* 'shine', are formed *dī-dī-hi*, 2. sing. impv., *dī-dī-vāns-*, perf. part., *dī-dī-vi-* 'shining', beside *dī-paya-* (causative)

¹ Cp. 23.

² The application of this shortening process becomes obscured, on the one hand because the phonetically shortened vowel has found its way into accented final members of compounds as being characteristic of the end of a compound; while, on the other hand, \bar{i} \bar{u} \bar{r} ($=\bar{r}$) for the most part have remained unchanged, even when the accent has shifted, because of the influence of the uncompounded word; e. g. *sū-sūta-* 'well-begotten', *prā-sūta-* 'impelled'; *ā-kūti-* 'intention'; *rā-dhīti-* 'truly adored'; *prā-tūrti-* 'onset'.

³ That this is the cause of the shortening is shown by the fact that the \bar{i} of the inst. sing. of derivatives in *-ti* appears as i only when such words are compounded: e. g. *prā-yukti* 'with the team'. Cp. WACKERNAGEL 1, 84.

⁴ Cp. 27, note 5.

⁵ The secondarily shortened form of the past part. *stīr-ta-* is not found as an independent word in the RV.; it first appears in later texts.

⁶ An example of the shortening of \bar{i} is perhaps *adhī-kṣi-t-* 'ruler', *kṣī-* being according to J. SCHMIDT, Pluralbildung 419, the original weak form of the root; cp. WACKERNAGEL 1, 83 b.

⁷ Cp. KRETSCHMER, KZ. 31, 397; WACKERNAGEL 1, 83 c.

⁸ See accentuation of compounds, 90.

⁹ Occurring only in the dat. sing. *brhād-raye*, beside *rāy-t*, dat. of *rā-* 'wealth'.

¹⁰ On the shortening of the radical syllable in some verbs of the fifth and the ninth classes, *jī-nā-si*, beside *jī-rā-* 'lively', *du-no-ti* 'burns', beside *dū-nā-* (AV.); *jū-nā-ti* 'impels', beside *jū-tā-*; *pu-nā-ti* 'purifies', beside *pū-tā-*, see WACKERNAGEL 1, 85, note (bottom).

'kindle'; from *dht-* 'think', *dī-dhi-ma*, 1. pl. perf., *dī-dhi-ti-* 'devotion', beside *dht-ti-* 'thought'; from *kṛ-* 'commemorate', *cār-kṛ-se*, intv., *cār-kṛ-ti-* 'praise', beside *kṛ-ti-* 'praise'; from *pṛ-* 'fill', *pī-pṛ-tām*, 3. du., beside *pṛ-r-ud-* and *pṛ-ti-*. Such shortening often occurs in red. aor., e. g. *bṛ-bhiṣ-a-thās*, 2. sing. mid., beside *vi-bhiṣ-aṇa-* 'terrifying'. It is also found in a few nouns; e. g. *śi-śi-ra-* (AV.) 'coolness', beside *śt-tā-* 'cold'; *tū-tu-mā-* beside *tū-ya-* 'strong'.

The Consonants.

30. **Doubling of consonants.**—All consonants, except *r h l*, Anusvāra, and Visarjanīya, can be doubled, and the distinction between double and single consonants is known to the Prātisākyas as well as to Pāṇini. Aspirates are, however, nearly always written double by giving the first in the unaspirated form. A double consonant² is pronounced by the organs of speech dwelling longer on it than on the single sound. Within words³ a double consonant appears:

1. as the result of the contact of the same consonants or the assimilation⁴ of different ones; e. g. *cit-ti-* 'perceived' (= *cit-ta-*); *uc-cā-* 'high' (= *ud-ca-*); *bhet-tṛ-* 'breaker' (= *bhed-tṛ-*); *ān-na-* 'food' (= *ad-na-*).

2. in a few onomatopoeic words: *akkkhali-kṛtyā* 'shouting'; *ciccikā-* a kind of bird; *kukkūṭā-* (VS.) 'cock'; *tittiri-* (VS.) and *tittiri-* (TS. B.) 'quail'; *pīppakā-* (VS.) a kind of bird.

3. in the case of the palatal aspirate, which regularly appears as *ccḥ* between vowels (though often written as *ch* in the Mss.), for it always makes the preceding vowel long by position and is derived from an original conjunct consonant⁵. Some forms of *khiḍ-* 'press down', are doubled after a vowel in the TS. (*akkhidat*, *ā-kkhidra-*; *ā-kkhidat*, *pari-kkhidat*). In the TS.⁶ *bḥ* appears doubled in *pḍri bḥhuja*. In a school of the White Yajurveda initial *v* was regularly doubled⁷.

4. when final *n* is doubled after a short vowel if followed by any vowel sound⁸.

a. In the Mss., when double consonants are preceded or followed by another consonant⁹, one of them is frequently dropped, because in such consonantal groups there was no difference in pronunciation between single and double consonants. Hence the VPr. (vi. 27) prescribes a single *t* in *kṣattrā-* 'dominion' (= *kṣad-tra-*), and in *sattrā-* 'sacrificial session' (= *sad-tra-*). Such shortening is further presupposed by the analysis of the Pada texts in *hṛ(d)-dyotāḥ* (AV. I. 22¹) and *hṛ(d)-dyōtanah* (AV. v. 20¹²) as *hṛ-dyotāḥ* and *hṛ-dyōtanah*; in *tāḍ-dyām* (AV. iv. 19⁶) as *tāt dyām* (instead of *tāt dyām*); and in *upāstha-*, which appears in the RV. Pada as *upāstha-* instead of *upās-stha-*, if GRASSMANN'S suggestion is right¹⁰. In some instances this reduction is IE., as in *sattrā-* (IE. *sethō*)¹¹.

¹ On variations in cognate forms between *i u r* and *ī ū ṛ* in some other words see WACKERNAGEL I, 86.

² Sometimes a single *s* represents the double sound, as in *āsi* 'thou art' (= *as-si*); *apāsu* (RV. viii. 4¹⁴), loc. pl. of *apās-* 'active'; *ānhasu* (AV.), loc. pl. of *ānhas-* 'distress'; *jō-ṣi* 'thou shalt taste' (*jus-*); probably also in *ghō-ṣi* (from *ghus-* 'sound'), in *us-ās*, gen. sing., acc. pl. of *us-*, weak stem of *us-ās-* 'dawn' (for **us-s-as*), possibly in *usṛ-* 'dawn' (for **us-s-r-*). As the single *s* in such forms is shown by cognate languages also, it seems here to be pre-Vedic, and the double *ss* in forms like *rājas-su*, loc. pl., is probably an Indian innovation. The change of *ss* to *kṣ*,

as in *āvikṣat* (AV.) = **āviṣ-sat*, aor. of *āviṣ-* 'hate', is also an Indian innovation.

³ On double consonants in Sandhi, see below 77.

⁴ The evidence of the Avestan form *varāthka-* shows that the double consonant in *vrkkā-* (AV. VS.) 'kidney' is due to assimilation.

⁵ See below 40; WACKERNAGEL I, 133.

⁶ See TPr. xiv. 8.

⁷ See WEBER, Abh. d. Berliner Ak. d. Wiss. 1871, p. 83 f.

⁸ See below 46; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 279 a.

⁹ Cp. ROTH in ZDMG. 48, 102 f.

¹⁰ See his Lexicon, s. v. *upāstha-*.

¹¹ See WACKERNAGEL I, 98 b, note.

Mutes.

31. **Modes of articulation.**—There are 20 mutes (or 22 counting *l*/*lh* among the cerebrals), which comprise a tenuis, an aspirate tenuis, a media, and an aspirate media in each of the five groups of gutturals, palatals, cerebrals, dentals, and labials (4). These four modes of articulation are initially and medially liable to but little variation except when they come into contact with other mutes or with following sibilants.

1. The *tenuis* regularly represent IE. *tenuis*; e. g. *cakrā-* 'wheel', Gk. κύκλος; *pitr-* 'father', Gk. πατήρ, Lat. *pater*.

2. The *mediae* regularly represent IE. *mediae*; e. g. *gācchati*, Gk. βόσκει; *rāj-* 'king', Lat. *rēg-*; *māḍ-ati* 'is drunk', Lat. *mad-et*. There are a few instances in which a media appears in place of an older *tenuis*: *gulphā-* (AV.): *kulphā-* 'ankle'; *ārḥhaga-* 'youthful': *arbhakā-* 'little'; *tij-*: *thic-*, *tokā-* 'offspring'; *an-ava-prīṇa-* 'undivided': *pr-* 'mix'; *girikā-* (MS.): *kirikā-* (VS.)¹ a kind of demon. These examples may be due to popular dialects, in which *tenuis* largely became *mediae*². In a few derivatives the media *g* appears instead of *k* before the *n m v* of suffixes owing to the influence of Sandhi: e. g. *vag-mi-* 'sound', from *vac-* 'speak', but *rūk-vas-* 'wealth', from *ric-*; *śag-mi-* 'helpful', from *śak-*, but *ruk-mā-* 'gold', from *ruc-* 'shine'; *vāg-vin-* (AV.) 'eloquent', from *vāk* 'speech', but *tak-vā-* 'swift', from *tak-* 'hasten'.

3. The evidence of cognate languages shows that the Vedic *aspirate tenuis* in a large number of instances is original, and it is highly probable that it is the regular representative of IE. *aspirate tenuis*. The following are examples in which mutes of this character are inherited³:

a. *khan-* 'dig'; *khā-* 'spring'; *khāḍ-ati* 'chews'; *nakhā-* 'nail'; *makhā-* 'lively'; *mūkhā-* 'mouth'; *śaṅkhā-* (AV.) 'shell'; *sākhī-* 'companion'.

b. *ch* = IE. *skh*, e. g. in *chid-* 'split'; = IE. *sk* in inchoative *gācchati* 'goes', *ucchāti* 'shines'.

c. *th* = *th* in *śaṣ-thā-* (VS. AV.) 'sixth'; *sthīr-ati* (AV.) 'spits'.

d. *th*⁴ in *ātha* 'then'; *atharī-* 'tip'; *ātharvan-* 'fire-priest'; *ārtha-* 'use'; *granth-* 'knot'; *path-* 'way'; *prth-i-* 'broad'; *prāth-as* 'breadth'; *prōthat-* 'snorting'; *math-* 'stir'; *mīth-* 'alternate'; *yā-thā* 'as'; *rātha-* 'car'; *vyathate* 'wavers'; *snath-* 'pierce'. Further in the various suffixes *-thi-* forming primary nouns; e. g. *uk-thā-* 'praise', *gā-thā-* f. *gā-thā-* 'song'; as *-atha* in *śvas-ātha-* 'hissing'; forming ordinals: *catur-thā-* (AV.) 'fourth'; *saptā-tha-* 'seventh'; forming 2. sing. perf.: *dadā-tha* 'thou gavest', *vāt-tha* 'thou knowest'; forming 2. pl. pres.: *bhava-tha* 'ye are'; also in *-thās* of 2. sing. mid., e. g. *a-sthī-thās* 'thou hast stood'.

e. *ph* in *phāla-* 'fruit'; *phāla-* 'ploughshare'; *sphar-* and *sphur-* 'jerk'; *sphā(y)-* 'grow fat'.

4. The *aspirate media*, which represents the same IE. sound, is a media combined with *h*. This is proved by the express statements of the Prātiśākhya⁵; by the fact that *lh* = *dh* is written with the separate letters *l* and *h*; and by the change of *h* following a media to an aspirate media (as *tād dhī* for *tād hī*).

a. In two or three words an aspirate media interchanges with an aspirate tenuis: *nādhāmāna-* 'praying', *nādhūtā-* 'distressed', beside *nāthūtā-* 'distressed' (where *th* is probably due to the influence of *-nāthā-* 'help'); *dāha* and *ātha* 'then'⁶; *niṣaṅgādhi-* (VS.) and *niṣaṅgāthi-* (TS.) 'scabbard'.

¹ For some doubtful instances of media representing IE. *tenuis*, see WACKERNAGEL, sprachliche tenuis aspirata dentalis im arischen, griechischen und lateinischen by I, 100 b, p. 117, note. ² l. c.

³ Op. cit. 101.

⁴ A complete list of Vedic and Sanskrit words containing *th* in his article 'Die ur-

⁵ RPr. XIII. 2. 5; TPr. II. 9.

⁶ There seem to have been a few IE. doublets of this kind: see WACKERNAGEL, 103.

32. Loss of aspiration. — Aspiration is lost when there is another aspirate in the same syllable or at the beginning of the next in roots¹. Hence

a. initial aspiration is lost: 1. in the reduplicative syllable: e. g. *ja-ghān-a* (*han*, *ghan*- 'strike'); *ca-cchand-a* (*chand*- 'please'); *da-dhāt-ti* (*dhā*- 'put'); *par-phar-at* (*phar*- 'scatter'?). But when the reduplication consists of two syllables, the rule does not apply; e. g. *ghāni-ghan-at*, intv. part. of *han*- (beside *jān-ghn-at*), *ghanī-ghan-ā*- 'fond of striking'; *bhāri-bhr-at*, intv. part. of *bhr*- 'bear'. Loss of aspiration, however, began, even in the RV.², to spread from monosyllabic to dissyllabic reduplication; thus *ā-pānti-phān-at*, intv. part. of *phān*- 'bound'. — 2. in the following words, according to the evidence of cognate languages: *kumbhā*- 'pot'³; *gadhi*- 'attach'; *gābhas-ti*- 'arm'; *guh*- 'conceal'; *grāh*- 'be greedy'; *grhā*- 'house'; *grabh*- 'seize'; *jānhas*- 'gait'; *jānghā*- 'leg'; *jaghāna*- 'buttock'; *dabh*- 'harm'; *dah*- 'burn'; *dih*- 'besmear'; *duh*- 'milk'; *duhitī*- 'daughter'; *drahyāt*- 'strongly'; *druh*- 'injure'; *bandh*- 'bind'; *bābhrh*- 'brown'; *bādhi*- 'distress'; *bāhi*- 'arm'; *budh*- 'awake'; *budhni*- 'bottom'; *bṛh*- 'be great'. It is probable also in *dagh*- 'reach': *baṇh*- 'be firm'; *bādhīrā*- 'deaf'; *bāhi*-, *bāhulā*- 'much'; *brādhni*- 'pale red'; *brāhman*- 'devotion'.

b. Final aspiration is often lost⁴. 1. When this occurs before suffixal *s*, original initial aspiration is lost in some cases; thus from *guh*- 'hide', desid. 3. du. *ju-guk-sa-tas*; *grāh*- 'be eager': *grtsi*- 'dexterous'; *dabh*- 'harm': desid. *dīp-sa-ti*, *dīp-si*- 'intending to hurt'; *dah*- 'burn': impv. *dak-si*, aor. part. *dāksat*, *dāksu*- and *dakṣis*- 'flaming'; *duh*- 'milk': aor. *a-duksat*, *dukṣas*, etc., desid. part. *diḍuksan*⁵; *bhas*- 'chew': *bap-sati*, part. *bāps-at*; *ghas*- 'eat': *jak-sīyāt*, perf. opt.; *has*- 'laugh': part. *jīks-at*; also in the word *drap-sā*- 'drop'⁶.

But in some of the above and in analogous forms with *s*, the original initial aspirate remains; thus from *guh*-, aor. *aḡhukṣat*; *dah*:- *dḡhāksi*, part. *dḡhukṣat*, fut. part. *dhakṣyān*; *duh*:- aor. *ādḡhukṣat*, *dhukṣān*, etc. 2. impv. *dhuk-sva*; *bādhi*- 'distress': *bṛ-bhāt-si*- 'loathing'; *budh*- 'awake': aor. *ā-bhūt-s-i*.

2. When the loss of final radical aspiration is due to any other cause than suffixal *s*, the original initial aspirate regularly remains; thus from *dah*-, aor. *a-dhāk*; *budh*- 'waken': nom. *-bhūt* 'waking'; *dhāt*- 'put': *dhat*⁷, 3. sing., *dhat-thas*, *ā-dhat-tam*, etc.; and in the latter verb always before *s* also: *dhat-se*, *dhat-sva*, desid. *dhīt-sati*.

c. On the other hand, there is no loss of aspiration in the root if an aspirate follows which belongs to a suffix or second member of a compound; e. g. *vibhūt-bhis* 'with the Vibhus'; *proth-dītha*- 'snorting'; *dhṛṣṭha*- 'giving most' (*dhā-iṣṭha*-); *ahi-hān*- 'serpent-slaying'; *garbha-dhī*- 'breeding-place'. The only exceptions⁸ are the two imperatives *bo-dhī* 'be' (for **bho-dhī*⁹ instead of **bhū-dhī*) and *ja-hī* (for **jha-hī*) from *han*- 'strike'¹⁰.

¹ Except when the second aspirate belongs to a suffix or second member of a compound, see below c.

² Later this became the rule.

³ Initial aspiration has perhaps been lost also in *sākhā*- 'branch', and in the roots *stigh*- 'mount', and *stambh*- 'make firm'. Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 105 a.

⁴ This may also be the case in the roots *bhuj*- 'bend', *chid*- 'split', *chad*- 'cover', *dhraj*- 'sweep': op. cit I, 105 b, note.

⁵ These forms from *dah*- and *duh*- almost always appear in the Pada text with *dh*, doubtless because from the time of the Brāhmaṇas this initial aspiration had become the rule; cp. BENFEY, GGA. 1873, p. 18f.

⁶ IE. *dhrebh*- 'coagulate'.

⁷ For *dhadh-i*.

⁸ Forms like *bud-dha*- for *budh-ta* can hardly be regarded as exceptions since the aspiration is assumed by the suffix instead of reappearing in the initial of the root.

⁹ Here *bho*- is a Prakritic contraction for *bhava*-.

¹⁰ Also *vidātha*- 'feast', if correctly derived from *vidh*- 'worship'; on this word see MAX MÜLLER, SBE. 32, 350; Foy, KZ. 34, 226; BLOOMFIELD, JAOS. 19, 2, 12 ff.; GELDNER, ZDMG. 52, 730-61; WACKERNAGEL I, 108. A few more uncertain examples might be exceptions: *gar-da-bhā*- 'ass'

d. There are a few cognate words in which an aspirate is found beside the corresponding media or tenuis: *māy-man-* 'greatness': *māh-* 'great'; *vi-spulinga-kā-* 'scattering sparks': *sphur-dti* 'darts'¹.

e. In a few isolated words a media seems, according to the evidence of cognate languages, to stand for an IE. aspirate: *gmā-* 'earth', gen. *gmās*; *jmā-* 'earth', gen. *jmās*, inst. *jmā*; *dvār-*, *dur-*² 'door'; *majjān-* 'marrow'.

33. Aspirates in contact with other mutes.—Of two mutes in juxtaposition (of which both must be voiced or both voiceless³), the second only can be aspirated. In such case either

i. the second represents an original aspirate, the first an aspirate or not: e. g. *dhat-thās* = **dhadh-thās* (*dhā-* 'put'); *ran(a)-dhi* = **randh-dhi* (*randh-* 'make subject'), *uk-thā-* 'song' = *uk-thā-* (*vac-* 'speak'); *vēt-tha* = **vēd-tha* (*vid-* 'know'); *śag-dhi* 'help' = **śak-dhi* (*śak-* 'be strong'); or

2. the first represents an aspirate media⁴, the second a dental tenuis⁵ which assumes the mode of articulation of the first; e. g. *dīg-dhr-* 'one who burns' (acc.) = **dīggh-tr-* (*dah-* 'burn'); *-vid-dha-* 'pierced' = **vidh-ta-* (*vyadh-*); *-lab-dha-* 'taken' = **labh-ta-* (*labh-*). An intervening sibilant (*z* = *s*) did not prevent the same result: *jag-dhāt-*, *jag-dhivā-*, *jag-dhvā-* (AV.), *a-g-dha* (TS.) from *ghas-* 'eat', *gdh* representing *gzdh-* for *gzh-t-* from *gh(a)s-t-*.

a. When the first is *h* representing an old palatal aspirate (= *zh*, IE. *ǵh*)⁶, it disappears after cerebralizing the dental and lengthening the preceding vowel; e. g. *ūdhā-* = **uḥ-dhā-* for *uḥh-tā-* from *rah-tā-*⁷.

b. In a few instances the *t* does not become *dh* owing to the influence of cognate forms: thus *dhaktam* (instead of **dagdham* = **dhagh-tām*) according to 2. 3, sing. *dhak* (= **dhagh-t*) from *dagh-* 'reach'; *dhat-tām* etc. (instead of **dad-dham* for **dhadh-tam*) according to 3. sing. *dhat* (= **dhadh-t*), 2. sing. mid. *dhāt-se*, etc. (= **dhādh-se*)⁸.

The Five Classes of Mutes.

34. The gutturals.—These mutes, by the Indian phoneticians called *kaṇṭhya* ('produced from the throat'), are minutely described in the Prātiśākhya as formed at the 'root of the tongue' (*jihvā-mūla*) and at the 'root of the jaw' (*hamu-mūla*)⁹. They are therefore velar¹⁰ sounds and, as the evidence

(if from *grdh-* 'be greedy'), *bārjaha-* 'udder' (if from *brh-* 'be great'), *sabar-dūgha-*, *sabar-dhū-*, *sabar-dhūk*, epithet of cows (if *sabar-* = Gk. *ἀβάρ*: BARTHOLOMAE, BB. 15, 18): cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 108, note, 217 b; ZDMG. 43, 667 f.; 46, 292 (*bārjaha-*).

¹ A few doubtful examples discussed by WACKERNAGEL I, p. 129 bottom.

² Op. cit. I, 109, note (mid.); according to BLOOMFIELD, Album Kern. p. 193 f., the media is due to the influence of the numeral *dva-* 'two'.

³ This was often due to assimilation, the mode of the articulation of the second generally prevailing; e. g. *āt-ti* = **ad-ti* (*ad-* 'eat'); *vēt-tha* = **vēd-tha*; *śag-dhi* = **śak-dhi*; the articulation of the first prevails in 33, 2.

⁴ An aspirate tenuis loses its aspiration in these circumstances; thus *gṛnathi* (AV.) for **gṛnath-ti*, if this form is derived from *grath-* 'tie'.

⁵ There seems to be no example of any other tenuis in contact with a preceding aspirate media within a word, but the result would probably have been the same. There is no example of *th* becoming voiced in this combination; it remains in *dhat-thās* (= **dadh-thās*).

⁶ See below 58.

⁷ According to this rule *ūṣ-tra-* 'buffalo', could not be derived from *vah-* 'carry' (as in that case it would have become *ūḍhra-*): cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 111 b, note.

⁸ Before sibilants, all aspirates as well as mediae become tennes; but according to TPr. XIV. 12, APr. II. 6 (cp. RPr. VI. 15) a tenuis in such a position may be pronounced as an aspirate; see WACKERNAGEL I, 113.

⁹ See APr. I. 20 and WHITNEY's note.

¹⁰ That is, pronounced with the velum or soft palate.

of cognate languages shows, derived from IE. velars¹. Gutturals are found interchanging to some extent with sounds of the four other classes.

1. Under certain conditions they interchange with the new palatals (*c j h*) which are derived from them²; with the old palatal *s*³ (also old *j* and *h*) only when followed by *s* (which then becomes *ś*)⁴. Between this *ks* = *s-s* and *ks* = *k-s* it is possible to distinguish by the aid of Iranian, where the two are represented by different sounds⁵; and the original value of the *k* can thus be determined even in words in which no form without the sibilant occurs. This evidence shows that, in the following words, *ks* represents⁶.

a. *s-s*: *dkṣi-* 'eye'; *rkṣa-* 'bear'; *kāksa-* 'armpit'; *kukṣi-* 'belly'; *kṣi-* 'dwell'; *kṣildh-* 'hunger'; *caḥṣ-* 'see'; *taḥṣ-* 'fashion'; *dāksina-* 'right'; *pāksman-* (VS.) 'eyelash'; *maḥṣū* 'quickly'; *raḥṣ-* (AV.) 'injure'; *rāks-as-* 'injury';

b. *k-s*: *kṣairā-* 'dominion'; *kṣāp-* 'night'; *kṣi-* 'rule'; *kṣip-* 'throw'; *kṣīrd-* 'milk'; *kṣud-* 'shake'; *kṣūd-as-* 'rush of water'; *kṣudrā-* 'small' (VS.), n. 'minute particle'; *kṣībḥ-* 'swift motion'; *tvakṣ-* 'be strong'; *vṛkṣā-* 'tree'.

2. In a few instances *k* stands for a medial *t*: in *vṛkkādu* (AV.) 'kidneys', for **vṛtkādu*?; *prkṣū* (SV.) = *prtsū* 'in battles'. In these two forms the substitution is due to Prakritic influence; this is probably also the case in *skambh-* beside *stambh-* 'prop'⁸. The guttural only seems to stand for a dental in *āsiknī-* beside *āsita-* 'black', *pāliknī-* beside *palitā-* 'grey', and *hārikṣikā-* (AV.) beside *hārita-* 'yellow', as there is no etymological connexion between *-knī-* and *-ta-*⁹.

3. In a few words a guttural interchanges with a labial medially: *kakārdū-* beside *kaparda-* 'braid of hair'; *kulikā* (VS.): *pulikā* (MS.) a kind of bird; *kulikāya-* (TS.): *pulikāya-* (MS.), *kulipṭya-* (VS.): *purikāya*¹⁰ (AV.) a kind of aquatic animal; *nicunīkūnd-* (TS.): *nicumpūnd-* 'flood'; and in the TS. (B.) *tristūgbhis* and *anuṣṭūgbhyas* occur beside *tristūlb-bhis* and *anuṣṭūlb-bhyas*¹¹.

4. In a few verbal forms from three roots *k* stands for *ś* before suffixal *s*¹², though this *k* never made its way into the loc. pl. (where only *-s-su-* or *-h-su-*, *-ṣ-su-* occur). The only example in the RV. is *pinak* (for *pinak-s*) 2. sing. impf. of *pināṣ-ṭi* (*piṣ-* 'crush'). In the AV. occur *dvik-s-at*, *dvik-s-ata*, aor. of *dvīṣ-* 'hate'; *śīṣlikṣate*, *-śīṣlikṣu*, desid. of *ślīṣ-* 'embrace'. Other possible examples from the RV. are *rkṣard-* 'thorn' (if from *ṛṣ-* 'prick'); *ṛirikṣa-ti* and *ṛirikṣi*, desid. (if from *ṛiṣ-* 'injure'); *vivekṣi* (if from *viṣ-* 'work')¹³.

35. The palatals.—These are pronounced in India at the present day as a close combination of a *t*-sound followed by a palatal spirant *ś*. The evidence of the Greek reproduction of Indian words¹⁴ points in the same

¹ That is, the *g*-sounds; some, however, are derived from IE. labio-velars or *gʷ*-sounds; see BRUGMANN, KG. I, 244 and 254; WACKERNAGEL I, 115.

² See BRUGMANN, op. cit. 244.

³ Op. cit. 233.

⁴ See below 56.

⁵ That is, *s-s* by *ś* and *k-s* by *hṣ*; thus *vaḥṣi*, from *vaṣ-* = *vaṣi*; *vaḥṣyā-mi*, from *vaḥ-* (for *vac-*) = *vaḥiṣyā*.

⁶ The two components of *ks* cannot yet have coalesced when *ś* dropped out between two mutes in *abhakta*, for *abhak-s-ta* (aor. of *bhakt-*), and *ataṣṭa* for *ataḥ-s-ta* from *taḥṣ-* (Av. *taṣ-*) 'fashion'; otherwise the two different original sounds could not have been kept apart in these two forms.

⁷ See above 30, note 4.

⁸ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, p. 136, note (top).

⁹ Cp. J. SCHMIDT, Pluralbildung 398.

¹⁰ See ZDMG. 33, 193.

¹¹ See WEBER, IS. 8, 40. 54; 13, 109.

¹² This probably started from the parallelism of the 3. sing. of roots in *ś* and *s*: thus *dves-ṭi* from *√dveṣ-*, and *vas-ṭi* from *√vaś-*; then the 2. sing. *dvek-ṣi* for *dves-ṣi*, followed *vak-ṣi*.

¹³ The relation of the *k* in *dadhrṣk* 'firmly', to *dadhrṣā-*, *dadhrṣ-vāṇi-* 'bold', is uncertain. Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 118, note (end).

¹⁴ Thus *τῶνδανον* = *candana-* 'sandal-wood'; *Πασάνης* = *caṣṣana-*, N.; *Παῖδαί* = *pañcāla-*, N. of a people; *Σανδράκπτος* = *candraguṣṭa-*, N.; *Ὀζηνι* = *ujjayinī-* (Prakrit

direction. It is therefore likely that they were thus pronounced in Vedic times¹. Prosodically, however, they have the value of a single consonant (excepting *ch*²). They date from the Indo-Iranian period only; but in order to understand their place in the Vedic language, especially in relation to the gutturals, we must go back to their ultimate origin. The evidence of comparative grammar shows that two distinct series of palatals, the later and the earlier, must be distinguished. This evidence alone can explain how the same Vedic palatal sound (*j* or *h*) is, under certain conditions, treated differently.

36. The new palatals (*c, j, h*) are derived from gutturals (velars), being interchangeable, in most roots and formatives, with gutturals, and being in most cognate languages represented by the same sounds as represent original gutturals. Thus from the root *śuc-* 'shine' come verbal forms such as *śucati*, beside the nominal derivatives *śuka-*, *śikṛan-*, *śukrā-*, *śuklt-* (AV.); from *yuj-* 'yoke', *yuje* 1. sing. mid., etc., beside *yugā-*, *yuktā-*, *yjṛan-*; from *druh-* 'injure', *dudrśha*, 3. sing. perf., etc., beside *druhy-*, a name, and *dr̥gha-* 'deceitful'.

The (Indo-Iranian) change from gutturals to palatals was regularly produced before the palatal sounds *i ī y³*; e. g. *cittā-* 'noticed', beside *kṛta-* 'will', from *cit-* 'perceive'; *śjīyas-* 'stronger', beside *ugrā-* 'strong'; *druhy-* beside *dr̥gha-*. This change invariably takes place in Iranian, while the exceptions in Vedic appear only before vowels which were not originally palatal.

a. Gutturals thus appear instead of palatals before *ir (iṛ)* and *ir* (= IE. *īr-* and *ī-*)⁴, which were not yet pronounced with an *i*-sound in the Indo-Iranian period⁵: thus *āngiras-*, a name; *giri-*⁶ 'mountain'; *kirāti*, 3. sing., *kirāṇa-* 'dust', from *kṛ-* 'scatter'; *cakirāma*, *cakiran*, *kṛti-* 'fame', from *kṛ-* 'commemorate'; *gir-* 'lauding', from *gṛ-* 'praise'; *giriti* (AV.), 3. sing., *-gila-* (AV.) 'devouring', from *gṛ-* 'swallow'. Before *i* (= IE. *e*)⁷ *k* appears in *ok-i-vāns-*, part. from *uc-* 'be pleased', and *g* in *tigītā-*⁸ 'sharp', beside *tejate*, *tējas-* 'brilliance', and other derivatives, from *tij-* 'be sharp'.

Otherwise a guttural followed by a palatal vowel is due to the influence of cognate forms. This is the case

i. in the initial of roots *a*) in *gṛ-*, the weak stem of *gai-* 'sing', beside *gāy-*, *gā-*; *β*) in reduplicated forms with *cik-*, *jig-*, due to forms like *cikāya*, *jigāya-* (where the guttural is in accordance with phonetic law) and to the frequency of palatal reduplication of guttural initial; thus perf. *ciky-ur*, part. *ciky-at-*, desid. *cikṛate*, impv. *cikṛhi* (AV.), from *ci-* 'perceive'; intv. *cikit-*, *cikit-*, desid. *cikits-*, from *cit-* 'perceive'; perf. *jigy-ur*, desid. *jigṛate*, *jigy-* 'victorious',

njenī), N. of a city; *Δαμανός* = *yamunā*, N. of a river. Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 119.

¹ Cp. WHITNEY on APR. I. 21.

² Cp. above 30, 3; 31, 3 b; and below 40.

³ The sphere of the palatals has been extended by analogy at the expense of the gutturals and *vice versa*. The aspirate guttural *kh* appears where the other gutturals are replaced by palatals; thus before the *y* in *khyā-* 'see' (but *jy-*) 'overpower'; before the thematic *a* of the present: *rikhati* 'sits' (but *dahati*); before the *-ayati* of the Causative: *nikhayati* 'swings' (but *arcayati*); and notably in *sākhi-* 'friend': dat. *sākhye*, pl. *sākhīyas* (Ilr. *sachi-*): cp. WACKERNAGEL

I, 121 (p. 140, top). The palatal aspirate in fact never represents a guttural aspirate, but only an IE. palatal, or sibilant and palatal.

⁴ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 24, 25.

⁵ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 123 a *α*.

⁶ In Av. *gair-*.

⁷ This sound had probably not yet become a pure palatal in Ilr.

⁸ Otherwise the palatal regularly appears before this *i* in perfect forms; e. g. *sācīrē* ('sac-' 'accompany'); *bhejirē* (*bhaj-* 'divide'); *uc-i-vāns-* (*uc-* 'be pleased'); *duśśhūtha* (*duh-* 'milk').

from *jī-* 'conquer'; γ) in the pronominal forms *kis*, *kīm*, *kīm*, *kīyat*, *kīvant-*, *kīdīś-*, beside the enclitic *cid*, because owing to the influence of the frequent forms *kū-s*, *kū-d*, etc., *k* appeared to be characteristic of the interrogative pronoun¹.

2. in the final of roots in which guttural forms predominate, before the *y* of the optative and the gerund; thus *dagh-yās*, from *dagh-* 'reach'; *śak-yām*, from *śak-* 'be able'; *sagh-yāsam* (TS.), from *sagh-* 'be equal to'. It also appears very often before the suffixes *-i*, *-ī*, *-in*, *-ya* forming derivatives from nouns the last consonant of which is a guttural: e. g. *plīyogi-* 'descendant of Playoga'; *vyk-ī-* 'she-wolf' (*vyka-*); *śāk-in-* 'powerful' (*śāk-*); *śrīg-in-* 'horned' (*śrīga-*); *upa-vāk-yā-* 'to be praised' (beside *upavācya-*) from *upavākt-* 'praise'. Similarly *drāgh-īyas-* 'longer', *drāgh-iṣṭha-* 'longest' (beside *drgh-* 'long', *drāgh-mān-* 'length'); *sphig-ī-* 'buttock', with *g* from the nom. *sphik* of *sphīj-*, which occurs in the post-Vedic language only.

3. in a certain number of abnormal words, almost invariably at the beginning:

α) words which may be suspected of foreign origin owing to meaning or phonetic form: *kimsukā-*, *kīyāmbu-* plant names; *kimādin-*, *kikaṭa-*, *kīrāta-* (VS.), *śva-kīsklin-* (AV.) names of foreigners or demons; *kīja-* a kind of utensil; *kilbiṣa-* 'guilt' (contains the rare letter *ḷ*), *kīstī-* 'singer' (*st* instead of *ṣt*); β) onomatopoeic words: *kīkīdī-* 'blue jay'; *kīkīrā-kr-* 'tear to tatters'; *kīkīṭā* (TS.) an interjection; γ) some words of doubtful origin: *kikasā-* 'vertebra'; *kīnāra-* 'ploughman'(?); *kīnāśa-* 'ploughman'; *kīlīla-* 'sweet draught'; *kīrmīd-* (VS.) 'variegated'; *kīśord-* (AV.) 'foal'; *kīsmīla-* (AV. Paipp.) a kind of disease.

37. New palatals as radical initials. — a. Before *a*, *ā*, and diphthongs, both palatals and gutturals are very frequent in Vedic and Iranian. Comparative grammar shows that the palatals occur before a vowel or diphthong representing IE. *ǣ ē* or a diphthong beginning with *ǣ ē²*; but gutturals before IE. *a o* or sonant nasal. According to this evidence the palatal has come into being in the following words: *ca* 'and'; *cakrī-* 'wheel'; *cātvarāś* 'four'; *caramā-* 'last'; *carī-* 'pot'; *cāru-* 'agreeable'; *pāñca* 'five'; *jajhāra-* 'belly'; *jānt-*, *jāni-* 'woman'; *jānt-* 'akin'; *hāras-* 'flame'.

On the other hand, the original guttural has remained in *kakhlā-* 'peak'; *kākṣa-* 'armpit'; *kārū-* 'poet'; *kēka-* 'will'; *gātus* 'cow'; *gharmā-* 'hot'; *ghorī-* 'terrible'; and in the roots *kās-* (AV.) 'cough'; *gadḥ-* 'clasp'; *gā-* 'go'; *gāh-* 'plunge'; *gai-* 'sing'³.

b. Among the roots with *ǣ ē* as low grade vowels, the only one in which the regular phonetic interchange of palatal and guttural takes place, is *jar-*: *gār-* 'call'; *g* appearing before *r* *ir* *ar* (= IE. *ǣr*), *j* before *ar* (= IE. *ǣr*) preceding the thematic *-a-* of the present or the suffix *-ī-*; thus *gr-jāti-*, *gār-*, *garā-* (VS.), beside *jārate*, *jārādhyai*, *jaritī-*. In other roots either the guttural or the palatal appears throughout; mostly the guttural, because the forms with *ǣ ē* and *o ar al* (= IE. *ǣr* *ǣr* *ǣl*), which required the guttural, were more numerous than those with *o ar al* (= IE. *ǣr* *ǣr* *ǣl*); thus from *kr-* 'do', *ākar* aor. 'has done', *kartī-* 'agent', *kārman-* 'action', retain the guttural, though the palatal would be phonetic (as *ar* here = IE. *ǣr*), through the influence of forms with *kr-* and of *kāraṇa-* 'deed' (where *ar* = IE. *ǣr*).

¹ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 128 a (p. 150, bottom).

² Cp. Italian and the Balto-Slavic languages which palatalize before *e* as well as *i*.

³ In the IE. vowel gradation of these roots only *ǣ* and *ǣ* appear. In other roots in the IE. vowel gradation of which *ǣ* is found, an initial palatal would be expected

On the other hand, the palatal appears in *cud*¹, *códati* 'impel'; *śrut*-, *ścotati* 'drip', because here forms with *u*, which required a guttural, were rare; in *car*-, *carati* 'move', where the palatal is almost invariably phonetic in RV. (but AV. has *cacāra*); in *crt*- 'bind', the palatal has fixed itself in spite of many forms with *r*; while beside *harṣate* 'rejoices', *hūrṣant*-, part., both *h* and *gh* occur in weak forms: *hṛṣitā*-, *ghṛṣu*- 'lively', *ghṛṣvi*- 'gladdening'.

c. Among roots in *-an* and *am*, survivals of the regular interchange are found in *kan*- 'be pleased', and *han*- 'strike'. The former has the palatal (= IE. *kē*) in the aor. *caniṣṭam*, in the superl. *cāniṣṭha*-, and in *cānas*- 'favour', but otherwise the guttural. In *han*-, *h* appears before *an* (= IE. *en*) and, by analogy, also before *an* = *un* and *a* = *u*; but *gh* before *n* and *ā* = IE. *ō*; thus *hān-ti*, inf. *hān-tave*; *han-mas*, *han-yāma*; *hā-thās*-, *-hā-tā*-, and with *j* in impv. *jāhi* (= **jhaḥi*), but perf. *jaghāna*, and *ghanā*- 'striker', *ghanāghana*- 'found of striking'. In the intv. *jañghan*-, *gh* stands for *h* before *a* = IE. *ē* owing to the influence of the weak stem *jañghn*-. In *gam*- 'go', *ga*- = *gm*- (e. g. in *gācchati*, *ga-tā*-) has led to the use of *gam*- = **jam*-, as in *gām-anti*².

d. In the remaining verbs, that is, those with *a* (25) or *e* (22) as high grade vowel, there appears chiefly the palatal throughout; thus *caḥṣ*:- *cacāḥṣa* (for **cakhṣa*). The phonetic guttural is, however, preserved in some forms of the three verbs *ci*- 'observe' (perf. *cikāya*); *cit*- 'observe' (perf. *cikēta*; *kēta*- 'will'; *keti*-³ 'appearance'); and *ji*- 'conquer' (perf. *jigāya*; *gāya*- 'household'). A guttural not phonetically justified appears before *a* (= IE. *ē*) only in *ghas*- 'eat' (aor. *āghas*, subj. *ghas-a-t*) and in *gal*- 'drop' (*gal-galiti* VS.).

e. In reduplicative syllables containing *a* of roots having initial guttural or palatal, the palatal always appears in the perfect, pluperfect, or reduplicated aorist; thus *kṛ*- 'make': *cakāra*; *khād*- 'chew': *cakhāda*; *gam*- 'go': *jagāma*; *ghas*- 'eat': *jaghāsa*; *caḥṣ*- 'see': *cacāḥṣa*; pluperf. of *kṛ*:- *acakra*t; red. aor. of *jas*- 'be exhausted': *jajas-tām*. The palatal is here historically phonetic, as the IE. reduplicative vowel was *ē*.

In the intensive, however, the palatal is invariable only when the reduplication is monosyllabic⁴; e. g. *kram*- 'stride': *cani-kramata*; *gr*:- *jā-gr*- 'awake'; *han*- 'strike': *jan-ghanti*. But when the reduplication is dissyllabic, the guttural⁵ predominates; thus *kṛ*-, part. *kāri-kṛ-at*; *kṛand*- 'roar': *kāni-kra(n)d*;- *gam*- 'go': *gani-gan*-, *gani-gm*;- *han*- 'strike': *ghani-ghn*- (cp. *ghanāghana*-); *skand*- 'leap': both *kāni-skand*- and *cani-skadat* subj.

38. New palatals as radical finals. a. Verbal forms.—Before the thematic verbal endings (including those of the *a*-aorist and the reduplicated aorist) the final of roots regularly appears as a palatal which, though phonetic⁶ only in about the same degree as the guttural, has prevailed. Gutturals are

in certain forms; but few traces of this remain, as the forms of each verb have been normalized.

¹ If *kūtsa*- N. is derived from *cud*-, and *carṣaṇi*- 'active', from *kṛ*-, the initial consonant has not been affected by the normalizing influence of the roots, because these words have been isolated.

² The correct phonetic interchange appears in *jāṅgahe* 'kicks', and *jāṅghas*- 'course', if these forms are connected, as BR. think. WHITNEY, Roots, however, considers the former an intensive of *gāh*- 'plunge'.

³ Beside *cēru*- 'devout', *keru*- appears in the compound *māhi-keru*- 'very devout'; cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 101 (43 b).

⁴ In the post-Vedic language, the palatal is invariable even in dissyllabic reduplication.

⁵ But if the initial of the root is a palatal, the reduplicative consonant is of course always a palatal; thus *cand*- 'shine': *cāniścad*;- *car*- 'move': *carācarā*;- *cal*- 'move': *calācalā*- 'ever moving'. Cp. 32 a.

⁶ Phonetically we should have **pākāmi* (IE. *ō*), *pāc-asi* and *pāc-ati* (IE. *ē*).

rare at the end of the root, appearing only¹ in *śak-* 'be able'; 2. sing. *śak-as*; *sagh-* 'be equal to': 3. sing. *sagh-at*; *dagh-* 'reach': *dagh-at* (TS.); in these roots the guttural prevails throughout owing to the influence of the present stem *śak-nu-*, *sagh-nu-*². Even in the non-thematic presents and in the perfect the palatal carried the day, though phonetic in still fewer forms; thus the guttural alone would be historically justified in the forms *yunājā*, *yūñje*; *yuyāja*³. The palatal further regularly appears before the causative⁴ suffix *-āya-*, where it is phonetic (= IE. *ēje*); e. g. *arc-āya-ti* from *arc-* 'praise'⁵.

b. As shown by the appearance, in cognate forms, of a guttural before other consonants than *s*, the final of the following verbs is a new palatal: *añj-* 'anoint'; *ej-* 'stir'; *tij-* 'sharpen'; *tuj-* 'beat'; *tyaj-* 'forsake'; *nij-* 'wash'; *bhaj-* 'divide'; *bhañj-* 'break'; *bhuj-* 'bend'; *yuj-* 'yoke'; *rañj-* 'colour'; *ruj-* 'break'; *vij-* 'shoot up'; *vij-* 'turn'; *śiñj-* 'sound'; *sañj-* 'attach'; *śaṇj-* 'embrace'; also in the noun *śrāj-* 'garland'.

c. Apart from being the result of the Sandhi of *ḍ* + *j*, *jj* is shown by the evidence of cognate languages to be derived from a sibilant + guttural (= IE. *zg*) and thus to belong to the series of new palatals in *majjān-* 'marrow'; *rājju-* 'rope'; *bhrjjāti* 'roasts'; *majjati* 'dives', from which is derived *madgh-* (VS.) 'diver' (a bird).

d. Nominal derivatives. 1. Before the suffix *-a*, the final of the root is mostly guttural, because the *a* in nearly all the cases of the noun represents IE. *ō*. The rule in the RV. is that the guttural appears before both unaccented *-a* and accented *-ā*, but the palatal before accented *-ī* only; e. g. *abhi-droh-ā-*, *druh-ā-* 'injury': *drōgh-a-* 'injuring'; *bhoj-ā-* 'liberal': *bhūg-a-* 'enjoyment'; *a-yuj-ā-* 'companionless'; *yūg-a-* 'yoking'; *ruj-ā-* 'breaking': *riḡ-a-* (AV.) 'disease'; *vevij-ā-* 'swift': *vēg-a-* (AV.) 'speed'; *śuc-ā-* 'bright': *śūk-a-* 'flame'; *ruc-ā-* (VS.) and *roc-ā-* (AV.) 'shining': *rūk-a-* and *rok-ā-* 'light'.

2. Before the suffix *-as*, the palatal generally appears, as it is for the most part phonetically required; e. g. *ḡj-as-* 'force': *ug-rī-* 'mighty'. The guttural, however, prevailed in *ānik-as-* 'bend'; *āg-as-* 'offence'; *-ny-ogh-as-* 'streaming'; *bhārg-as-* 'brilliance'; as there were no corresponding verbs with palatal beside these words; it also prevailed in *śk-as-* 'ease' and *ny-ōkas-* 'comfortable', as well as *-śok-as-* 'flaming', though there are such verbs (*uc-* 'be pleased', and *śuc-* 'shine').

3. Before other suffixes beginning with *a*, the final of the root is generally palatal; thus before *-ana* (= IE. *-eno-*), *vac-anā-* 'speaking'; *tēj-ana-* 'act of sharpening'; *manih-āna-* 'gift'⁶; before *-ant*, *-āna* (under the influence of

¹ Apart from roots ending in *kh*, see 35, note 3.

² In *ni-mēgha-māna-* 'drenching oneself', the *gh* seems to be phonetic (as *-amāna* = *-āmenō*). In *vālgate* (AV.) 'springs', the guttural is perhaps due to the preceding *l*, as neither *lj* nor *lc* is ever found to occur.

³ This normalization of the palatal is probably Indo-Iranian, see J. SCHMIDT, KZ. 25, 104.

⁴ The denominatives in *-ayā-* (IE. *eje* and *ojē*) follow the noun from which they are derived; e. g. from *aḡhā-* 'evil', *aḡhāyāti* 'wishes to injure'.

⁵ The causative *ingāyati* of *ējati* 'stirs' is probably due to an old present base **inag-*, *ing-* formed according to the 7th class; the phonetic form *-iñjayati* is found in the BAU. VI. 4, 23.

⁶ The fluctuation of words in *-a-* probably arose from some cases in oxytones having had IE. *ē*, others *ō*; hence in some words the palatal prevailed throughout, in others the guttural. The agent-nouns, being mostly oxytone, show a preference for the palatal, which originally appeared in oxytones only. Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 128 a (p. 150, note, end).

⁷ A palatal before an unaccented *-a* first appears in *ābh-a-* (RV. x. 122), otherwise *dōgha-* 'milking'; *mōh-a-* (AV.) 'delusion', beside *mōgh-a-* 'vain'; *krūñc-a-* (VS.) 'curlew', is probably only an extension of *krūñc-* (VS.)

⁸ The *gh* of *jaghāna-* 'buttock', is phonetic (Gk. *κοχώνη*).

verbal forms), e. g. *dūh-āna-* and *duduh-ānā*¹; before *-ata* (= IE. *-ēto*), e. g. *pac-atā-* 'cooked'²; before *-an* in *majj-ān-* 'marrow'³.

4. Nouns formed without suffix (including infinitives and gerunds) have the palatal of the corresponding verb; e. g. *pīc-as*, nom. pl. 'food'; *ā-pīc-as* and *ā-pīc-e* 'to satisfy'; *tuj-āye* 'to procreate'. A guttural of course appears where the verb has a guttural only; e. g. *pra-tīñk-am* (AV.) 'gliding' (*tak*-run').

5. The suffix *-ka* is treated analogously to the final guttural of roots⁴. The guttural regularly appears except when the suffix, being attached to unaccented prepositions, is itself accented; thus *asmā-ka-* 'our'; *yusmā-ka-* 'your'; *āpā-ka-* 'coming from afar'; *abhī-ka-* 'collision'; and even with the suffix accented in locatives such as *upā-kā*, *upā-kāyos* 'in the vicinity' and in the abl. *parā-kāt* 'from a distance'; but *uc-cā* and *uc-cāis* 'above'; *parā-cāis* 'aside'; *paś-cā* and *paś-cāt* 'behind'; *prā-cāis* 'forwards'.

39. Irregular palatalization.—Before *ñ* *r* and consonants (except *y*), the gutturals were not originally palatalized. Hence roots which regularly have palatals before *a* and diphthongs, usually retain the guttural before *u* *r* and consonants. Thus from *ric-* 'leave', are formed, *rēk-u-* 'empty', *rīk-ñ-as-* 'property', perf. part. *rīrik-vāñs-*; 3. sing. pres. *rīñk-ti*, 2. sing. perf. mid. *rīrik-se* (but opt. *rīrik-yāt*); *ug-rā-* 'mighty', beside *ñ-as-* 'strength'; *ghn-* beside *han-* 'strike'. Nevertheless palatals appear by analogy before *u*, *r*, *n*, *m*, *r*, *v*:

a. initially: *r*. in the roots *ścut-* 'drip', *çrt-* 'bind', *hr̥s-* 'rejoice', in which the unphonetic palatal before the low grade vowel⁵ is due to the phonetic palatal before the high grade vowels *o* (= IE. *ēu*) and *ar* (= IE. *ēr*).

2. in the reduplicative syllables *cu-*⁶ and *ju-* of the perfect and aorist (in RV. occurring only in *cyu-* 'shake', *gup-* 'guard', *gur-* 'praise') for older **ca-* **ja-* (*a* = *ē*, the IE. reduplicative vowel).

b. finally: *r*. in verbal inflexion, the palatal which appears before *a* and diphthongs always appears also before *u*, and nearly always before *m* and *r* (instead of the phonetic guttural); thus *sisic-ur* beside *sisic-atur*, *sisic-e*, from *sic-* 'pour'; *bubhuj-māhe* beside *bhunāj-āmahe*, from *bhuj-* 'enjoy'; *añj-mas* beside *añj-ānti*, *añj-an* from *añj-* 'anoint'; *rīric-rē* beside *rīric-ē*, from *ric-* 'leave'; *ā-yuj-ran*, *yuyuj-rē* beside *yuyuj-ē*, from *yuj-* 'yoke'; *duh-rē*, *duh-rate*, *duduh-rē*, *duh-rām* and *duh-ratām* (AV.) beside *duh-ē*, from *duh-* 'milk'.

The guttural, however, regularly remains before the *-nu* of the 5th class: *śak-nu-* 'be able', *sagh-nu-* 'be equal to', spreading thence to other forms⁷. Phonetic *k* remains before *m* in *vṛvak-mi* from *vac-* 'speak'; and before *r* in *vāvak-re* beside *vac-yāte*, *vāñc-ati* (AV. VS.) from *vāñc-* 'move crookedly'.

2. in nominal derivation the guttural as a rule remains⁸: e. g. *rug-nā-* 'broken', from *ruj-* 'break'; *ruk-mā-* 'brilliant', from *ruc-* 'shine'; *śuk-rā-*, *śuk-lā-* (AV.) 'bright', from *śuc-* 'shine'; *pak-vā-* 'ripe', from *pac-* 'cook'. The perf. part. for the most part follows this rule: e. g. *ru-ruk-vāñs-*, from *ruc-* 'shine';

¹ Strictly phonetic (but rarer) is *dūh-āna-* 'milking'; also *vāgh-āt-* (IE. *-nti*) 'instigator of a sacrifice'.

² The *k* in *sik-atā-* (AV. VS.) 'sand', is phonetic (IE. *-nta*).

³ Beside *yāk-rt* (AV.) 'liver', and *sāk-rt* 'dung', the *k* is found in the stems *yak-an-*, *sak-an-*, but only in weak forms before *n* or *a* (= *ñ*): *yak-nās*, *yak-nā* (VS.); *sak-nā* (VS.); *sak-nās* (AV.); *sāka-bhis* (TS.).

⁴ See above 38 d, 1; WACKERNAGEL I, 129.

⁵ The phonetic guttural, however, appears in *ghy-s-ñ-* 'lively', *gh̥s-ñ-* 'gladdening'; while

on the other hand the palatal appears unphonetically before *u* in the intv. part. *car-cūryā-māna-* from *car-* 'move'.

⁶ Otherwise *cu-* occurs only in the onomatopoeic *ni-cumpuñ-* 'swell' — and in a few words suggestive of foreign origin: *cinmuri-*, N. of a demon; *cu-puñikā-*, N. of a *kr̥tikā* (TS.).

⁷ Also *dagh-nu-* 'reach', in a Brāhmaṇa passage of the Kāthaka, and *stigh-nu-* 'mount', in a similar one of the TS.

⁸ COLLITZ, BB. 3, 230 f.; J. SCHMIDT, KZ. 25, 70 f.

vi-vik-vāms-, from *vic-* 'divide'; *ok-i-vāms-* (36 a), from *uc-* 'find pleasure' (but dat. sing. *ūc-īś-e*).

The following are, however, exceptions: *ōj-man-* 'might'; *bhuj-mān-* 'fruitful'; *mīh-ur-* 'suddenly'; *druh-ī-* (AV.) 'injurer'; *yāc-āyā-* (AV.) 'request'.

40. The old palatals (*ch*, *j*, *ś*, *h*). — The aspirate *ch*. This sound is, in pronunciation, the aspirate of *c*² and is therefore represented in reduplication by *c*. But in origin *ch* has nothing to do with *c*. The fact that after a mute it takes the place of *ś* in Sandhi shows that it is allied to *ś*. In fact, unlike *j* and *h*, it belongs exclusively to the old series of palatals; for it does not interchange with a guttural *kḥ*³. In the Avesta *ch* is regularly represented by *s* and in cognate European languages by a conjunct consonant beginning with *s* and standing for IE. *skh* 'that is, *s* + palatal mute aspirate'; e. g. *chid-* 'cut off', Gk. *σχιδ-*. This in Indo-iranian probably became *śśh*, which differentiated into Avestic *s* and Vedic *ch*. In the inchoative suffix *-cha* (*gacchati*, Gk. *βάσσω*) this palatal aspirate seems to represent IE. *sk*, a conclusion which is supported by the old inchoative verb *rapsate* 'is full' = *rap(s)sate*, where after the *s* has been dropped between two consonants⁴, *ś* = IE. *k* remained. Thus *ch* represents a double sound and metrically lengthens a preceding short vowel. Hence the RPr. (vi. 1) prescribes the doubling of *ch* (that is *c-ch*) between vowels. Though the Vedic Mss. almost invariably write *ch*⁵ and AUFRECHT's edition of the RV. and v. SCHROEDER's edition of the MS.⁶ follow this practice, the spelling *cch* is to be preferred.

a. In *śākhā-* 'branch', the initial *ś* probably stands for *ch* owing to the law by which two aspirates in the same syllable are avoided⁷.

b. In a few instances *ch* is a Prakritic representative of *kṣ* and *ps*: *rechānā-* (AV.) beside *ṛkṣānā-* (VS.)⁸, part of an animal's leg; *kṛchhrā-* 'distress', perhaps for **kṛpsrā-*, and allied to *kṛpate* 'laments', and *kṛpāna-* 'misery'⁹.

41. The old palatal *j*. — This *j* is the media of *ś* (while as a new palatal it is the media of *c*). It is recognizable as an old palatal by the following indications:

1. when there are parallel forms with *ś* before *t*, *th*, or a cerebral appears either as final or before mutes; e. g. beside *yāj-ati* 'sacrifices', *yāj-ti-* 'sacrificer', *iś-tā-* 'sacrificed', *ayāt* 'has sacrificed'; similarly in the roots *bhrāj-* 'shine'; *mṛj-* 'wipe off'; *rāj-* 'rule'; *rāj-* 'tremble'(?); *vraj-* 'wander'; *śṛj-* 'send forth'; possibly also in *bhrāj-* 'roast'¹⁰.

2. when in the form in question or in cognate forms, sounds follow which do not palatalize gutturals¹¹, that is, *u r n m r v*; such are: *āj-ra-* 'plain'; *āj-ma(n)-* 'course'; *ājuna-* 'white', *rj-rā-* 'reddish'; *rj-ī-* 'straight', *rj-īyas-*

¹ Under the influence of *āj-īyas-* 'stronger' and *āj-īśtha-* 'strongest', such nouns in *-man-* being often closely connected with comparatives and superlatives.

² In the Kāthaka *ch* is spelt *sch*, which is probably only a provincial assibilation, and not the survival of an older sound; cp. J. SCHMIDT, KZ. 27, 332.

³ *mūrkhā-* 'dull', occurring in a B. passage of the TS., is probably a new formation analogous to *sokā-* (AV.) from *śocati*. Some scholars hold that there is an etymological connection between *chand-* 'appear', *chand-as-* 'song', and *skāndati* 'leaps'; between *chid-* 'cut off' and *khid-* 'press'; between *chī-* (AV.) 'cut off' and *khā-* (*khan-*) 'dig'. Cp. WACKER-NAGEL I. 131, note, bottom.

⁴ Cp. above p. 25 note 6; cp. here *cch* = *t + ś*

in Sandhi and *duchhīnā-* for **dus-śunā-* 'misfortune'.

⁵ Except those of the Kāthaka, which write *sch* (cp. note 2).

⁶ Also ROTH's ed. of the Nirukta and MACDONELL's ed. of the Brhaddevatā; cp. AUFRECHT, RV², p. VI.

⁷ Cp. 32.

⁸ On AV. Ms. spelling *ch* for *kṣ* in two or three words, see WHITNEY, JAOS. 12, 92. 175.

⁹ On the origin of *ch*, cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 240; on the sound as a whole, WACKER-NAGEL I. 133 f.

¹⁰ But cp. 38 c, and WACKER-NAGEL I. 139.

¹¹ Apart of course from the exceptions due to analogy: see 39.

'straighter', *rāj-iṣṭha* 'straightest'; *jānu* 'knee' beside *jūu*; *jṛmbh* 'yawn'; *jñā* 'know'; *jṁā*, gen. *jṁ-ās* 'earth'; *jri* 'go'; *jvārā* 'suffering'; *paj-rā* 'fat'; *maj-mān* 'greatness'; *vāj-ra* 'thunderbolt'; *jurāti*, *jīryati*, *jujur-vāms*, *jūr-nd*, from *jṛ* 'grow old'.

3. when in inflexional forms, in which roots with a new palatal show a guttural, the *j* remains; e. g. *jajāna* from *jan* 'beget'; *jajāsa* (AV.) from *jas* 'be exhausted'; *jujōṣa* from *juṣ* 'like'; *jujur-vāms*, *jajāra* (AV.), from *jṛ* 'grow old'.

4. when *j* is the reduplication of an old palatal *j* or *h*; e. g. *jajāna*, *jajāra* (AV.), *jukṣti*.

5. when it is shown to be an old palatal by the evidence of the cognate languages; thus in *ajā* 'he-goat', *ajāt* 'goat'; *ajina* (AV.) 'skin'; *ūrj* 'nourishment'; *jāṁhas* 'course'; *jāṅghā* 'leg'; *jambh* 'chew up'; *jāmātr* 'son-in-law'; *dhraj* 'sweep'; *bhiṣaj* 'heal'; *rajatā* 'silvery'; *vāja* 'swiftness'; *ṛjipyā* 'going straight'.

a. It is **uncertain** whether *j* represents an old or a new palatal in the following words:

1. because the comparative evidence is conflicting: *vi-jāman* 'related'; *jū* 'hasten'; *jyā*, *jindāti* 'overpower'.

2. because the Vedic and comparative evidence is insufficient: *ubj* 'coerce'; *kūj* (AV.) 'hum'; *jāñjat*, pres. part., of uncertain meaning (ā. l.); *jārate* 'approaches'; *jāhamāna* 'panting'; *jihmā* 'transverse'; *dhvāj*, *dhvājā* 'banner'; *paj* 'be rigid' (in *āpa* ... *pāpaje* 'started back'); *pūjana* 'honouring'; *bajā* a kind of plant; *bīja* 'seed'; *mūñja* 'sedge'.

b. **Irregular *j*.**—1. As the two kinds of *j* were indistinguishable in pronunciation, a guttural sometimes intruded among the old palatals owing to the analogy of the new palatals; thus from *bhiṣaj* 'heal', *bhiṣāk-tama*, spv., *bhiṣāk-ti*, 3. sing. pres., *a-bhiṣnak*, 3. sing. impf. (like *anak-ti* from *añj* 'anoint'); from *mṛj* 'wipe': *nī-mṛg-ra* 'attached', *apā-mārgā* (AV.) a kind of plant, *vi-mṛg-vart* (AV.) 'cleanly'; from *sṛj* 'discharge', *asṛg-ram*, *asṛgran*, *āsasṛgram*, *sasṛgmāhe* (SV.) beside *sasṛjmadhe*; from *jṛ* 'grow old', *jāgāra* (AV.) beside *iajāra* (AV.).

2. The guttural beside the palatal may be due to IE. dialectic variety in *gnā* 'woman' beside *jan* 'beget'; *gm-ās* beside *jṁ-ās* 'of the earth'; *bhārgas* 'splendour', *bhṛgu* a name, beside *bhrāj* 'shine'.

3. In *jyōtis* 'light', *jy* seems, by an old Prakritism, to represent *dy*, as the word is probably derived from *dyut* 'shine'.

4. The media aspirate *jh*⁴ occurs only in one form, *jājhihat* (RV.), a pres. part. probably meaning 'laughing' as an epithet of lightning (a metaphor connected with lightning elsewhere also in the RV.); it appears to be derived, by an old Prakritism, from *has* 'laugh': *jhjh* probably for *jḥḥ* here = IE. *gḥh*, which otherwise would become *ḥs*, as in *jāḥs-at*, part., 'laughing'.

42. **The cerebrals.**—The designation given to these sounds by the native phoneticians⁵, *mūrdhanya* 'produced in the head', indicates that they were pronounced at the highest point in the mouth nearest the (upper part

¹ In which only forms with *r* occur; cp., however, HÜBSCHMANN, KZ. 23, 393.

² The only instance of a new palatal (*c j h* = *h g gh*) before *ṛ* (= IE. *ṛ*) is *carcīryā-māna* (RV. x). For some more or less doubtful examples of old palatal *j*, see WACKERNAGEL I, 137 b note.

³ Op. cit. I, 137 e, note.

⁴ The other two old palatals *ś* and *ḥ* will be dealt with below in their alphabetical order: 54, 58.

⁵ The Kashmir Ms. of the RV. reads *jājhihatir* for *jājhihatir* (v. 52⁹): SCHEFFELOWITZ, WZKM. 21, 86.

⁶ See RPr. I. 19; APr. I. 32; TPr. II. 37.

of the) head. They are described by the Prāṭisākhya as pronounced by turning the tip of the tongue up to the roof of the mouth and bending it backwards. They were therefore pronounced farther back in the mouth than the palatals. This is also their pronunciation at the present day in India. An indication that it was such even in Vedic times is the fact that *ḍ* is sometimes found in the later Samhitās interchanging, between vowels, with *ḷ*¹ (which itself interchanges with *r*), and that in the RV. itself *ḍ* *dh* become *ḷ* *ḷh* between vowels. It is also to be noted that the Greeks reproduced *ḍ* not only with *δ*, but also with *ρ*². The cerebrals, however, were a specifically Indian product, being unknown in the Indo-Iranian period³. They are still rare in the RV., where they occur medially and finally only. According to most scholars, they are due to aboriginal, especially Dravidian, influence⁴. As a rule, they have arisen immediately after *ṣ* or an *r* sound from dentals. But before consonants and finally they may represent the old palatals *j* *ś* *h*.

a. The voiceless cerebrals *t̪* *th* take the place of the dentals *t* *th* after *ṣ* (= *s*, *ś* or *j*); e. g. *ṣṛṣ-ti* 'rain' (suffix *-ti*); *duṣ-tāra* 'invincible' (= *duṣ-tāra*-); *nīkṣiṣ-te* (= *nīkṣiṣ-te*); *viṣ-ti* 'wishes' (= *viṣ-ti*); *mṛṣ-tā* 'cleansed' (= *mṛṣ-tā*-)⁵. Similarly the voiced cerebrals *ḍ* *dh* take the place of the dentals *d* *dh* after **z* (= *s* or old palatal *j*, *h*), which has disappeared⁶; e. g. *nīḍ-d* 'nest' (= IE. *nīz-d*-); *du-ḍhi* 'ill-disposed' (= *duṣ-dhī*-); *vi-ḍ* 'I worship' (**iṣ-ḍ* = *iḍ-d* for *yaj-d*-); *dr̥ḍhā* 'firm' (= *dr̥h-tā*-). The preceding voiced sibilant **z* (= *s* and *ṣ*) has (instead of disappearing) itself become *ḍ* in *ḍiḍiḍ-ḍhi* (from *dis*- 'show') and *viḍiḍ-ḍhi* (from *viṣ*- 'be active')⁷.

a. When the dental here was immediately followed by an *r* sound, the cerebralization seems originally to have been stopped. Hence *dr̥dhra* (= *dr̥h-tra*-), beside *dr̥dhā* (= *dr̥h-ta*-) 'firm'; and though *ṣtr* occurs several times in the RV.⁸, the *r* seems to have been dropped in pronunciation, as the only stems ending in *-ṣtra* which show a case-form with *n*, do not cerebralize it: *uṣṣtrānām* and *rāṣṣtrānām*, as if no *r* preceded. In TS. I. 2. 52, *r* is actually dropped after *ṣ* in *tvāṣṣīmāti* 'accompanied by Tvāṣṣṛ'.

b. In several instances a cerebral appears by an evident Prakritism, in place of a dental originally preceded by an *r* (or *ḷ*) sound; thus *vi-kāṣa* 'monstrous', beside *kr-tā* 'made'; *kāṣā* 'depth', beside *kartā*⁹ 'pit'; *avaṣā* (SV. VS.) 'pit', beside *avār*¹⁰ 'down'; and as shown by comparative evidence, *kātuka* 'sharp'; *kūdayati* 'singes'; *kēvaṣa* 'pit'; *jūḍhu* 'dull'; *kūṣh* (AV. TS.) 'hornless'. In the following words, though cognate languages show *ḷ*¹², the cerebral is similarly based on Indian *r* or *r*¹³ + dental: *kūṣa* 'frontal bone'; *jaṭhura* 'belly'; *taḍit* 'contiguous', *tāḍa* (AV.) 'blow'; *piṇḍa* 'lump'; *kāṇḍa* (AV.) 'piece'¹⁴.

c. Cerebrals have in some instances supplanted dentals owing to the

¹ Cp. VPr. IV. 143; V. BRADKE, KZ. 28, 298.

² See WACKERNAGEL I, 143, note.

³ Op. cit. I, 144.

⁴ Ibid., note.

⁵ Cp. above 41, 1.

⁶ Cp. above 17, 5.

⁷ See WACKERNAGEL I, 145 a, note (end). Cp. 42 d (p. 34) end.

⁸ In *rāṣṣrā* 'dominion', *uṣṣtra* 'buffalo', *deṣṣtri* 'Directress'; *daṁṣṣtra* 'tooth'; *ṣtr* in *ā-ni-ṣṣtra* 'not shaken off', *tvāṣṣṛ-mant* 'accompanied by Tvāṣṣṛ'; *ṇḍr* in *kunḍr-ṇāḍi* 'house-lizard' (?).

⁹ WACKERNAGEL I, 146 a.

¹⁰ Cp. BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 3, 179.

¹¹ Perhaps also *reṇika-kāṣa* 'stirring dust', Indo-arische Philologie. I. 4.

if from *krt*- 'cut'; but see BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 3, 180 f.

¹² IE. *ḷ* by rhotacism became *r* in IIR.

¹³ MS. II. 47 has the reading *jinvā rāvaḍ* for that of TS. II. 4. 71 *jinvār āvṛṣ* and K. XI. 9 *jinvā rāvat*. Cp. below p. 70, note 4.

¹⁴ The cerebral could be similarly accounted for in *kūṣa* (RV.) 'house' (?), if it is related to *kula*-(*pa*-) 'family', and *kulāya* (AV.) 'nest'. In *daṇḍa* 'staff' if identical with Gk. *δέσμων* (J. SCHMIDT, KZ. 25, 52, note 1) we seem to have an instance of a cerebral for a dental + following *r*, but such a change seems not to be in accordance with the phonetic laws of either Vedic (cp. *dr̥dhra*, above a, a) or Prakrit. On two other examples of this supposed change, *āṇḍa*-

analogy of similar words with phonetic cerebral. In *paḍbhīś* 'with feet', and perhaps *pāḍ-grbhi-*, N., it is due to *paḍbhīś*, inst. pl. of both *pās-* 'look', and of *pās-* 'cord', and to *pāḍbīśa-*, *pāḍvīśa* (VS.) 'fetter', which is derived from *pās-* 'cord'¹. *Vīṣat* and *śrītuṣat*, sacrificial calls, probably for *vāḥsat* and **śrīṣat* (3. sing. aor. subj. of *vah-* 'convey', and *śru-* 'hear'), seem to owe their cerebral to the influence of the sacrificial call *vāt* (VS.), *vāt* (TS.), 3. sing. aor. of *√vah-*. The *ḍ* of *puroḍāś-* 'sacrificial cake' (from *dās-* 'worship'), is perhaps due to *dū-dās-* 'impious' (for *duḥ-dās-*)².

d. In a few instances a cerebral *t* or *q* appears in place of the cerebral sibilant *ṣ*. The phonetic representative of the latter before *bh* would be *ḍ* (parallel to *ḍ* for IE. *z* before *bh*)³, where it appears in *vīprūḍ-bhīś* (VS.) 'with drops'. From here the cerebral spread to the nom. sing., where it appears in *vī-prūṭ* (AV.) 'drop', from *pruṣ-* 'sprinkle', and in *edhamāna-dviṭ* 'hating the arrogant' (from *dviṣ-* 'hate').

The cerebral *ḍ* also appears before the *-dhi* of the 2. sing. impv. for *ṣ* in *aviḍḍhi* (= *avi-ṣ-dhi*) aor. of *av-* 'favour', and in *viviḍḍhi* (= *viviṣ-dhi*), red. aor. of *viṣ-* 'be active'. The phonetic form here would be **vīḥ* (= *iṣ-dh*)⁴, instead of which *iḍḍh* appears under the influence, perhaps, of the cognate verbal forms with the short vowel (*aviṣtu*, *aviṣtām* etc.).

43. Cerebrals in many instances represent the old palatals *j ś ḥ*. They are found thus:

a. as final: 1. in nom. sing. m. f.: *bhrāt* 'lustre' (*bhrāj-*); *rāt* 'ruler' (*rāj-*); *vīpāt*, N. of a river (*vīpās-*); *vīt* 'settlement' (*vīś-*), *spāt* 'spying' (*spās-*); *śāt* 'overcoming' (*śāh-*); *-vāt* 'conducting' (*-vāh-*), *paṣṭhavāt* (VS.), *-vāt* (TS.). The guttural *k* would have been phonetic in this case, as the nom. sing. originally ended in *s*⁵, and even the old palatals became *k* before *s*; the cerebral must here therefore be due to the influence of forms in which it was phonetic.

2. in nom. acc. *śāt*, from *śās-* 'six'. As *k* might have been expected (IE. *sveks*), the cerebral is doubtless due to forms containing *śas-*, as *śaṣṭi-* 'sixty', *śaṣṭhā-* (AV. VS.) 'sixth'.

3. in the first member of a compound, where the final of the nom. sing. appears, in *śāt-* 'six', and *pād-* (from *pās-* 'cord', in *pād-bīśa-*).

4. in 2. 3. sing. aor. for the radical palatal after the endings have been dropped: thus *ā-bhrāt* (*bhrāj-* 'shine'); *yāt* (*yaj-* 'sacrifice'); *rāt* (*rāj-* 'shine'); *naṭ*, *ā-naṭ* (*naś-* 'reach'); *ā-prāt* (*pras-* 'ask' in *pras-nā-* 'question'); *ā-vāt* (*vah-* 'convey'). Here *t* is phonetic in the 3. pers. only, standing for *ṣ-t* (= IE. *k-t*). It has been transferred to the 2. sing., where *k* would be phonetic (standing

'egg', and *maṇḍūka-* 'frog', see WACKERNAGEL I, 147, note.

¹ Op. cit. I, 148 a (p. 172, top).

² The form *vy-āvāt* in MS. III. 49 (B.) beside *vy-āvāt*, AV. VIII. 121, from *vi-vas-* 'shine forth', is probably due to the influence of *a-vāt*, aor. of *√vah-*; but cp. BARTHOLOMAE, Studien I, 24, note. On the cerebral in *avaṭā-* (SV. VS.), beside *avaṭā-*, *naḍā-* 'reed', beside *naḍā-*, and in *kīḍā-* (AV.), *markāḍa-* (VS.) cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 148 b, note.

³ See below 44 a, 3.

⁴ Cp. above 17, 5.

⁵ This phonetic *k* for an old palatal is preserved in the nominatives *-ḍṛk* 'seeing' (*ḍṛś-*), *-ṣṛk* 'touching' (*ṣṛś-*), *-ṣṛk* 'desiring' (*ṣṛh-*), *an-āk* 'eyeless' (*-akṣ-*: *as-* 'penetrate');

ṛvīk 'sacrificer' (*√yaj-*); *ñrk* (VS.) 'nourishment' (*ñrj-*); *dik* (AV.) 'region' (*diś-*). For *-ḍṛk*, the later Samhitās have *-ḍṛn* also. In the n. nom. the m. f. form appears: *-ḍṛk*, *-ṣṛk*; but as there was no *s* here, it must be assumed that the cerebral was originally used in these neuter forms. In *bhiṣāj-* 'healer', the *k* has spread from the nom. to other cases, where it is not phonetic (cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 138). The original value of the palatal in *uṣij-* 'desiring', *uṣnih-* (AV. VS.), a kind of metre, which have *k* in the nom. is uncertain. The *k* in the nom. *nāḥ* 'night' is probably not based on an old palatal *ś* (cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 149 a, note).

for *k-s* = IE. *k̥s*). The reverse transference of *k* to the 3. sing. has taken place in *prá nak* beside *á-naṣ* (*naṣ-* 'reach') and in *á-srāk* (from *srj-* 'discharge').

b. before consonant suffixes:

i. the phonetic cerebral appears before case-endings beginning with *bh* in *paḍ-bhis*, from *pás-* 'look' and 'cord'; *viḍ-bhis* from *vis-* 'settlement'; *sarād-bhyas* 'for the bees' (probably from **sarāh-*); *ṣaḍ-bhis*¹. In *anaḍlūd-bhyas* (AV.), from *anaḍ-vāh-* 'bull', *d* appears for *ḍ* by dissimilation; while the guttural of the nom. instead of the phonetic *ḍ* appears in *susamārg-bhis* (from *dṛṣ-* 'see') 'fair to see' and in *dig-bhyās* (AV.) from *dis-* 'region'.

2. before the *-su* of the loc. pl. *k* is phonetic, and appears in *vik-sū*, from *vis-*, in spite of the unphonetic *ṭ* of the nom. *viṭ*. But owing to the influence of the other cases the unphonetic cerebral (in the form of *t* dissimilated for *ṭ*) appears in *anaḍlūt-su*.

3. before the *āhi* of the 2. sing. impv. the cerebral is phonetic in *dididḍhi*, from *dis-*²; also in *z* (= *s*), which after cerebralizing the *dh* is dropped, leaving a compensating length, in *tāḍhi* from *takṣ-* 'hew' (= IE. *teḡzdhi*); also in *ṣo-dhā* 'sixfold' (for *ṣas-dhā*: *aṣ-*, like *as-*, becoming *o* before a voiced mute)³.

c. The cerebrals in the following words have not been satisfactorily explained: *āghātī-* and *ā-ghātā-* (AV.) 'striker', beside *ā-ghāta-* (VS.); *āṇḍā-* 'egg'; *iḍānt-* (x. 171⁴) 'wandering'(?), *kūṭa-* 'house'(?); *kūṭa-* 'frontal bone'; *kīpīṭa-* 'fuel'(?); *maṇḍūka-* 'frog'; *iṭa-* (AV.) 'reed'; *varāṭa-* (VS.), *lalāṭa-* (AV.) 'forehead'. Some others, mostly containing *b*, may be suspected of non-Aryan origin: *bāt*, *baḍā*, interjections; *baṭūrīn-* 'broad'(?), *birīṭa-* 'troop'(?); *bekanāṭa-* 'usurer'; *āḍāmbara-* (VS.) 'drum'; *khaḍgā-* (VS. MS.) 'rhinoceros'; *cāṇḍalā-* (VS.) 'outcast'; *markāṭa-* (VS.) 'ape'.

44. The dentals.—The dentals are at the present day pronounced as interdental in India, but according to the Prātiśākhya⁴ they were post-dental, being produced at the root of the teeth (*dantamūla*). They represent IE. dentals, corresponding to similar sounds in the cognate languages. When two IE. dentals met, there seems to have been a tendency to change the first to a sibilant⁵. A survival of this appears in some Vedic combinations of *d* or *dh* with *dh*, which point to an earlier *zdh*, viz. in *de-hi*, beside *dad-dhi* 'give'; *dhe-hi* (for **dhadh-dhi*) 'put'; *kiye-dhā* 'containing much', in all of which examples *e* is based on Ilr. *az*⁶.

a. Change of *s* to *t*. The dental sibilant as the final of roots or nominal stems becomes *t*⁷:

i. before the *s* of verbal suffixes (future, aorist, desiderative) in the three verbs *vas-* 'dwell', *vas-* 'shine', and *ghas-* 'eat'⁸: thus *avātsis* (AV.) 'thou hast dwelt'; *vāt-syati* (MS.) 'will shine'; *jighat-sati* (AV.) 'desires to eat', and *jighat-sū-* (AV.) 'hungry'.

¹ From this phonetic change of *s* to *ḍ* before *bh* is to be explained the stem *iḍ-* 'refreshment', beside *iṣ-* (which occurs before vowel endings only): *iḍ-bhis* etc. would have led to the formation of *iḍ-ā*, etc. (inst. sing.), which then gave rise to *iḍ-ā-* as an extension of *iḍ-*; cp. also *iḍāyata* (RV. I. 191⁶ MM., *iḍāyata*, AUFRECHT): *iḍyati* (AV.) 'be quiet'.

² It is not phonetic in *avidḍhi* and *vividḍhi* (see above, 42 d). Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 149 c (end).

³ The cerebral which in this paragraph represents (except before *s*) the old palatals, is based on an Ilr. *sh-* sound *ṣ* (as shown by the Avesta having *ṣ* *z* in the

corresponding forms). This sibilant, Indian *ṣ*, first became the cerebral mute *ḍ* before the *bh*-suffixes (as dental *s* became dental *ḍ*) when it first spread to the nom., and lastly to the loc. pl.

⁴ See RPr. I. 19; TPr. II. 38.

⁵ For example, Gk. *foiṣṭa*, Av. *voistā*, beside *vēt-ta* 'thou knowest'. Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 152 b.

⁶ Loc. cit., also note.

⁷ See discussion of attempted explanations in WACKERNAGEL I, 153, note.

⁸ All the other roots in *s* add the suffix with connecting vowel *i*.

2. before the *t* of the 3. sing. of a past tense: thus *vy-āvāt* (AV.) 'has shone forth', from *vi-vas-*. This is, however, probably not a phonetic change, but is rather due to the influence of the 3. sing. of other preterites with *-t*; **ā-vās-t* having thus, instead of **ā-vās*, become *ā-vāt*¹.

3. before case-terminations beginning with *bh*, and when final (in nom. acc. sing. neut.), in the perf. part. and in four other words: thus *jāgy-vād-bhis*, inst. pl., 'having awakened', *tātan-vāt*, acc. n., 'having stretched'; *uśād-bhis*, from *uśās-* 'dawn'; *mād-bhis*, *mād-bhyās* (AV.), from *mās-* 'month'; *svā-tavad-bhyas* (VS.), from *svā-tavas-* 'self-strong'. The change of *s* to *t* began before the *bh* endings (like that of *s* to *t* or *ṣ*)² and was extended to the nom. acc. sing. neut. in the RV., but not till later before the *-su* of the loc. pl.³

a. Allied to the change of final *s* of roots and stems to *t*, is the apparent change of the medial dental sibilant to *d* in *madgū-* (VS.) 'diver', from *maji-* 'dive' (*lj* = IE. *sg*)⁴.

β. The substitution of dentals for other mutes is extremely rare. In consequence of dissimilation, a dental replaces a cerebral in *anaḡitsu* and *anaḡidbhyas* (AV.), from *anaḡvāh-* 'bull'; in *dr̥dhri-* 'firm', beside *dr̥dhā-*⁵; in *paṣṭhavāt* (TS.) 'four year old bull', beside *paṣṭhavāt* (VS.).

A dental seems to take the place of a labial in *ad-bhis*, *ad-bhyās*, beside *ap-* 'water': but this is probably due to the analogy of **nadbhis*, *nadbhyās*, beside *nāpāt-* 'grandson'⁶.

45. The labials.—These sounds as a rule represent IE. labials; e. g. *pit-*, Gk. *πῑτῑρ*; *bhāra* 'bear', Gk. *φῑρς*. But owing to the great rarity of IE. *b*, there are very few Vedic examples of inherited *b*; e. g. *rambate* 'hangs down', Lat. *labr* 'glide'⁷.

a. The number of words containing *b* has been greatly increased by new formations. 1. Thus *b* replaces *p* or *bh* before other voiced mutes: e. g. *pi-bā-anā-* 'firm', beside *pad-ā-* 'place'; *rab-dhāt-*, beside *rabhante* 'they take'.—2. It is the regular substitute for *bh* in reduplicative syllables or when initial aspiration is lost owing to a following aspirate; e. g. *ba-bhūva* from *bhū-* 'be', *bāhū-* 'arm', *bandh-* 'bind'⁸.—3. In a few examples it takes the place of or interchanges with *v*⁹; thus *pādbisa-* (RV.), beside *pādvīsa-* (VS.); *bānā-* beside *vānā-* 'arrow'; *-bāsa-* (AV.) beside *-vaśa-* 'twig'; *bānā-* (AV.) 'music' beside *vānā-*; *-blina-* (AV.) 'crushed', beside *vlina-* (B.)¹⁰.—4. It further occurs in some new onomatopoeic words; *budbud-* 'bubble'; *bāl* (AV.) interj. 'dash!'; *bata* interj. 'alas!' and *batī-* 'weakling'.—5. In one instance *b* seems to stand for *m* before *r*, in *brū-* 'speak', for **mrū-*¹¹, originally appearing most likely after a pause or after a final consonant¹².

b. In many words the origin of *b* is obscure. Most of these probably come from a foreign source: 1. owing to their meaning: *arbudā-* and *ārbudā-*, *balbūthā-*, *śāmbara-*, *śvbinda-*, names of foes of Indra and of the Aryans; *brbī-*, a proper name; *bajā-* (AV.), *bālbaja-* (AV.), *bilvā-* (AV.), names of plants; *bākura-* and *bākūrā-*, a musical instrument.—2. owing to their phonetic form: *kilbiṣa-* 'sin'; *bīsa-* 'root-fibre'; *bust-* 'vapour'; *bāt* and *baḡā*, interjections;

¹ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 154.

² See 42 d (p. 34).

³ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 155 a, note.

⁴ Op. cit. I, 155 b, note.

⁵ See 42 a α (p. 33).

⁶ The name *in-dra* and *nānān-dr-* 'husband's sister', are explained by some scholars as containing a Prakritic *d*. See WACKERNAGEL I, 157, note.

⁷ On some words (*sabar-*, *batā-*, *bāla-*, *balbūthā-*) in which *b* is regarded as IE. by

different scholars, see WACKERNAGEL I, 158 b, note.

⁸ See above 32 a, 1, 2.

⁹ There is some confusion between forms of *brh-* 'be great', and *vrh-* 'tear'.

¹⁰ On some doubtful or wrong explanations of *b* for *v* (*ni-brh-* 'crush', *bāla-*, *bālbaja-*, *bāt*, *śābāla-*, *śāmbara-*), see WACKERNAGEL I, 161, note.

¹¹ Cp. Gk. *βροτός* for **μροτός*.

¹² See WACKERNAGEL I, 159.

baṇḍā- (AV.) 'crippled'; *bārsva-* (VS.) 'socket'; *baskāya-* 'yearling'; *bāskāha-* (VS.) 'decrepit'; *bīla-* 'cave', *bīlma-* 'chip'; *bīrija-* 'troop'(?); *bekāñja-* 'usurer'. — 3. for both reasons: *itibīsa-* and *bīsayā-*, names of demons; *alābu-* (AV.) 'bottle gourd'. — 4. Other words which if not of foreign origin, are as yet insufficiently explained: *bārjaha-* 'udder'; *basti-* 'he-goat'; *bāsri-* 'quickly'; *-bāra-* 'aperture'; *bīja-* 'seed'; *bundā-* 'arrow'; *brbād-uktha-*, an epithet of Indra; *chībuka-* 'chin'; *sabāla-* 'brindled'; *sām̐ba-*, a weapon of Indra; *balāsa-* (VS. AV.), a disease; *bleṣka-* (K.) 'noose'.¹

46. The nasals. — There are five nasals corresponding, in regard to place of articulation, to the five classes of mutes. Each of them can only appear before a mute of its own class². Before sibilants and *h* the nasals do not appear³; before *l* only *m* is found; *n̄* does not appear finally any more than the palatal mutes.

a. The guttural nasal *n̄* regularly appears before gutturals: e. g. *an̄kā-* 'hook'; *an̄khāya-* 'embrace'; *ānga-* 'limb'; *jāṅghā-* 'leg'. Before other consonants or as a final, it appears only when a following *k* or *g* has been dropped, as in stems ending with *-ñc-* or *-ñj-* and in those compounded with *-dīś-*; e. g. *pratyāñ*, nom. sing. of *pratyāñc-* 'facing'; *yuidhi* (= *yuij-dhi*), 2. sing. impv. of *yuj-* 'join'; *kī-dīñ*, nom. sing. of *kī-dīś-* 'of what kind?'.

b. The palatal nasal *n̄* is found only before and after *c* or *j*, and before *ch*; e. g. *vāñcati* (AV.) 'wavers'; *yajñt-* 'sacrifice'; *vāñchantu* 'let them desire'.

c. The labial nasal *m* as a rule represents IE. *m*; e. g. *mātī-* 'mother', Lat. *māter*; *nāman-* 'name', Lat. *nōmen*. It is by far the most common labial sound⁴, its frequency being greater than that of the four labial mutes taken together⁵. By some scholars *m* is regarded as representing an original *n* or *v* in certain instances⁶.

d. The dental nasal *n* as a rule represents IE. *n*; e. g. *nā* 'not', Lat. *nē*; *mānas-* 'mind', Gk. *μενός*. It is the commonest of the nasals, being more frequent than *m*, and about three times as frequent as the other three taken together⁷. The dental nasal also appears instead of dental mutes and of the labial nasal.

a. It appears in place of *d* before the nominal suffix *-na*, and of *t*, as well as *d*, before the *m* of secondary suffixes; e. g. *ān-na-* 'food' (*ad-* 'eat'); *chin-nā-* 'cut off' (*chid-*); *vidyān-mant-* 'gleaming' (*vidyāt-* 'lightning'); *mīn-maya-* 'earthen' (*mīd-* VS. 'earth'). This substitution is in imitation of Sandhi, as *dn tm dn* otherwise occur within words; e. g. *udnā* (from *udān-* 'water'), *ātman-* 'breath', *vid-mā* 'we know'.

β. dental *n* regularly appears in place of *m*: 1. before *t*; e. g. from *yam-* 'restrain': *yan-tīr-* and *yan-tī-* 'guide', *yan-trā-* 'rein'; from *śram-* 'exert oneself': *śrāntā-* 'wearied'; 2. before suffixal *m* or *v*; e. g. from *gam-* 'go': *ā-gan-ma*, *gan-vahi*, *jagan-vāms-*⁸; 3. when radically final, originally followed by suffixal *s* or *t*; e. g. from *gam-* 'go', *ā-gan*, 2. 3. sing. aor. (= *ā-gam-s*, *ā-gam-t*); from *yam-* 'restrain', *a-yān*, 3. sing. aor. (= *a-yām-s-t*); from *dām-* 'house', gen. (*pātīr*) *dān*⁹

¹ Op. cit. I, 162.

² Excepting in a few instances when a mute has been dropped, as in *yuidhi* = *yuij-dhi* (see a).

³ Excepting in a few instances *n̄* or *n* before the *-su* of the loc. pl.

⁴ Excluding the semivowel *v*.

⁵ Cp. WHITNEY 50 and 75.

⁶ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 177, note.

⁷ WHITNEY 75.

⁸ This change of *m* to *n* may be due to the influence of the cognate forms in which *m* phonetically becomes *n* when final (below 3).

⁹ On this explanation of *dān* (denied by PISCHEL, VS. 2, 307 ff.) see especially BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 8, in 'Arica' 229—249; also RICHTER, KZ. 36, 111—123, on *dām-pati*.

'of the house' (= *dam-s*). Here the change of *m* to *n* was evidently due (as in 1) to the dental *s* or *t* which originally followed¹.

47. The cerebral *n*.—This nasal, like the cerebral mutes, is an Indian innovation. It is for the most part the result of a regular phonetic development, but is also in a number of words due to Prakritic influence.

A. Besides regularly appearing before cerebral mutes, e. g. in *danḍá-* 'staff', the cerebral *n* phonetically takes the place of dental *n* after *r r s*², either immediately preceding, e. g. *nṛṇām* 'of men', *várṇa-* 'colour', *uṣṇá-* 'hot'; or when only vowels³, guttural or labial mutes⁴ or nasals, *y v* or *h*, intervene; e. g. *kṛpāṇa-* 'misery'; *krámaṇa-* 'step'; *kṣóbhaṇa-* 'exciting'. This rule is followed throughout within a word even when a *s* which it contains is produced by Sandhi⁵; thus not only *trṇṇóti* (*trṇ-* 'be satisfied') and *grṇṇāti* (*grṇh-* 'seize'), but also *u suvāṇāḥ* (for *suvāṇāḥ*, IX. 107⁶). In *su-ṣumná-* 'very gracious' (where the *s* is produced by internal Sandhi), the dental *n* remains probably owing to the influence of the simple word *sumná-*.

a. The cerebralization of dental *n* takes place almost as regularly in verbs compounded with the prepositions *prá* 'before', *pārā* 'away', *pári* 'round', *nir* (for *nīs*) 'out'; as well as in nominal derivatives of these combinations. But the *r* does not cerebralize *n* when there is tmesis or any other preposition but *ā* intervenes⁶. The cerebralization takes place:

1. in the initial of roots; e. g. *prāṇak* (*naś-* 'reach'); *parāṇīde* (*nud-* 'thrust'); *pra-ṇetṣ-* 'guide' (*nī-* 'lead'). But *n* remains if *r* or *kṣ* follows; hence *prāṇṇtyat* (AV.) from *nṛt-* 'dance', and *pári nakṣati* 'encompasses' (*nakṣ-* 'reach'). The cerebralization is also absent, without this dissimilating cause⁷, in *abhi prá nonu-* (SV.) beside *abhi prá nonu-* 'shout towards', and in *prá-nabh-*⁸ (AV.) 'burst'.

2. medially or finally in the roots *hnu-* 'hide', *an-* 'breathe', *han-* 'strike' (though not in forms with *ghn*); thus *pári-hnūtā* (AV.) 'denied'; *prāṇīti* 'breathes'; *nir hanyāt* (AV.), but *abhi-pra-ghnānti*.

3. in suffixal *n* the cerebralization fluctuates: it always takes place in the *n* of the 1. sing. subj., e. g. *nir gamāni*; not always in the pres. base of *hi-* 'impel'; e. g. *prá hiṇomi*, etc., but *pari-hinómi*⁹; never in that of *mināti* 'diminishes' or of *minóti* 'establishes'; it is also absent in *yáju śkannám* (x. 1813)¹⁰; but *-trṇṇa-* (VS.), from *trā-* 'pierce'.

b. In nominal compounds cerebralization takes place less regularly when there is *r r* or *s* in the first member, and *n* in the second:

1. an initial *n* in these nearly always cerebralized in the RV.: e. g. *dur-nāman-* 'ill-named'; *prá-napāt-* 'great-grandson'; also *dur-nāsa-* (AV.) 'un-

¹ The dental *n* may stand for *l* in *carmanā-* 'tanner' (cp. *cārmāni mlātāni*): BR. According to BENFEY, it is used to fill the hiatus in declension, e. g. *kavi-n-ā*; and in the perf. red. syllable *ān-*, e. g. in *ānṛcūr*; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 175 c, note.

² The cerebral mutes and nasal not only do not cerebralize a *n* separated from them by a vowel, but even stop the influence of a preceding *r r s*; thus in reduplication only the first *n* is cerebralized; e. g. *prā-ṇāyā* (*nī-* 'lead'); cp. *maṇinā* inst. of *maṇi-pearl* (B.b.). This arises from a disinclination to pronounce cerebral mutes and nasals in successive syllables.

³ On the absence of cerebralization in *úṣṭrānām* and *rāṣṭrānām*, see above 42 a, a.

⁴ In some instances where the mute immediately precedes the *n*, the cerebralization does not take place; e. g. *vṛtra-ghnī*; *kṣepmī-* 'springing'.

⁵ In one curious instance, *sām ... piṇāk* (beside *piṇāṣti*, from *piṣ-* 'crush'), the cerebral lost at the end of a syllable has transferred its cerebral character to the beginning of the syllable.

⁶ The preposition *nī* following another containing *r* is mostly cerebralized.

⁷ Cp. above 42 a, a.

⁸ Cp. *tri-nābhi-* 'three-naved', and *vṛṣa-nābhi-* 'strong-naved'.

⁹ Cp. VPr. III. 87; APr. III. 88; IV. 95; TPr. XIII. 12.

¹⁰ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 167 b e.

attainable', *dur-nihita-* (AV.) 'ill-preserved'; but (because a *r* or *r* or *s* follows) not in *-nrmṇa-* 'manhood', *-niṣṭhā-* 'eminent'; *-niṣṣādh-* 'gift'; *-nirṇij-* 'adornment'; nor (owing to the intervening *gh* and *m*) in *dirghā-nītha-*, N., *yusmā-nīta-* 'led by you'. The cerebralization is further absent, without any preventing cause, in *akṣā-nāh-* 'tied to the axle' (beside *pari-nāh-* 'enclosure'); *tri-nākh-* 'third heaven'; *tri-nābhi-* 'three-naved', and *vīṣa-nābhi-* 'great-naved'; *pīnar-nava-* 'renewing itself' (but AV. *pīnar-nava-*); *dur-niyāntu-* 'hard to restrain'.

2. it is less frequent medially; e. g. *pūrvāhṇā-* 'forenoon'; *aparāhṇā-* (AV.) 'afternoon'; *nr-vāhaṇa-* 'conveying men'; *pra-vāhaṇa-* (VS.) 'carrying off'; *purīṣa-vāhaṇa-* (VS.) beside *purīṣa-vāhana-* (TS. K.) 'removing rubbish'; *nr-mānas-* 'kind to men', *vīṣa-manas-* 'manly-spirited', but *īṣi-manas-* 'of far-seeing mind'; *dru-ghanā-* 'wooden club', but *vītra-ghnē*, dat., 'Vītra-slaying'; *su-śumnā-*¹ 'very gracious'; *su-pra-pānā-* 'good drinking place'; *nr-pāna-* 'giving drink to men'; but *pari-pāna-* 'drink', *pari-pāna-* (AV.) 'protection'; *pary-ukhyamāna-* (VS.) beside *pary-ukhyamāna-* (*Vvāh-*).

c. Even in a closely connected following word cerebralization may take place after *r* or *r* in the preceding one.

1. This is frequently the case with initial *n*, most usually in *nas* 'us', rarely in other monosyllables such as *nū* 'now', *nā* 'like'²; e. g. *sahā śū nāh* (VIII. 7³²). Initial *n* occasionally appears thus in other words also; e. g. *pāri netū ... viśat* (IX. 103⁴); *śṛṅga-vr̥ṣo napāt* (SV., *napāt*, RV.); *asthūrī nau* (VS., no RV. TS.); (*gōmad*) *ū śū nāsatyā* (VS.) *prā nāmāni* (TS.); *pīnar nayāmāsi* (AV.); *suhār nāh* (MS.) = *suhār nāh*; *vār nāma* (TS. v. 6.1³).

2. Medial *n* also occurs thus, most often in the enclitic pronoun *ena-* 'this'; e. g. *īndra enam*. It occasionally appears in accented words also after final *r*: *gōr ohēna* (I. 180⁵); *nīr ēnasah* (AV.); *nībhīr yemānāh* (SV., *yemānāh*, RV.); *panībhīr vīyāmānāh* (TS.)³. A final *n* is treated as medial and cerebralized thus in *tīn imān* (MS.) and *akṣān āva* (MS.).

B. In a number of words *ṇ* has a Prakritic origin.

a. It is due to a preceding *r* or *r* which has been replaced by *a* *i* *u* or has disappeared through assimilation. This is indicated to be the case by the appearance beside them of cognate words containing *r* or *l* sounds: 1. in Vedic itself: thus *ānī-* 'pin of the axle'; *kānā-* 'one-eyed', beside *karnā-*⁴ 'crop-eared' (MS.); *kāna-* (AV.) 'particle': *kalā-* 'small part'; *jañjanā-bhāvan* 'glittering': *jūnī-* 'glow' (*jan-* probably = *jṛn-* from old pres. **jṛnāti*); *pūnya-* 'auspicious': *pī-* 'fill'; *phaṇ-* 'bound' (= **phṛn-*, **pharn-*) cp. *parpharat* 'may he scatter'; *dhāṇikā-* 'cunnus': *dhārakā-* (VS.), id.—2. in allied languages: *ganā-* 'crowd'; *pan-* (VS.) 'purchase'; *vanij-* 'merchant'⁵; *ānu-* 'minute'; *kūpāru-* 'having a withered arm'; *pāni-* 'hand'; *sthānū-* 'stump'⁶.

b. Owing to the predilection for cerebrals in Prakrit, which substituted *ṇ* for *n* throughout between vowels, even without the influence of neighbouring cerebrals, one or two words with such *ṇ* seem to have made their way into Vedic: *maṇī-* 'pearl' (Lat. *monile*); *amṇāh* (MS.) 'at once': *amṇāh* (AV.), id.⁷.

c. The exact explanation of the *ṇ* in the following words (some of which may be of foreign origin) is uncertain: *kāṇva-*, N.; *kalyāṇa-* 'fair';

¹ See above 47 A (end).

² Cp. BENFEY, Göttinger Abhandlungen 20, 14.

³ *agnēr āveṇa* (I. 128⁵), Pp. *agnēh* | *āveṇa*, is probably wrong for *agnēh* | *raveṇa*. On the other hand, for *māno rūhāṇā* (I. 32⁸), Pp. *mānaḥ* | *rūhāṇāḥ*, the reading should per-

haps be *mānor ūhāṇā*. Cp. LANMAN, Sanskrit Reader, note on this passage.

⁴ See WACKERNAGEL I, 172 a (p. 192, mid.).

⁵ See FRÖHDE, BB. 16, 209.

⁶ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 172 d, note, 173, note.

⁷ On a few doubtful instances, op. cit. I, 173, note.

kāṇukā-, of doubtful meaning; *nicumpund-*, of doubtful meaning; *ninik* 'secretly', *ninyā-*¹ 'inner'; *paṇi-*, a kind of demon; *bāṇd-* 'arrow'; *vāṇd-* 'udder', 'arrow', 'music'; *vāṇ-* 'music'; *vāṇī-*, a kind of musical instrument; *śāṇa-* 'red'; *igāṇa-* (SV. VS.), of doubtful meaning; *kūṇapa-* (AV.) 'corpse'; *gūṇd-* 'division' (AV.); *cupuṇikā-* (TS.), N.; *nicauṇkūṇd-* (TS.) and *nicauṇkūṇd-* (TS.), of doubtful meaning; *veṇi-* (AV.) 'reed'; *śāṇu-* (AV.) 'hemp'².

48. The semivowels.—The semivowels *y*, *r*, *l*, *v* have the peculiarity that each has a vowel corresponding to it, viz. *i* *r* *l* *u* respectively. They are called *anta(i)sthā* in the Prātiśākhya³, the term doubtless meaning 'intermediate', that is, standing midway between vowels and consonants.

a. *y* and *v* regularly represent the final *i* and *u* of diphthongs before vowels, *e* and *ai* becoming *ay* and *āy*, *o* and *au* *av* and *āv*. But while *y* and *v* are regularly written for *i* and *u* before vowels, they were often pronounced as *iy* and *uv*. This is shown by the fact that:

1. *iy* and *uv* are frequently written, beside *y* and *v*, in the inflexion of *z-* and *ū-*stems. Thus from *dhī-* 'thought', there are several compounds, in some of which the stem is written with *iy* before vowels, as *itthādhy-* 'very devout', in others with *y*, as *ādhy-* 'longing'. Similarly *ji-* 'hastening', regularly appears as *jiuv-*; but *pū-* 'purifying', *śū-* 'swelling', *sū-* 'bringing forth', always as *pū-*, *śū-*, *sū-*⁴. In the same way, the suffix *-ya* is often written *-iya*; e. g. *āgr-ya-* 'first', beside *āgr-ya-* (VS.); *ītv-ya-* and *ītv-ya-* 'regular'; *urv-iyā* and *urv-yā* (VS. TS.) 'widely'. This spelling is characteristic of the TS. Here *iy* is generally written where more than one consonant precede, almost invariably so in the inflexion of stems in *i* and *i*; e. g. *indrāgni-īs* 'of Indra and Agni', *lakṣmīyā* 'by Lakṣmī'; very often also in the suffix *-ya*; e. g. *śv-ya-* beside *śv-ya-* (RV.) 'relating to horses'⁵. Similarly *uv* appears here for *v* in *sivar-* and *svargā-* 'heaven', beside *svār* (RV.) and *svargā-* (RV.); in the inflexion of *tanū-* 'body', in some forms of *vāyū-* 'wind', *bāhū-* 'arm', *urū-* 'thigh'⁶. In the SV. and MS.⁷ there are two or three other examples of *iy* and *uv* for *y* and *v*⁸.

2. according to metrical evidence, *y* and *v* (though written as pronounced in classical Sanskrit) have a syllabic value in a large number of examples in the Vedic hymns⁹. This was recognized to be the case by the Prātiśākhya¹⁰.

3. *r* appears instead of *r* before the suffix *-ya*; e. g. in *pītr-ya-* 'paternal', from *pitr-* 'father'.

4. *ay* *āy* *ey* appear before the suffix *-ya*¹¹; e. g. *saha-śy-yāya*, dat., 'for lying together'. Here *yy* is always to be read as *y-iy* in the RV. (except in Book X and *dakṣāyā-* in I. 129²)¹².

¹ Perhaps from **nirṇaya-*, see BENFEY, GGA. 1858, p. 1627.

² On these words see WACKERNAGEL I, 174 b and 173 d, note.

³ RPr. I. 2; VPr. IV. 101; also Nirukta II. 2. Cp. WHITNEY on APr. I. 30.

⁴ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 181 a, note.

⁵ Several other examples, loc. cit.

⁶ Cp. WHITNEY on TPr. II. 25.

⁷ See WACKERNAGEL I, 181 a, note (p. 201, mid.).

⁸ On the other hand there are some isolated instances of *y* and *v* in the Vedas as compared with *iy* and *uv* in classical Sanskrit; see WACKERNAGEL I, p. 201, bottom.

⁹ In certain words and formatives *y* and *v* are regularly consonantal: in the relative *yā-*;

the present suffix *-ya*; the comp. suffix *-yas*; the gen. ending *-ya*, and the fut. suffix *-ya*; the initial *v* of suffixes; the *uv-* of the 5th class; in *śva-* 'horse' and *vidyā-*, N. On the other hand the syllabic pronunciation is sometimes used artificially by the poets, as is apparent from the isolation of such occurrences. In some individual words the written *iy* and *uv* have to be pronounced as consonantal *y* and *v*: always in *svānā-*, pres. part. of *sv-* 'press'; occasionally in *bhīyās-* 'fear', *hiyānā-* 'impelled'. Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 181 b, note, bottom.

¹⁰ RPr. VIII. 22; XVII. 14.

¹¹ See GRASSMANN, Wb. 1711, columns 4 and 5.

¹² WACKERNAGEL I, 181 c γ.

That this syllabic pronunciation was not simply *i* and *u* (with hiatus), but *iy* and *uv*, is rendered probable not only by the spelling *iy uv* beside *y v*, but by the consideration that *y* and *v* are respectively the natural transition from *i* and *u* to a following dissimilar vowel.

b. In the RV. *y* and *v* are pronounced with a syllabic value under the following conditions:

1. almost invariably after a group of consonants and generally after a single consonant if preceded by a long vowel. Thus the ending *-bhyas* and the suffix *-tya* are regularly pronounced as dissyllables after a long vowel, but as monosyllables after a short vowel. Hence, too, *v* is pronounced as well as written in the forms *dauidhv-ít*, *susv-ati*, *susv-ānā*, *juhv-é*, *jihv-ati*¹.

2. after a single initial consonant at the beginning of a verse, or, within a verse, if the preceding syllable is heavy, in some half dozen words. Thus *tyá* 'that', and *tvám* 'thou' are nearly always pronounced as they are written after a short vowel, but *tíyá*- and *tvám* at the beginning of a Pāda or after a long vowel. The *y* is pronounced as *iy* in *jyá*- and *jyābā*- 'bowstring' only at the beginning of a verse or after a long vowel, in *jyāyas*- 'mightier' only after a long vowel. Finally *tvā*- 'many', must generally be read as *tuva*- after a long vowel, but almost invariably *tvā*- after a short vowel.

3. in the inflexion of the nouns in *ī* (nom. sing. *-ī-s*) and *ū*², where the stem has (with only six exceptions) to be pronounced with *iy* and *uv*.³

Thus the transition from *iy* and *uv* to *y* and *v* began in the RV., the traditional text writing for the *iy* and *uv* which was pronounced by the poets of that Veda, sometimes *iy* and *uv*, sometimes *y* and *v*.

49. The semivowel *y*.—This semivowel, when not derived from *i* before other vowels (48 a) within Vedic itself, is based either on IE. *ǵ* (= Gk. *spiritus asper*) or voiced palatal spirant (= Gk. *ζ*)⁴; e. g. *yá-s* 'who' (*ō-s*); *yaj-* 'sacrifice' (*ǵy-ias*); *yudh-* 'fight' (*ǵs-mín*); but *yáva-* 'corn' (*ǵiá*); *yas-* 'boil' (*ǵsō*); *yuj-* 'yoke' (*ǵy-*); *yūśán-* 'broth' (*ǵy-m*). It is probably due to this difference of origin that *yas-* 'boil' and *yam-* 'restrain', reduplicate with *ya-* in the perfect, but *yaj-* 'sacrifice', with *i-*.

a. This semivowel sometimes appears without etymological justification: 1. after roots in *-ā* before vowel suffixes; e. g. *dā-y-i*, 3. sing. aor. (*dā-* 'give'), *d-dhā-y-i* (*dhā-* 'put'), *d-jñā-y-i* (*jñā-* 'know'); *upa-sthā-y-am*, abs. 'approaching'; *ṛṣabha-dā-y-in-* (AV.) 'bestowing bulls'. This is probably due to the influence of roots in *-ai* (27 a), which have *ā*- before consonants, but *āy-* before vowels; e. g. *pai-* 'drink': *pā-tave*, *d-pāy-i*, *pāy-āna*.—2. owing to the influence of closely allied words or formations, in: *yū-y-ām* 'you' (for **yūśam*, Av. *yūšem*, cp. *yus-má*-, stem of other cases)⁵ because of *vay-ām* 'we'; *bhū-y-iṣṭha-* 'most' because of *bhū-yas-* 'more'; *bhūve-y-am*, 1. sing. opt. (for **bhūvayam*) because of *bhūves*, *bhūvet*, etc.

b. very rarely in the later Samhitās after palatals: *tiraścyè* (AV. xv. 35) var. lect. for *tiraścè*, dat., 'transverse'; *śnyāptra-* (TS. 1. 2. 13³): *śnāptra-* (VS.) 'corner of the mouth'.

c. interchanging (after the manner of Prakrit) occasionally with *v*⁶ in

¹ On *vyūrv-ān*, *vy-ūrv-ati* beside *apornuv-āntas*, see WACKERNAGEL I, 182 a α, note.

² See below 375, 382 a.

³ For various explanations of this see WACKERNAGEL I, 182 a γ, note (p. 205).

⁴ See BRUGMANN, KG. I, 302.

⁵ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 86 c; 187, note.

⁶ In *khyā-* 'tell', *y* seems at first sight to be interchanged with the *ś* of *kṣā-*, which occurs in the K. and the MS. (cp. v. SCHROEDER'S ed., I, p. XLIII, 7); but the two verbs, though synonymous, have probably a different origin. Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 188 c, note.

the Samhitās of the YV.; e. g. *ātatāyīn-* (VS.) beside *ātatāwīn-* (TS.) 'having one's bow drawn'¹.

50. The semivowel *v*.—This sound was, at the time of the Prātiśākhya², a voiced labio-dental spirant like the English *v* or the German *w*. Within Vedic it is very frequently derived from *u*³. It seems otherwise always to be based on IE. *u*; there is no evidence that it is ever derived from an IE. spirant *v* which was not interchangeable with *u*⁴.

a. This semivowel is sometimes found interchanging with *ō*⁵, with *y*⁶, and according to some scholars, with *m*⁷.

b. In two roots in which *v* is followed by *r*, an interchange of sonantal and consonantal pronunciation, together with metathesis takes place, *vr* becoming *ru*: hence from *dhvr-* 'bend' are derived both *-dhvr-t-* and *-dhrī-*, *-dhrī-t-*, *dhrī-ti-*; from *hvr-* 'go crooked', *-hvr-t-*, *-hvr-ta-*, *-hvr-ti-* and *hru-nā-ti*, 3. sing., *hri-t-*, *-hru-ta-*. The root *rudh-* 'grow', may be a similar variation of *vr̥dh-* 'grow'⁸.

51. The semivowel *r*.—The liquid sound *r* must originally have been a cerebral, as is shown by its phonetic effect on a following dental *n* (47 A). By the time of the Prātiśākhya⁹, it was, however, pronounced in other phonetic positions also. Being the consonantal sound corresponding to *r* before vowels (like *y v* to *i u*), it is in that position correspondingly graded with *ā*; e. g. *ā-kr-an*, *ā-kr-ata*, beside *ā-kr-thās*: *ā-kr-am*, aor. of *kṛ-* 'do'; *dr-ī-*: *dār-u-* 'wood'.

a. *r* generally corresponds to *r* in the cognate languages, but not infrequently to *l* also; and where these languages agree in having *l*, the latter may in these instances be assumed to be the original sound. As old Iranian here invariably has *r*, there seems to have been a tendency to rhotacism in the Indo-Iranian period¹⁰. Words in which Vedic *r* thus represents IE. *l* are the following:

1. **initially**: *rakṣ-* 'protect'; *ragh-ū-* 'swift'; *raṁhate* 'speeds'; *rabh-* 'grasp'; *ramb-* 'hang down'; *rā-* 'bark'; *ric-* 'leave'; *rip-* 'smear'; *rih-* 'lick'; *ruc-* 'shine'; *ruj-* 'break'; *rudh-* and *ruh-* 'grow'.

2. **medially**: *āṅgāra-* 'coal'; *ajirā-* 'agile'; *aratni-* 'elbow'; *arh-* 'be worthy'; *iyārti* 'sets in motion'; *īr-* 'set in motion'; *ūrṇā-* 'wool'; *ūrmi-* 'wave'; *garūtmant-*, a celestial bird; *gardabhā-* 'ass'; *gārbha-* 'womb'; *cakrā-* 'wheel'; *car-* 'move'; *caramā-* 'last'; *cirā-* 'long'; *chardis-* 'protection'; *dhārī-* (AV.) 'sucking'; *paraśū-* 'axe'; *pīpartī* 'fills'; *pūr-* 'fort'; *purī-* 'much'; *prath-* 'spread out'; *-prī-t-* 'swimming', *-pruta-* part. 'floating', *pravate* 'waves'; *mārdhati* 'neglects'; *-mārsana-* (AV.) 'touching'; *mūrdhān-* 'head'; *varā-* 'suitor', and various forms of *vr-* 'choose'; *vārcas-* 'light'; *śaranā-* 'protecting'; *śārman-* 'protection'; *śārkhara-* 'gravel'; *śīśira-* (AV.) 'cold season'; *śri-* 'lean'; *śru-* 'hear'; *śrōṇi-* 'buttock'; *sar-* in forms of *sy-* 'run', and *sarirā-* (VS.) 'flood'; *sarpīs-* 'clarified butter'; *sahāsra-* 'thousand'; *svār-* 'heaven'; *sūrya-* 'sun'; *harit-* and *hārīta-* 'yellow'; *hiraṇya-* 'gold'; *hrādūni-* 'hail'¹¹.

¹ Cp. BENFEY, GGA. 1852, 114 f.; WEBER, IS. 2, 28; WACKERNAGEL I, 188 c.

² See WHITNEY on APR. I. 26.

³ See above 48 a.

⁴ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 196; BRUGMANN, KG. I, 148 and 155.

⁵ See 45 a, 3.

⁶ 49 c.

⁷ 46 c.

⁸ For some other possible instances see WACKERNAGEL I, 181 b, note.

⁹ See WHITNEY on APR. I. 20, 28.

¹⁰ It seems as if the Vedic relation of *r* to *l* could only be accounted for by assuming a mixture of dialects; one dialect having preserved the IE. distinction of *r* and *l*; in another IE. *l* becoming *r* (the Vedic dialect); in a third *r* becoming *l* throughout (the later *Āṅgadī*). See BRUGMANN, KG. I, 175, note.

¹¹ See WACKERNAGEL I, 189.

b. *r* appears in place of phonetic *ḍ* (= *ṣ*, IIr. *ṣ*)¹ as final of stems in *-is* and *-us*, before endings which begin with *bh-*; e. g. *haviṛ-bhis* and *vāpūr-bhis*. This substitution is due to the influence of Sandhi, where *is*, *us* would become *ir*, *ur*. *r* also takes the place of *ḍ* in *irā-* beside *idā-* 'refreshing draught'. In *urubjā-* 'wide open' *r* apparently takes the place of dental *d* (= **ud-ubjā-*), perhaps under the influence of the numerous compounds beginning with *uru-* 'wide', e. g. *uru-jrī-* 'wide-striding'².

c. Metathesis of *r* takes place when *ār* would be followed by *ṣ* or *h* + consonant. Under these conditions it appears to be phonetic, being due to the Svarabhakti after *r* being twice as great before *h* and sibilants as before other consonants³: when a vowel followed the sibilant or *h* (e. g. *darśatā-*)⁴, the Svarabhakti was pronounced; but if a consonant followed, *rā* took the place of *ār* + double Svarabhakti. This metathesis appears in forms of *dṛś-* 'see' and *srj-* 'send forth': *drāṣṭum* (AV.), *drāṣṭi-* (AV.) 'one who sees'; *sānu-sraṣṭi-* 'one who engages in battle', 2. sing. aor. *srās* (= **srāk*)⁵; also in *prās-ti-* 'side-horse', beside *pāś-u-* and *prṣṭi-* 'rib'; moreover in *brahmān-* 'priest', *brāhman-* 'devotion', beside *barhṣ-* 'sacrificial litter' (from *bṛh-* or *barh-* 'make big'); perhaps also *drahyāt* 'strongly' (*drh-* 'be firm'). The same metathesis occurs, being, however, very rare and fluctuating, before *ks-*: thus *tuvi-mrakṣā-* 'injuring greatly', *mraṣa-kṣtvān-* 'rubbing to pieces' (from *mṛj-* 'wipe', or *mṛs-* 'stroke'), but *tārksya-*, N.⁶.

52. The semivowel *l*.—The liquid sound *l* is the semivowel corresponding to the vowel *l* (which however occurs only in some half dozen perfect and aorist forms of the root *kṛp-* 'be adapted'). It is pronounced at the present day in India as an interdental; but it must have had a post-dental sound at the time of the Prātisākhya⁷, by which it is described as being pronounced in the same position as the dentals⁸.

a. It represents IE. *l*⁹ and, in a few instances, IE. *r*. It is rarer in Vedic than in any cognate language except old Iranian (where it does not occur at all)¹⁰. It is much rarer than *r*, which is seven times as frequent¹¹. The gradual increase of *l*, chiefly at the cost of *r*, but partly also owing to the appearance of new words, is unmistakable. Thus in the tenth Book of the RV. appear the verbs *mluc-* and *labh-*, and the nouns *lman-*, *lohitā-*, but in the earlier books only *mruc-* 'sink', *rabh-* 'seize', *rōman-* 'hair', *rohitā-* 'red'; similarly *daśāṅgulā-* 'length of ten fingers', *hlādaka-* and *hlādikā-vant-* 'refreshing', beside *su-āṅguri-* 'fair-fingered', *hradā-* 'pond'. Moreover, while in the oldest parts of the RV. *l* occurs¹² in a few words only, it is eight times as common in the latest parts. Again, in the AV. it is seven times as common as in the RV.¹³; thus for *rap-* 'chatter', *rikh-* 'scratch', *a-śrīd-* 'ugly', appear in the AV. *lap-*, *likh-* (also VS.), *aślīd-*. The various texts

¹ Cp. above p. 35, note 3.

² On a supposed parasitic *r* in *chardis-* 'fence', *yājatra-* 'adorable', *vibhṛtra-* 'to be borne hither and thither', see WACKERNAGEL I, 189, note 7.

³ According to the APr. I. 101.

⁴ Cp. above 21 a.

⁵ Cp. v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte des Veda 83, note 7.

⁶ On the interchange of *rā* and *ar* in *raj-* 'colour', *rajatā-* 'silvery', *rāj-* 'shine', and *ārjuna-* 'bright'; *bhrāj-* 'shine', and *bhārgas-* 'brilliance'; *bhrātṛ-* 'brother', and *bhārtṛ-* 'husband'; see WACKERNAGEL I, 190 e, note (end). In *vrajā-* 'fold', *vratā-* 'ordinance',

srāj- 'wreath', *ra-* does not stand for *ar*, WACKERNAGEL I, 190 d, note.

⁷ Cp. PISCHEL, BB. 3, 264. An indication that it was not a cerebral is the fact that *lṣ* never occurs (while *rṣ* is common).

⁸ See 44.

⁹ Which, however, is largely represented by *r* also: cp. 51 a.

¹⁰ Loc. cit.

¹¹ See WHITNEY, JAOS. II, p. XLff.

¹² See ARNOLD, 'L in the Rīgveda', in Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth, 1893, p. 145—148; Historical Vedic Grammar, JAOS. 18, 2, p. 258f.; Vedic Metre p. 37, 3.

¹³ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 191 c.

of the YV. also show an increased number of words with *l* as compared with the RV.; thus *babhlusá-* (VS.) 'brownish' beside *babhrí-* 'brown'; *kúllā-* (VS.) 'potter' beside *carí-* 'pot'. The MS. has a special predilection for *l*¹; thus *pulitát* 'pericardium' beside *puritát* (AV. VS.). The SV. has *pāmsulá-* 'dusty', for *pāmsurá-* in the corresponding passage of the RV.

In a certain number of words *r* interchanges with *l* in the same period: thus *purí-* and *pulí-* 'much'; *misrá-* and *miślá-* 'mixed'; *jargur-* and *jalgul-*, intv. of *gr-* 'swallow'; in the AV.: *-girá-* and *-gildá-* 'swallowing', *ksudrá-* and *ksullakí-* (= **ksudlá-ka*) 'small', *tiryá-* and *tildá-* 'sesamum'.

The above considerations render it probable that the Vedic dialect was descended from an Indo-Iranian one in which rhotacism had removed every *l*. But since the oldest parts of the RV. contain some words with IE. *l*, and in its later parts as well as in the other Samhitās *l* predominantly interchanges with *r* representing IE. *l*, there must have been another Vedic dialect in which IE. *r* and *l* were kept distinct; from the latter *l* must have found its way into the literary language to an increasing extent².

b. In the oldest parts of the RV. there are no verbal forms which preserve IE. *l*, and only a few nouns, viz. (*u*)*loká-* 'free space', *ślúka-* 'call', and *-miśla-* 'mixed'. A few other words containing *l* have no IE. cognates and may therefore be of foreign origin: *níla-* 'dark-coloured', *jálāṣa-* 'healing', *tilvīla-* 'fertile', and the denominative *tilvīlyáte*.

In the latest parts of the RV. *l* represents IE. *l* in: 1. verbal forms and primary derivatives: *lebhire*, *lebhaná-*, *labdhá-*, from *labh-* 'grasp', *layantām*, from *li-* 'cling'; *alipsata*, aor. of *lip-* 'anoint'; *lobháyanti-* part. from *lobh-* 'desire'; *calá-calá-*, *-cācali-* 'swaying' (also *pūṣ-calí-* 'whore', AV. VS.), from *cal-* 'move'; *plāvate*, *plavá-* 'boat', from *plu-* 'swim'.

2. the following nouns: *logá-* 'clod'; *ślúka-* 'owl'; *ulká-* 'meteor'; *ślba-* 'membrane'; *kaláśa-* 'jar'; *kalá-* 'small portion'; *kāla-* 'time'; *kalyāṇa-* 'fair'; *kūla-* 'family'; *gáldā-* 'trickling' (VS. *gal-* 'drop'); *palitá-* 'grey'; *pulá-* (in compounds) 'much'; *phalgvá-* 'weakly'; *bála-* 'strength'³; *bali-* 'tax'; *māla-* 'dirty garment'; *salilá-* 'surging'; *hládaka-* and *hládikāvant-* 'refreshing'; also words with the suffix *-lá*⁴, especially with diminutive sense; e.g. *vṛṣa-lá-* 'little man', *śiśu-lá-* 'little child'⁵.

a. In the later Samhitās *l* represents IE. *l* in the following words: *-kulva-* (VS.) 'bald'; *klóman-* (AV. VS.) 'lung'; *gláhana-* (AV.) 'dicing'; *gláu-* (AV. VS.) 'excrement'; *tulá-* (VS.) 'balance'; *palāva-* (AV.) 'chaff'; *pulá-sti-* (VS.) 'smooth-haired'; *plihán-* (AV. VS.) 'spleen'; *phalgú-* (VS.) 'reddish'; *laghú-* (AV.) 'light'; *lap-* (AV.) 'prate' (= *rap-* RV.).

c. On the other hand, *l* to some extent represents IE. *r* also⁶.

i. In the RV. this value of *l* is rare and occurs only in the neighbourhood of labial sounds (*u*, *o*, *p*, *m*, *v*): *ulákhala-* 'mortar' beside *urú-* 'broad'; *jalgul-*, intv. of *gr-* 'swallow'; *plíṣi-*, a kind of insect, beside *prus-* 'squirt'; *klóśa-* 'call' beside *króśant-* 'calling', *króśaná-* 'crying'; *-lohítá-* 'red', *lodhá-*, a kind of red animal, beside *rohit-*, *rohitá-* 'red'; *lopāśa-* 'jackal', *lap-* (AV.) 'break', beside *rup-* 'break'; *śpála-* 'upper millstone' beside *upári* 'above'; *jálpi-* 'muttering'; *śpápa-* 'berry'; *mlá-* 'fade' beside *mr-* 'die'; *valá-* 'cave' beside *várate* 'encloses'.

2. In the later Samhitās the use of this *l* = IE. *r* extends further than in the RV.; thus *dlam* (ÁV.) 'enough': *drām*; *liś-* (VS.) 'tear': *riś-*; *-luñcá-* (VS.)

¹ L. V. SCHROEDER, ZDMG. 33, 196.

² See WACKERNAGEL I, 192 b, and cp. above p. 42, note ¹⁰.

³ Cp. above p. 36, note ¹⁰.

⁴ See ARNOLD, Festgruss an Roth 147.

⁵ See WACKERNAGEL I, p. 218.

⁶ Cp. above 51 a.

'tearing out'; *babhluśū-* (VS.) 'brownish'; *babhrū-* 'brown'; *sthūli-* (AV. VS.) 'gross'; *sthūrd-*¹.

3. In a few instances *l* represents IE. *r* by dissimilation; thus *dlarṣi dlarṭi*, intv. of *r-* 'go' (= *arar-*); *prā tilāmi* (VS.) = *prā tirāmi* 'I promote'².

d. In the later Samhitās *l* occasionally appears in place of phonetic *d*³ between vowels; and that this change could easily arise, is shown by the fact that *l* regularly appears instead of *d* between vowels⁴. This substitution is regularly found in the Kanva recension of the VS.; e. g. *ile* = *ile* (RV. *ile*); *āsālhā* = *āsādhā* (RV. *āsālhā*). Other instances are *ilāyati* (AV.) 'stands still', for **ilāyati* (RV. *ilayati*)⁵ from *il-* 'refreshment'; *ilā-* (MS.) 'refreshment', byform of *ilā-* (RV. *ilā-*); *mīl-* (AV.) 'close the eyes'⁶, connected with *mīṣ-* 'wink'.

In the later Samhitās *l* is also found for *d* between vowels when the final of a word (like *l* in RV.): thus *turāṣāl dyuktāsaḥ* (VS.) for *turāṣāl* 'overpowering quickly'; *phūl iti* (AV.) for *phāt* (AV.); probably also in *śil iti* (AV.) and *bāl iti* (AV. TS.), cp. RV. *bāl tithā*.

e. In at least one word *l* stands for dental *d*: *kṣulla-kū-* (AV.) 'small', for **kṣudlā-*, byform of *kṣudrā-* (VS.) 'small'.

f. Sometimes *l* has an independent Indian origin in onomatopoetic words; thus *alalā-bhāvant-* 'sounding cheerfully'.

g. On the other hand there are many words in which a foreign origin may be suspected; such are, besides those already mentioned in 45 b, the following: *kaulitarā-*, N.; *ālina-* and *bhalānās-*, names of tribes; *libuja-* 'creeper'; *lavapā-* (AV.) 'salt'.

53. The sibilants.—The three sibilants, the palatal *ś*, the cerebral *ṣ*, and the dental *s*, are all voiceless. Even apart from the regular phonetic change of *ś* or *s* to *ṣ*, and of *s* to *ś*, both the palatal and the dental are further liable, in many words and forms, to be substituted for each of the other two.

a. Assimilation of *s* is liable to occur

1. initially, when *ś* or *s* appear at the end of the same or the beginning of the next syllable. This is the case in *śvāsūra-* 'father-in-law'; *śvāsūrā-* 'mother-in-law'; *śmāsru-* and *-śmāsūru-* 'beard'; *śāśvant-* 'ever-recurring'; in *śās-* 'six' (Lat. *sex*), and its various derivatives, *śaś-ṭi-* 'sixty', *śodhā* (= **śaṣ-dhā*) 'sixfold', and others⁷.

2. initially *s* in the RV. almost invariably becomes *ṣ* in *sah-* 'overcoming', when the final *h* (= Ilr. *ṣ*), with or without a following dental, becomes cerebral: nom. sing. *śāṭ* 'victorious', and the compounds *janā-śāt*, *turā-śāt*, *purā-śāt*, *pṛtanā-śāt*, *vīrā-śāt*, *vṛthā-śāt*, *ṛtā-śāt* (VS.), *viśvā-śāt* (TS. AV.); also *ā-śāḍha-* 'invincible'. The only exceptions are *śāḍhā*, nom. sing. of *śāḍhy-* 'conqueror', and the perf. part. pass. *sāḍhā-* (AV.)⁸. The *s* of the nom. has been transferred to forms with *-śāh-*, when compounded with *pṛtanā-*, though

¹ In B. passages of the TS. and MS. are found intv. forms of *lī* 'sway': *ālāyati*, pf. *lālāya*, also the adv. *lālāyā* 'quiveringly'. In similar passages the prepositions *prā* and *pārā* are affected: *plēkhā-* (TS.) = *prekhā-* 'swing'; *plākṣārayan* (MS. III. 102) 'they caused to flow' (*Vikar-*), *palā-y-ata* (TS.) 'fled' (*parā-i-*). Some uncertain or wrong explanations of *alātṛnā-* 'miserly', *ubokā-* 'wide space', *gal-* 'drop', with *l* = IE. *r*, are discussed by WACKERNAGEL I, p. 221, top.

² See WACKERNAGEL I, 193 b, note.

³ See above 51 b.

⁴ See above p. 5, note 5.

⁵ According to BÖHLINGK, *ilāyati* is wrong for *ilāyati*. Cp. above p. 35, note 1.

⁶ A form with the original *d* is found in *mīḍam* (K.) 'in a low tone'.

⁷ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 197 a, note.

⁸ A B. passage of the MS. has *sāḍhyāi* (I. 83).

there is no phonetic justification for the cerebral (as the *s* is preceded by *ā*): thus *prtanā-sāham*, gen. *prtanā-sāhas*, *prtanā-sāhya* 'victory in battle', but *prtanā-sāham* (SV.). When compounded with *dyumnā*, *dhanvā*, *rathā*, *vibhva*, *sadā*, the phonetic form *-sāh-* remains¹.

3. Medial *s* has been assimilated to initial *ś* in *śasā* 'hare' (IE. *ḥasō*-²).

b. Without assimilation³, *s* or *ś* has been changed to *ś*, mostly under the influence of allied words, in the following: *śēśa* 'hair': *śēśara* (AV. VS.); *śākrī*⁴ 'excrement'; *śubh-* 'adorn' (probably owing to *śudh-* 'purify'); *śūṣka* 'dry' (Iir. *suška-*), *śūṣyati* 'dries'; *śru-* 'flow', *śrāvas-* 'stream': *śru-*, *śrāvas-*; *śvas-*, *śuṣ-* 'breathe'; *śvātra-*, *śvātrya-* 'dainty': *śvad-* 'taste'⁵; *pyāśiṣimahi* (AV.): *pyāśiṣimahi* (VS.), aor. (534) of *pyā-* 'swell'; *oṣiṣṭha-hān-* (VS. TS.) 'striking very swiftly' beside *oṣiṣṭha-dāvan-* (TS.) 'giving very rapidly' (from *oṣām* 'quickly', lit. 'burningly'), owing to *āsiṣṭha* 'very swift'; *kōśa-* 'receptacle' (in the later language often also *kośa-*); *kūśmā-* (VS.) beside *kūśmā-* (MS.), a kind of demon; *ruśati-* (AV.) 'angry', beside *ruṣ-* 'be angry', probably owing to *rūśant-* 'shining'.

a. On the other hand, *s* occasionally appears in the later Samhitās, chiefly AV., for *ś*: thus *asyate* (AV. v. 19²): *as-* 'eat'; *vāṣī-* (AV.) 'pointed knife': *vāṣī-*; *sāru-* (AV.) 'arrow': *śāru-*; *arus-srāṇa-* (AV.), a kind of wound preparation: *śrā-* 'boil'; *śaspiṇjara-* (TS.) 'ruddy like young grass', owing to *sasā* 'grass', for *śas-piṇjara-* (VS. MS.) = *śas[pa]-piṇjara-*⁶.

54. The palatal *ś*.—This sibilant is a palatal both in origin (= Iir. *ś*), as indicated by cognate languages, and in employment, as its combination with other consonants shows. Thus it represents an old palatal in *śatām* 'a hundred', *āśva-* 'horse', *śvān-* 'dog', *śru-* 'hear'⁷. In external Sandhi it regularly appears before voiceless palatal mutes, e. g. *īndras ca*. At the present day the pronunciation of *ś* in India varies between a *śh* sound (not always distinguished from *ś*) and a *s* sound followed by *y*. It is to some extent confused with the other two sibilants even in the Samhitās, but it is to be noted that here it interchanges much oftener with *s* than with *ś*⁸.

The aspirate of *ś* is *ch*⁹; its media is represented by *j* and when aspirated by *h*. These four form the old palatals (Iir. *ś*, *śh*, *ś*, *śh*), representing IE. *ḥ* *ḥh* *ḡ* *ḡh*. The exact phonetic character of the latter is doubtful, but it is probable that they were dialectically pronounced in two ways, either as mutes (guttural¹⁰ or palatal) or as spirants, the *centum* languages later following the former, the *satem* languages the latter¹¹.

a. In external Sandhi *ś* regularly appears for *s* before the palatals *c*, *ch*, *ś*¹². It also stands for *s* internally in *paścāt* and *paścātāt* 'behind'¹³, and in *vrścāti* 'hews' beside *-vraskā-* 'lopping'.

b. Before *s* the palatal sibilant when medial is regularly replaced by *k*, and sometimes also when final; e. g. *dṛk-śase* and *-dṛk*, from *dṛś-* 'see'. Otherwise *ś* very rarely interchanges with *k* or *c*; thus *rūśant-* 'brilliant', beside *ruc-* 'shine'; perhaps *kārṇa-* 'ear': *śru-* 'hear'¹⁴. There are also a few words

¹ WACKERNAGEL I, 197 b.

² See, however, op. cit. I, 197 c, note.

³ For *ś* and *ś* are strictly distinguished in the RV.; cp. op. cit. I, 197 d α, note (end).

⁴ Cp., however, op. cit. I, 197 d α.

⁵ Op. cit. p. 226, top.

⁶ See op. cit., p. 226 β; and below 64, I a.

⁷ On the relation of *ś* to the corresponding sounds in cognate languages, see WACKERNAGEL I, 200 a; BRUGMANN, KG. I, 233.

⁸ See above 53, 3.

⁹ Cp. above 40.

¹⁰ The fact that *ś* before *s* regularly becomes *h* and sometimes also when final, seems to favour the assumption of the guttural pronunciation.

¹¹ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 200 b.

¹² See below, Sandhi, 78.

¹³ Cp. Av. *paścāt* and *pasca*.

¹⁴ For some words in which such an assumption is doubtful or wrong, see WACKERNAGEL I, 201 a.

with *ś* to which *k* corresponds in the *satem* languages; such are *krus-* 'cry'; *ásman-* 'stone'.¹

55. The dental *s*.—This sound as a rule represents IE. dental *s*; e. g. *sa* 'he', Gothic *sa*; *ásva-s* 'horse', Lat. *equo-s*; *ásti*, Gk. *ἔστι*. In the combinations *ts* and *ps*, when they stand for etymological *dhs* and *bhs*, the *s* represents IE. *zh*; as in *gřtsa-* 'adroit' (from *grdh-* 'be eager') and *dřpsa-*, 'wish to injure' (from *dabh-* 'injure'), where the final aspirate of the root would have been thrown forward on the suffix, as in *bud-dhá-* from *√budh-*, and *-rab-dha-*, from *√rabh-*.²

The dental *s* is in Sandhi frequently changed to the palatal *ś*³, and still more frequently to the cerebral *ṣ*⁴.

56. The cerebral *ṣ*.—The cerebral sibilant is altogether of a secondary nature, since it always represents either an original palatal or an original dental sibilant.

The cerebral *ṣ* stands for a palatal before cerebral *tenuis* (themselves produced by this *ṣ* from dental *tenuis*) in the following two ways:

a. for the palatal *ś* (= Ilr. *ś*) and *j* (= Ilr. *ž*); e. g. *naś-tā-*, from *naś-* 'be lost'; *mřś-ta*, 3. sing. mid., from *mřj-* 'wipe'; *přś-tā-* 'asked', *přś-tum* 'to ask', from *přś-* 'ask' in *přś-nā-* 'question' (present stem *přchā-*⁵ with inchoative suffix *-chā*). In some instances it is shown by the evidence of cognate words to represent *ś*; thus *ařtāu* 'eight' beside *ařtī-* 'eighty'; *přřtī-* 'rib', *přřtī-* 'side-horse', beside *přřśu-* 'rib'; *āřtrā-* 'goad', beside *āśāni-* 'thunderbolt'; possibly also *apāřthā-*⁶ 'barb', beside *ásman-* 'bolt'.

b. for the combination *kṣ*, which in origin is *ś* + *s*⁷; e. g. *cās-ṭe*, *a-cařṭa*, from *cakṣ-*⁸ 'see'; *a-tař-ṭa*, *tař-ṭā-*, *tāř-ṭr-*⁹, beside *takṣ-* 'hew'; *nř-ař-ṭa-* 'emasculated' beside *nř-akṣ-nu-hi* (AV.) 'emasculate'; also aorist forms like *ā-yař-ṭa*, 3. sing. mid. from *yaj-* 'sacrifice', beside 3. sing. subj. *yākṣ-at*; *ā-sřś-ṭa*, 3. sing. mid., beside *ā-sřkṣ-ata*, 3. pl. mid. from *sřj-* 'emit'. As in all these instances *kṣ* = *ś* + *s* or *j* (= *ž*) + *s*¹⁰, loss of *s* before *t* must here be assumed, the remaining *ś* or *j* combining with the following *t* as usual to *řṭ*¹¹. A similar origin of *ṣ* is indicated by the evidence of cognate languages in *ṣař-thū-* (AV.) 'sixth', where the final *s* has been dropped (as in Gk. *ἕκτος*), while retained in Lat. *sex-tus*; also in *ṣař-ṭī-* 'sixty', *ṣoḍhā* 'sixfold', *ṣoḍaś-* (AV.) 'sixteenth'. It has possibly the same origin in *ařṭhivānt-* 'knee'¹².

57. The cerebral *ṣ* stands for dental *s* after vowels other than *a* or *ā*, and after the consonants *k*, *r*, *ś*.

i. Medially this change regularly¹³ takes place, both when the *s* is radical — e. g. *tī-řṭhati*, from *stṭhā-* 'stand'; *su-řup-ur*, 3. pl. perf. from *řvap-*

¹ This seems to point to fluctuation in the IE. pronunciation; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 201 b.

² See WACKERNAGEL I, 210.

³ Cp. above 54 a, and below 78, 2.

⁴ See below 56.

⁵ Cp. 40.

⁶ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 202 b; and below p. 48, note 7.

⁷ Cp. op. cit. I, 116 b.

⁸ Cp. Av. *cařman-*.

⁹ On the origin of *twāřṣ-* = **twarřṣ-*, see WACKERNAGEL I, 202 c, note.

¹⁰ Though *kṣ* is regularly based on a palatal or a guttural + *s* in the Vedic language, there are some words of IE. origin in which the *ṣ* appears to represent not *s* but a dental

spirant *tenuis* (*ḷ*) or media (*dh*). In a few words, *křip-*, *křu-*, *křubh-*, *křurā-*, the sibilant comes first in the cognate languages: see WACKERNAGEL I, 209.

¹¹ Similarly, when *kṣ* = guttural + *s* is followed by *t*, the *s* disappears and the guttural combines with the *t*; thus from *ghař-* 'eat', *-gdha-* (= *ghař-ta-*); from *jakṣ-* 'eat', *jagdhā-* (= *jagṣh-ta-*), *jagdhvāya* (= *jagṣh-tvāya*); from *bhaj-* 'share', aor. *ā-bhak-ta* (= *abhař-s-ta*), beside *ā-bhak-ṣ-i*.

¹² Cp. BARTHOLOMAE, Studien zur indogermanischen Sprachgeschichte 2, 103.

¹³ The change does not take place in some forms of the perfect of *sic-* 'pour': *sisisce* (III. 32¹⁵), *sisisceur* (II. 24⁴), beside *sisisceatur*.

'sleep'; *us-ānā-*, part., from *vas-* 'wear'; *ṛṣa-ūhū-* 'bull'; *ukṣān-* 'ox'; *varṣā-* 'rain' — and when the *s* is suffixal; as in the superlative suffix *-iṣṭha*; in the loc. pl. suffix *-su*, e. g. *agnī-su*, *aktī-su*, *nī-su*, *vīk-ṣṭi*, *gīr-ṣṭi*, *haviṣ-su*; in the *s*-suffix of the aorist, e. g. *yuk-ṣ-at*, from *yaj-* 'sacrifice'.

The change is phonetic even when *Anusvāra* intervenes between *ṛ ā ī ṛ* and *s*; e. g. *piṇṣānti* from *piṣ-* 'crush'; *haviṃsi* 'offerings' from *haviṣ-*; *cakṣūṃsi* 'eyes' from *cakṣus-*. The *s*, however, remains in forms of *hiṃs-* 'injure'; *nīṃs-* 'kiss', and *pūṃs-* 'man', being probably transferred from the strong forms *hināsti*, *pīlmāṃsam*, etc.

a. The *s*, however, remains when immediately followed by *r* or *ṛ*, owing to a distaste for a succession of cerebrals¹; e. g. *tisrās*, *tiṣṭhās*, *tiṣṭhām*, f. of *tri-* 'three'; *usrās* gen., *usri* and *usrām*, loc. (beside *usar*, voc.), *usrā-* 'matutinal'; *usrā-* 'bull'; *sarīṣpā-* 'creeping'. Owing to the influence of forms with *sr*, the *s* further remains in the syllable *sar*, instead of *ṣar*, as in *sīsarṣi*, *sīsarṭi* (beside *sīsrate*, *sīsrat-*, *sarsrē* etc.). In *kṣāra-* (AV. VS.) 'hair', the retention may be due to the *r* having originally followed the *s* immediately². The *s* also remains unchanged in the combinations *stīr*, *stūr*, *ṣṭar*, *ṣṭṛ*, *sphūr*; e. g. *ūstīrē*, from *stīr-* 'strew'; *piṣṭṛas*, from *ṣṭṛ-* 'touch'³. It remains in the second of three successive syllables in which *s-ṣ-s* would be expected; thus *yāsistīṣhās*, beside *ayāsīṣam*, from *yā-* 'go'; *sīsakṣi*, beside *sīṣakṣi*, from *sac-* 'follow'.

β. Words in which *s* otherwise follows *i* or any vowel but *ā*, must be of foreign origin; such as *bīsa-* 'root fibre'; *bīśā-* 'vapour'; *bṛṣaya-*, a demon; *ṛbīsa-* 'cleft'; *kūśā-* 'praiser'; *bārsvā-* (VS.) 'socket'; *kūśāla-* (AV.), a kind of demon; *mūśala-* (AV.) 'pestle' (for *mūśra-*?); *śīśu-* (AV. VS.) 'lead'⁴.

γ. The cerebral *ṣ* is sometimes found even after *ā*, representing an early Prakritic change in which *as*, is based on *ṛṣ* and *ās* on *arṣ*. Instances of this are *kaṣati* (AV.) 'scratches'; *paṣṭhacān-* (VS. TS.) 'young bull' (lit. 'carrying on the back') and *paṣṭhauk-*⁵ 'young cow', beside *prṣṭhā-* 'back'; *pṛṣṭā-* 'stone'; *bṛṣā-*⁶ (VS.) 'barking'⁷. There are besides several unexplained instances, doubtless due to foreign influence or origin; such are *āṣatara-* 'more accessible'; *hāvāṣa-*, N.; *cāṣa-* 'blue jay'; *caṣāla-* 'knob'; *jālāṣa-* 'remedy'; *baṣṭhāya-* 'yearling'; *baṣṭhi-* (VS.) 'decrepit'; *māṣa-* 'bean' (AV. VS.); *śāṣpa-* (VS.) 'young grass'⁸.

2. Initially¹¹ the change regularly takes place, in the RV.:

a. in verbal compounds after prepositions ending in *i* or *u*, and in nominal derivatives from such compound verbs; also after the preposition *nī-* 'out'; e. g. *nī ṣṭā* (x. 98⁴); *ānu ṣṭuvanti* (VIII. 3⁸); *nīḥ-ṣāhamāṇaḥ* (I. 127³).

a. But (as when it is medial) the *s* remains unchanged when followed by *r* (even when *t* or *p* intervenes) or *r* (even though *a* intervene, with an additional *m* or *v* in the roots *smar-* and *svar-*); e. g. *vī ṣṭja* 'let flow', *vī-ṣṭi-* 'creation'; *vī ṣṭnītām* 'let him extend'; *nī-ṣṭṛē* 'to caress' (but *d-nī-ṣṭṛā-* 'unchecked'); *pāri-smṛta-* 'flowed round'; *vī-sargā-* 'end', *vī-sānjana-* 'extension' (owing to the influence of the forms with *sr* from *ṣṭṛ-*); *vī-sarmān-* 'dissolving', *vī-sārd-* 'extent', and even *vī sarve* (owing to the influence of forms with *sr* from *ṣṭṛ-* 'flow'); *prāti smarēthām* 'may ye two remember' (*Vsmṛ-*); *abhi-śvānti* 'praise', *abhi-śvār-* 'invocation', *abhi-śvārē*, loc., 'behind', *abhi-śvart-* 'invoker'. But *st ṣṭ sph* are changed according to the general rule, when *ār ir ur* follow; e. g. *prāti sphura* 'repel'. In roots which contain no *r*, the initial *s* rarely remains; thus in forms of *as-* 'be': *abhi santi*, *pāri santu*, *pāri santi* (beside *pāri ṣanti*), *abhi syāma* (beside *abhi-ṣyāma*); and owing to dislike of repeated *ṣ*: *anu-ṣṣidhat* (*sidh-* 'drive off'); *ānu-ṣṣaṣṭa-* 'noticed' (*ṣṣā-* 'see'); *pāri sanī-ṣvaṇat* (*svan-* 'sound').

¹ Cp. above 42 a, α and p. 38, note 2.

² See WACKERNAGEL I, 50.

³ The combination *ṣr* is found only where *sr* would be quite isolated amid cognate forms with *ṣ*; thus *ajṣ-ṛan*, from *jṣ-* 'be satisfied', since all the other very numerous forms of this verb have *ṣ*.

⁴ See WACKERNAGEL I, 203 e, note.

⁵ Sometimes representing also IE. *ls* and *ls*; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 208 b α.

⁶ Cp. BARTHOLOMAE, KZ. 29, 579; WINDISCH, KZ. 27, 169.

⁷ Cp. FORTUNATOV, BB. 6, 217; J. SCHMIDT, KZ. 32, 387.

⁸ FORTUNATOV, l. c.

⁹ On doubtful instances like *kāṣṭhā-* 'goal', *āṣṭhāntau* 'knees', *apāṣṭhā-* 'barb', cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 208 b α, note; b β, note.

¹⁰ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 208 b β.

¹¹ Finally, *ṣ* stands for *s* in the first

β. In the later Samhitās initial *s* is similarly changed to *ṣ*; but its retention is in some instances somewhat less restricted; thus *abhi śhūrjati* (AV.) 'sounds towards'; *ādhi skanda* (AV.) and *abhi-skāndam*¹, beside *pāri-skāndā-* (AV., VS.), from *skand-* 'leap'; *prati-spāśana-* (AV.) 'lying in wait', *prati-spāśi-* (TS.) 'spying'; *anu sthana* (TS. v. 6. 1³), from *as-* 'be'; owing to the following *s* also in *abhi śisyade* (AV.) from *syand-* 'run'.

γ. The divergence between the later Samhitās and the RV. is much greater when the augment intervenes between a preposition ending in *i* and the initial *s* of a root. In the RV. the *s* regularly remains unchanged [as *ny-dśidat*, *vy-dśhāt*, etc.] except in *pāry āśasvajat* 'embraced' (under the influence of *pāri śasvajē*). In the other Samhitās, however, the *s* here regularly becomes *ṣ*; thus *abhy-āśiñcan* (TS.), *abhy-āśicyanta* (AV.) from *sic-* 'sprinkle'; *vy-āśahanta* (AV.)², from *śah-* 'overcome'; *ādhy-āsthām* (AV.), *ādhy-āsthāt* (AV.), *abhy-āsthīm* (AV.) from *sthā-* 'stand'. In the root *śhī-* 'spit', which first occurs in the AV., the initial *s* has been displaced by *ṣ* throughout. The form *prety āsthīvan* indicates the transition which led to the change.

Similarly when a reduplicative syllable containing *ā* intervenes between a preposition ending in *i* and an initial radical *s*, the latter always remains unchanged in the RV.; thus *pāri śasvajē*; *ni-śasātthā* (VIII. 48²); *ati-tasthāu* (X. 603); but the AV. has *vi-tasthīr*, *vi tasthe* (owing to *vī tiṣṭhate*, *vī-ṣṭhila-*), but also *ādhi tasthūr*.

b. Initially in the second member of other than verbal compounds *ṣ* is more common than *s* when preceded by vowels other than *ā*. But *s* even in the RV. the is not infrequently retained; not only when *r* or *r* follows as in *hṛdi-śpīś-* 'touching the heart', *su-sārtu-*, N., *ṛṣi-svard-* 'sung by seers', but also when there is no such cause to prevent the change; thus *gū-sakhi-* beside *gū-sakhi-* 'possessing cattle'; *go-sāni-* (AV. VS.) beside *go-sāni-* 'winning cattle'; *rayi-śthāna-* beside *rayi-śthāna-* (AV.) 'possessing wealth'; *tri-śaptā-* beside *tri-śaptā-* (AV.) 'twenty-one'; *śiṣ-samidhā-* beside *śiṣ-samidhā-* (SV.) 'well-kindled'; *āpāke-stha-* (AV.) 'standing in the oven' beside *-śṭha-* in other compounds after *-e*; *pṛthivī-sād-* (VS.) beside *pṛthivī-sād-* (AV.) 'seated on the earth'; *śiṣ-samvddha-* (AV.) 'quite perfect'. After *r* the *s* becomes *ṣ* in *svaṛ-śā-* 'light-winning', *svaṛ-śāti-* 'obtainment of light'; after *k*, probably only in *ṛk-śama-* (TS.) 'resembling a *ṛc*', beside *ṛk-sama-* (VS.).

a. In Avyayibhāvas *ṣ* seems to appear in the RV. only; thus *anu-śvadhām* 'according to wish'; *anu-śatyām* 'according to truth'; *anu-śvāpam* 'sleepily'.

β. In some compounds *ṣ* appears where it is not phonetically justifiable, owing to the influence of cognate words; thus *upa-ṣṭūt*, adv., 'at one's call' (because of the frequency of *-ṣtu-* after *i* and *u*), beside *ūpa-stut-* 'invocation'; *sa-ṣṭibh-* (TS.), a metre, owing to *anu-ṣṭubh-*, *tri-ṣṭibh-*; *sarya-ṣṭhā-* (AV.), owing to compounds in *-e-ṣṭha-*.

γ. In Āmreḍita compounds, however, the *s* regularly remains unchanged because of the desire to leave the repeated word unaltered; thus *sutē-sute* and *somē-some* 'at every Soma draught'; also in *stuhī stuhī* 'praise on'³.

3. Initially in external Sandhi *s* frequently becomes *ṣ* after a final *i* and *u* in the RV. This change chiefly takes place in monosyllabic pronouns and particles, such as *sā(s)*, *sā*, *syā(s)*, *sīm*, *sma*, *svid*, and particularly *śi*. It also appears in verbal forms like *stha sthas sthana*, *santu*, *syām*, *syāma* (from *as-* 'be'); *sīdati*, *satsat*, *satsi* (from *sad-* 'sit'); *siñca*, *siñcata* (from *sic-* 'pour'); *stavāma*, *stave*, *stuhī* (from *stu-* 'praise'); in participles like *sīn*, *śatās* (from *as-* 'be'); *sīdan* (from *sad* 'sit'); *śuvānās* (*su-* 'press'); *sītīm* (*si-* 'bind'); *stutās* (*stu-* 'praise'); *skānām* (*skand-* 'leap'). In other words the change

member of the compound and often in external Sandhi; see below 78.

¹ Cp. APr. II. 104.

² Cp. WHITNEY's Translation of the AV.

I, p. LXIV (mid.).

Indo-arische Philologie I, 4.

³ This is not treated as an Āmreḍita compound in the Padapāṭha (VIII. 130²): *stuhī|stuhī|it*; but *pīṣ-ṣība* (II. 111¹) is analyzed as *pība-pība|it*.

rarely takes place; e. g. *ānu rājati śhīp* (IX. 96¹³); *trī śadhāsthā* (III. 565); *nīh śadhāsthāt*¹ (V. 31¹⁰); *nā śhīrām* (I. 64¹⁵); *ādhi śhīnā* (IX. 97¹⁶).

The *ś* usually follows short words such as *u*, *tū*, *nū*, *śū*, *hī*, and occurs where there is a close syntactical connection of two words; e. g. *rājāṣu śīdan* (VII. 34¹⁶); *vāṁsu śīdati* (IX. 57⁵); *divī śān* (VI. 2⁶); *divī śantu* (V. 2¹⁰); *rechānti śma* (X. 102⁶). In no word, however, even when these conditions are fulfilled, is the change of initial *s* to *ś* invariably made.

a. In the later Samhitās, apart from passages adopted from the RV. this form of external Sandhi is very rare except in the combination *ñ śh*. Examples are *ād u śhendm* (AV. IV. 3⁴); *māhi śād dyumān nāmāḥ* (TS. III. 2. 8²)².

58. The breathing *h*.—The sound *h* is, at the present day, pronounced as a breathing in India, and this was its character at the period when Greek and Indian words were interchanged, as is shown e. g. by *ōpa* being reproduced by *hōrā*. It is already recognised as a breathing by the TPr. (II. 9), which identifies it with the second element of voiced aspirates (*g-h*, *d-h*, *b-h*). This is borne out by the spelling *हह* *h-h* (= *dh*) beside *ह* *h* (= *q*). The TPr. further (II. 47) assigns to it, on the authority of some, the same place of articulation as the following vowel, this being still characteristic of the pronunciation of *h* at the present day in India³. The breathing is, moreover, stated by the Prātisākhya⁴ to have been voiced. This pronunciation is proved by the evidence of the Samhitās themselves; for *h* is here often derived from a voiced aspirate, e. g. *hitā-* from *dhā-* 'put'; it is occasionally replaced by a voiced aspirate, e. g. *jaghāna* from *han-* 'strike'; and in Sandhi initial *h* after a final mute regularly becomes a voiced aspirate, e. g. *tād dhī* for *tād hī*. It is in fact clear that whatever its origin (even when = Ilr. *śh*)⁵, *h* was always pronounced as a voiced breathing in the Samhitās.

As *h* cannot be final owing to its phonetic character⁶, it is represented in that position by sounds connected with its origin⁷. It appears in combination with voiced sounds only; being preceded only by vowels, Anusvāra, or the semivowels *r* and *l*⁸ (in Sandhi also by the nasals *n* and *m*), and followed only by vowels, the nasals *n*, *m*, or the semivowels *y*, *r*, *l*, *v*.

The breathing *h* as a rule represents a voiced aspirate, regularly a palatal aspirate, occasionally the dental *dh* and the labial *bh*. It usually represents a new palatal (= Ilr. *jh*, Av. *j*⁹), appearing beside *gh*, e. g. *druhyā-*: *dr̥gha-*, as *j* beside *g*, e. g. *ūjīyas*: *ugrā-*. But in many words it also stands (like *j* for *ś*) for the old palatal *śh*, the voiced aspirate of *ś*, being recognizable as such in the same way as *j*¹⁰.

r a. *h* represents the palatalization (= Ilr. *jh*) of *gh* when, in cognate forms, *gh* (or *g*) is found before other sounds than *s*; e. g. *hān-ti* 'strikes': *ghn-ānti*, *jaghāna*; *ārhati* 'is worthy': *arghā-* 'price'; *gh-ānt-* 'weak': *ragh-īt-* 'light'; *jān̄h-as-* 'gait': *jān̄ghā-* 'leg'; *dāhati* 'burns': *dag-dhā-* 'burnt'; *dāhate* 'milks': *dighāna* 'milking', *dug-dhā-* 'milked'; *dudr̥sha* 'have injured': *drug-dhā-* 'injured', *dr̥gha-* 'injurious'; *mām̄hate* 'presents': *maghā-* 'gift'; *mīh-* 'mist':

¹ *i*h and *u*h produce the same effect as simple *i* and *u*, as they were originally pronounced as *i*ś and *u*ś (cp. Sandhi, p. 71, e 2); e. g. *agni(ś) śave*; *yāju(ś) śkannām*.

² Cp. WACKERNAGEL I. 207 b.

³ Cp. WHITNEY on APR. I. 13 and TPr. II. 47.

⁴ See RPr. I. 12; XII. 2; APR. I. 13.

⁵ See below 1 b.

⁶ See below, Sandhi, 66.

⁷ Ibid. b 6, ð.

⁸ The combination *lh* is rare; it is found in *upa-valh-* (VS.) 'test by riddles'; *vihālha-* (AV.), of unknown meaning; and in the Kāṇva recension of the VS. as representing *dh*.

⁹ Cp. 36. This *h* being related to *gh* as *j* is to *g*, it must represent IE. *gh*. This survives, with loss of the aspiration, in *jāhi* (= Ilr. *jha-dhi*), 2. sing. impv. of *han-* 'strike'.

¹⁰ Cp. 41.

meghā- 'cloud'; *mīkhyati* 'is perplexed'; *mugdhā-* 'gone astray', *māgha-* 'vain'; *rāpñhi-* 'speed'; *raghū-* 'swift'; *hūras-* and *gharmā-* 'heat'; *harmye-sthā-* and *gharmye-sthā-* 'dwelling in the house'; *hṛṣitī-* 'glad'; *ghṛṣu-* 'joyful', *ghṛṣvi-* 'gladdening'. In *āhi-* 'serpent' and *duhitī-* 'daughter' the guttural origin of *h* is shown by cognate languages¹.

b. *h* represents the old palatal aspirate (= Iir. *śh*):

α. when, either as a final or before *t*, it is replaced by a cerebral (like the old palatals *ś* and *j* = Iir. *ś*); e. g. *vaḥ-* 'carry': *ā-vāt*, 3. sing. aor. *guh-* 'conceal': *gūdhā-*² 'concealed'; *trhāti* 'crushes': *trīdhā-*³; *dṛmhati* 'makes; firm', *dṛhyati* 'is firm': *dṛdhā-* 'firm'; *bahū-* 'abundant': *bādīdhā-* 'aloud'; *mīh-* 'make water': *mādīhra-* (AV.) 'penis'; *rihāti* 'licks': *rādīhi* 'licks', *rūḍha-* 'licked'; *vāhati* 'carries': *vādīhum* 'to carry', *ūdīdhā-* 'carried'; *sāhate* 'overcomes': *sādīhṛ-* 'victor'.

β. when it is followed by sounds which do not palatalize gutturals⁴, before which *dh* and *bh* do not become *h*, and before which the other old palatals *ś* and *j* (= *ś*) appear; thus *āpñhas-* and *āpñhati-* 'distress' because of *āpñhi-* 'narrow'; *dhan-* 'day', because of *dhnām*, g. pl., and *pūrvāhūd-* 'forenoon' (not *ghu* as in *ghnanti* from *han-*); *jīhamāna-*⁵ 'panting', because of *jīhmā-* 'oblique'; *bāhū-* 'arm'; *brāhman-* n. 'devotion', *brahmān-* 'one who prays'; *rāhū-* (AV.), demon of eclipse; *yahvā-*, *yahvānt-* 'ever young', because of *yahū-*, id. This applies to all words beginning with *hū-*, *hṛ-*, *hu-*, *hr-*, *hv-*; e. g. *hu-* 'pour'; *hṛd-* and *hṛdaya-* 'heart'; *-hraya-* 'ashamed'; *-hvā-*, *hū-* 'call'; *hṛ-* 'be crooked'.

γ. when the 'satem' languages have a corresponding voiced spirant (*z* or *ḥ*)⁶; thus *ahām* 'I'; *chā-* (AV.) 'desirous'; *garhate* 'complains of'; *dih-* 'besmear'; *plīhān-* (AV. VS.) 'spleen'; *barhī-* 'sacriñcial straw'; *mah-* 'great'; *varādhā-* 'boar'; *sahāsra-* 'thousand'; *simhā-* 'lion'; *spṛh-* 'desire'; *hamsā-* 'goose'; *hānu-* 'jaw'; *hi-* 'impel'; *hemān-* 'zeal', *hetī-* 'weapon'; *hāya-* 'steed'; *hāri-* and *hārita-* 'tawny'; *hāryati* 'likes'; *hāsta-* 'hand'; *hā-* 'forsake'; *hāyand-* (AV.) 'year'; *hī-* 'for'; *himā-* 'cold'; *hīraṇya-* 'gold'; *hīrī-* (AV. VS.) 'vein'; *hīms-* 'injure'; *hēṣas-* 'wound'; *hṛ-* 'take'; *hyās* 'yesterday'.

δ. *h* according to the evidence of cognate languages, represents other palatals in some words. Thus in *hṛd-* 'heart', *ś* = IE. *k* would be expected; and *j* = IE. *ǵ* in *ahām* 'I', *mahānt-* 'great', *hānu-* 'jaw', *hāsta-* 'hand', *hvā-*, *hū-* 'call'. These irregularities are probably due to IE. dialectic variations⁸.

2. *h* also represents *dh* and *bh* not infrequently, and *dh* at least once.

α. It takes the place of *dh* in four or five roots (with nominal derivatives) and in a few nominal and verbal suffixes. Thus it appears initially in *hitā-*, *-hiti-*, beside *-dhita-*, *dhiti-*, from *dhā-* 'put'. Medially it is found in *gāhate* 'plunges' (with the derivatives *gāhā-* 'depth', *gāhana-* 'deep', *dur-gāha-* 'impassable place') beside *gādīdhā-* 'ford'; *rōhati* 'rises', 'grows' (with the derivatives *rīh-* 'growth', *rōhana-* 'means of ascending', *rōhas-* 'elevation') beside *rūdīhati* 'grows' (with the derivatives *vṛ-rūdīh-* 'creeper', *-rūdīha-* 'growing', *rōdhas-* 'bank', *ā-rōdhana-* 'ascent'); derivatives of **rudh-* 'be red': *rohī-*, *rōhita-*,

¹ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 214 b.

² That is for **guzādhā* (through *guṣh-tā-* for *guṣh-tā-*), the cerebral *ḍ* disappearing but leaving the vowel long.

³ Cp. 12 and 17, 5.

⁴ See above 41, 2.

⁵ See WHITNEY, Roots, under *jeh*; and cp. 41 a, 2.

⁶ This includes several examples given under α and β.

⁷ Perhaps also in *has-* 'laugh' and *hā-* 'go', as these verbs have no forms with *gh*; also *nah-* 'bind' in spite of *nad-dhā-*. In several words the origin of the *h* is uncertain, e. g. *jāṅgahe* 'struggles', as the evidence is doubtful.

⁸ See WACKERNAGEL I, 216 b; for a few doubtful examples, *ibid.* 216 a, note.

-*lohita*- 'red', beside *lodhā*- 'reddish animal', *rudhira*- (AV.) 'red'; also *rauhina*- beside *rudhikrā*-, names of demons; the evidence of cognate languages further shows that *h* represents *dh* in *grhā*- 'house'¹.

h moreover represents *dh* in the adverbial suffix *-ha* in *viśvā-ha* beside *viśvā-dha* 'always'; in *sahā* 'together', beside *sadhā*- in compounds; in *ihā* 'here', as shown by the Prakrit *idha*; and doubtless also in *sama-ha* 'somehow', though there is no direct evidence. The evidence of cognate languages, moreover, shows that in the endings of the 1. du. *-vahe*, *-vahi*, *-vaha* and the 1. pl. *-mahe*, *-mahi*, *-mahai* *h* represents *dh* (cp. Gk. *-μεῖσα*, etc.)².

b. *h* takes the place of *bh* in the verb *grāh*-, *grh*- 'seize' (with its derivatives *grāha*- 'ladleful', *grāhi*- 'demoness', *grāhyi*- 'to be grasped', *grhā*- 'servant', *hasta-gṛhya* 'having take the hand') beside *grabh*-, *grbh*- (with the derivatives *grābha*- 'taking possession of', *grābhā*- 'handful'); and in the nouns *kakuhā*- 'high', beside *kak'ibh*- 'height', *kakubhā*- (VS. TS.) 'high', m. (AV.) a kind of demon; *bali-hṛt*- 'paying tax' (beside *bhṛ*- 'bear'); probably *bārjaha*- 'udder'(?), if formed with suffix *-ha* = *-bha* (in *ṛṣa-bhā*-, etc.)³.

c. *h* takes the place of *dh* in *bārbr̥hi*, 2. sing. impv. of the intv. *bārbr̥h*- of the root *br̥h*- 'make strong', for **bārbr̥dhi* (= **bārbr̥d̥hi*, with the cerebral dropped after lengthening the preceding *r* in pronunciation)⁴.

d. The rule is that *h* appears for *dh*, *dh*, *bh*, only between vowels⁵, the first of which is unaccented; e. g. *ihā*, *kakuhā*-, *grhā*- *bārjaha*-, *bali-hṛt*- *rauhina*-, *sahā*. Similarly in *grabh*- 'seize', *h* alone appears after unaccented *r* in RV.1-IX⁶; while on the other hand, in the 2. sing. impv. of graded roots, *-dhi* regularly appears after strong and therefore originally accented vowels; e. g. *bodhi*! (from *bhū*- 'be'), *yādhī* (from *yu*- 'yoke'), *yuyodhi*! (from *yu*- 'separate'); *śiśādhī*, but *śiśīhi* (*śā*- 'sharpen'). Again, in *rudh*- 'rise', the unaccented form of the root is regularly *ruh*-, while when it is accented, forms such as *rīdhati* appear beside *rīshati*, and in nominal derivatives *dh* predominates in accented radical syllables, the RV. having *rīdha*- and *ā-rōdhana*- only, but the AV. *rīsha*- and *ārśhana*-⁷.

a. At the same time *dh* and *bh* remain in a good many instances after an unaccented vowel; thus in the 2. sing. impv. *krādhī*, *gadhi*, *śrudhi*, *śṛmadhi*; in *adhās* 'below', *adhamā*- 'lowest', *abhi* 'towards'; *rbhū*- 'defect'; *mīdhā*- 'reward'; *medhā*- 'wisdom'; *vidhātī* 'adores'; *vidhū*- 'solitary'; *vidhāvī*- 'widow'; *vadhū*- 'bride'; *sīdhū*- 'right'; *rudhira*- (AV.) 'red'; derivatives formed with *-dhi*-, *-bhā*-, etc.⁸ The retention of the *dh* and *bh* here is partly to be explained as an archaism, and partly as due to borrowing from a dialect in which these aspirates did not become *h*, and the existence of which is indicated by the Prakrit form *idha* beside the Vedic *ihā* 'here'. The guttural aspirate media is probably to be similarly explained in *meghā*- 'cloud' and *aṣhā*- 'sinful'.

¹ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 217 a.

² The *h* in the perf. *āha*, *āhūr*, may represent *dh*; not, however, in *nāhyati* 'binds', in spite of *naddhā*-, *nah*- rather stands for Ilr. *naṣh*- (cp. Lat. *necto*); the pp. instead of **nādhā*-, became *naddhā*- through the influence of *bandhā*- from *bandh*- 'bind'. Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 217 a, note, where several other wrong explanations of *h* = *dh* are discussed.

³ Some erroneous etymologies in which *h* is explained as = *bh* are discussed in WACKERNAGEL I, 217 b, note.

⁴ Cp. 12 and 17, 5.

⁵ It appears initially in *hita*- = *-dhita*-, but originally it was doubtless preceded in this position by a final vowel. That *h*

appears, though a vowel does not follow, in *grhṇātu* (IV. 57) and *hasta-gṛhya*, is due to other forms of *grabh*- in which *h* is followed by a vowel.

⁶ In RV. x, however, *grāha*- and *grāhi*- occur; cp. above, 2 b.

⁷ Exceptions like *rōhita*-, *viśvāha* and inflected forms such as *gāhate*, are due to normalization.

⁸ Where the RV. fluctuates between *h* and *dh* *bh* (above 2, a, b), *h* appears throughout in the later Samhitās; thus always *-hi*, after vowels in imperatives except *edhi* 'be'; thus for *śṛmadhi* (RV. VIII. 843), SV. has *śṛmhi*. But a new *h* of this kind hardly occurs. Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 219 a.

¹⁰ See WHITNEY, JAOS. 7, 92, note.

Anusvāra and Anunāsika are commonest when final. As in that position they belong to the sphere of Sandhi, the conditions under which they then appear, will be stated below¹. Medially Anusvāra and Anunāsika are found under the following conditions:

a. regularly before sibilants and *h*; e. g. *vaṃśá-* 'reed'; *havṃsi* 'offerings'; *māṃśá-* 'flesh'; *siṃhí-* 'lion'. This is generally recognized as the sphere of Anusvāra, except by the APr.²; but *māṃśatá-* 'light yellow', is stated³ to have Anunāsika, while *pumścalí-* (AV. VS.) is said to have both Anunāsika and Anusvāra⁴. The Anusvāra usually appears before *s*, and all forms with *ns* are shown to be based on original *ns* or *ms* by the evidence of cognate forms corroborated by that of allied languages⁵; thus *māṃsate*, 3. sing. subj. aor. of *man-* 'think'; *jighāṃsati*, des. from *han-* 'strike'; *pīṃśānti* beside *pīṃśāsi*, from *piś-* 'crush'; the neuter plurals in *-āṃsi*, *-īṃsi*, *-ūṃsi* from stems in *-as*, *-is*, *-us*, with nasal after the analogy of *-ānti*, nom. acc. pl. from neuters in *-ut*; stems in *-yāṃs*, *-vāṃs* beside nom. sing. in *-yān*, *-vān*; *kramsyāte* (AV.) from *kram-* 'stride'. When Anusvāra appears before *ś* and *h* derived from an IE. palatal or guttural, it represents the corresponding class nasal. The reduction of these old nasals to Anusvāra is probably IIr. after long vowels (*āṃ*, *-īṃ*, *-ūṃ*); probably later after short vowels, for it does not appear in forms like *áhan* (for *áhans*), though *s* was not dropped after *an* in the IIr. period; but the *s* must have been dropped early in the Indian period, before *-ans* became *-aṃs*⁶. Anusvāra before *h* (= Av. *ṛj*) must have arisen in the Indian period.

b. before any consonant in the intensive reduplicative syllable, the final of which is treated like that of the prior member of a compound; e. g. *nāṇnam-tī* (v. 83⁵)⁷ from *nam-* 'bend'.

c. before any consonant which is the initial of secondary suffixes; thus from *śam-* 'blessing', is formed *śaṇ-yít-* 'beneficent'; *śaṇ-tīti-* or *śánt-tīti-* 'blessing'.

6r. Voiceless Spirants.—a. The sound called Visarjanīya⁸ in the Prātiśākyas⁹, must in their time have been pronounced as a voiceless breathing, since they describe it as an *ūśman*, the common term for breathings and sibilants. This conclusion is borne out by the fact that, in the RPr., Jihvāmūliya and Upadhmāniya, the sounds which are most nearly related to and may be replaced by Visarjanīya, are regarded as forming the second half of the voiceless aspirates *kḥ* and *ph* respectively, just as *h* forms the second half of the voiced aspirates *gh*, *bh*, etc. At the present day Visarjanīya is still pronounced in India as a voiceless breathing, which is, however, followed by a weak echo of the preceding vowel. According to the TPr.¹⁰, Visarjanīya has the same place of articulation as the end of the preceding vowel. The proper function of this sound is to represent final *s* and *r* in pausā; it may, however, also appear before certain voiceless initial sounds, viz. *k*, *kḥ*, *p*, *ph*, and the sibilants (occasionally also in compounds)¹¹.

b. Beside and instead of Visarjanīya, the Prātiśākyas recognise two voiceless breathings as appropriate before initial voiceless gutturals (*k*, *kḥ*)¹²

¹ See below, Sandhi, 75.

² APr. I. 67; II. 33f.

³ Cp. RPr. IV. 35.

⁴ Cp. VPr. IV. 7f.

⁵ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 224 a.

⁶ Loc. cit.; cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 354, 17.

⁷ In AUFRECHT's edition printed *nāṇna-mūli*.

⁸ The term *visarga* is not found in the Prātiśākyas (nor in Pāṇini).

⁹ RPr. I. 5 etc., VPr. I. 41 etc.; APr. I. 5 etc.; TPr. I. 12 etc.

¹⁰ See WHITNEY on TPr. II. 48.

¹¹ See below, Sandhi, 78, 79.

¹² See RPr. I. 8; VPr. III. 11 etc.

and labials (*ṣ*, *ph*)¹ respectively. The former (*ḥ*) called *Jihvāmūliya*, or sound 'formed at the root of the tongue', is the guttural spirant *ɣ*; the latter (*ḥ*), called *Upadhmāniya*, or 'on-breathing', is the bilabial spirant *f*². In Mss. they are regularly employed in the Kāśmīrian Śāradā character.

62. Loss of Consonants.—Consonants have been lost almost exclusively when they have been in conjunction with others. The loss of a single consonant which is not in conjunction with another is restricted to the disappearance of *v* before *u*, and much more rarely of *y* before *i*. The *v* thus disappears finally in the Sandhi of *āv* before *u* in the RV. and VS.³ Initially, *v* is lost before *ūr* derived from a *r* vowel; thus in *ūraṇa-* and *ūrā-* 'sheep'; *ūras-* 'breast'; *ur-āṇa-*, mid. part. (*vṛ-* 'choose'); *ūrj-* 'vigour'; *ūrṇā-* 'wool'; *ūrṇāti* 'covers' (*vṛ-* 'cover'); *ūrdhvā-* 'high'; *ūrmi-* 'wave'. Such loss of *v* before *ūr* also occurs after an initial consonant in *tūrti-* 'quick' (= IIr. *tvṛtā-*); *dhūrva-*, *dhūrva-*, *dhūrva-*, from *dhvṛ-* 'cause to fall'; *hūrva-*, *juhūr-thās*; *juhūr*, from *hṛj-* 'go crookedly'⁴. Before simple *u* the *v* has disappeared at the beginning of the reduplicative syllable *u-* (= **vu-* for original *va-*), in *u-vāc-a* from *vac-* 'speak'; *u-vāsa* from *vas-* 'shine'; *u-vāh-a* from *vah-* 'convey'.

Similarly initial *y* has disappeared from the reduplicative syllable *i-* = **yi-* in the desiderative *ī-yak-ṣati*, *ī-yak-ṣamāṇa-*, from *yaj-* 'sacrifice'⁵.

1. When a group of consonants is final, the last element or elements are regularly lost (the first only, as a rule, remaining) in *pausā* and in Sandhi⁶.

2. When a group of consonants is initial, the first element is frequently lost. The only certain example of an initial mute having disappeared seems to be *tur-īya-* 'fourth', from **ktur-*, the low grade form of *catūr-* 'four', because the Vedic language did not tolerate initial conjunct mutes⁷. An initial sibilant is, however, often lost before a mute or nasal. This loss was originally⁸ doubtless caused by the group being preceded by a final consonant. There are a few survivals of this in the Vedas; thus *cit kām̐bhanena* (X. 1115), otherwise *skām̐bhana-* 'support'; and the roots *stambh-* 'support', and *sthā-* 'stand', lose there *s* after *ud-*; e. g. *lit-thita-*, *lit-tabhita-*. On the other hand the sibilant is preserved after a final vowel, in compounds or in Sandhi, in *d-ṣkṛdhoyu-* 'uncurtailed', beside *ṣkṛdh-* 'shortened'; *ścandrā-* 'brilliant', in *āśva-ścandra-* 'brilliant with horses'⁹, *ādhi ścandrām* (VIII. 65¹¹), also in the intens. pres. part. *cāni-ścad-at* 'shining brightly', otherwise *candrā-* 'shining', and only *candrā-mas-* 'moon'. In derivatives from four other roots, forms with and without the sibilant¹⁰ are used indiscriminately, without regard to the preceding

¹ See VPr. I. 41.

² Cp. EBEL, KZ. 13, 277 f.

³ See below, Sandhi, 73.

⁴ The *v* has either remained or been restored before such *ūr* and *ūr* in *hṛj-vūrya-* 'election of the invoker'; in the opt. *vūrta-*, from *vṛ-* 'choose'; and in the 3. pl. perfect *babhū-vūr*, *jūhu-vūr*, *sūsu-vūr*, *tūshu-vūr*.

⁵ The evidence of cognate languages seems to point to the loss of initial *d* in *āśru-* 'tear' (Lat. *lacruma*, Gk. *δάκρυ*). It is, however, probable that there were two different but synonymous IE. words *akru* and *daeru*. On some doubtful etymologies based on loss of initial consonants, see WACKERNAGEL I, 228 c, note.

⁶ See below, Sandhi, 65.

⁷ There are some words in which an initial mute seems to have been lost in the IE. period; thus *t* in *satām* 'hundred' (= IE. *stātām*); *d* perhaps in *vimśati-* 'twenty' and *vi-* 'between'; *l* perhaps in *yákr-* 'liver'. An initial mute seems to have been lost before a sibilant (originally perhaps after a final consonant) in *stāna-* 'breast', *svid-* 'sweat'; *ṣaṣ-* 'six' (KZ. 31, 415 ff.).

⁸ Dissimilation may also have played some part in the loss of the sibilant in the reduplicative syllable of roots with initial *sk* (*ś*) *sk* (*h*), as *caśkānda*, *thāthāmi*, *paśpārśa*.

⁹ See GRASSMANN'S Wörterbuch sub verbo *ścandrā-*.

¹⁰ The verb *kr-* 'do', after *pāri* and *sam*, shows an initial *s*; e. g. *paṛiṣkṛṇvanti*, *pāri-*

sound; from *stan-* 'thunder', *stanayitnī-*, beside *tanayitnī-* 'thunder', *tanyati-* (also AV.) 'thunder', *tanyī-* 'thundering', *tanyati* 'resounds'; *stend-* 'thief', *stāy-ant-* (AV.) 'stealing', *stāyī-* (VS.) 'thief', *stēya-* 'theft', beside *tāyī-* 'thief'; *stī-*, beside *tī-* 'star'; *spās-* 'spy' and *spas-* 'see' in verbal forms *ā-spas-ta* aor., *paspas-* perf., *spāśīyati* caus., *-spas-ta* part., 'seen', beside *pāśīyati* 'sees'¹.

The loss of initial *s* may be inferred in the following words from the evidence of cognate languages in which it has been preserved: *tij-* 'sharpen'; *tuj-* 'strike'; *tud-* 'beat'; *narmā-* (VS.) 'jest'; *ny-* 'dance'; *parud-* 'wing'; *pikā-* (VS.) 'Indian cuckoo'; *plihān-* (VS. AV.) 'spleen'; *phāna-* 'foam'; *mrd-* 'crush', *mrdī-* (VS.) 'soft'; *vīp-* 'tremble'; *śūpti-* 'shoulder'.

A few examples occur of the loss of the semivowels *y* or *v*² as the last element of an initial consonant group. Thus *y* disappears in derivatives of roots in *tv* formed with suffixes beginning with consonants: *-mūta-* 'moved', *mū-rā-* 'impetuous', *mū-tra-* (AV. VS.) 'urine', from *mū-* 'push'; *sūci-* 'needle', *sū-nā-* 'plaited basket', *sū-tra-* (AV.) 'thread', beside *syā-man-* 'thong', *syū-tā-* 'sewn', from *sū-* 'sew'. Loss of *v* seems to have taken place in *sīti-* 'white' (only at the beginning of compounds), beside *śvit-* 'be bright', *śvity-āñc-* 'brilliant', *śvitrad-* (AV.) 'white', *śvītrya-*, perhaps 'white'; and, on the evidence of the Avesta, in *ksīp-* 'throw' (Av. *hšīw*), *śās-* (Av. *hšvas*).

3. When the group is medial, the loss usually taken takes place between single consonants. a. The sibilants *s* and *ṣ* thus regularly disappear between mutes; e. g. *ā-bhak-ta*, 3. sing. aor., for **ābhak-s-ta* beside *ā-bhak-si-*, from *bhaj-*, 'share'; *caṣ-te* for *caṣ-te* (= original **caṣ-s-te*)³. Similarly *a-gdha-* (TS.) 'uneaten', for **a-gḥs-ta-*, from *ghas-* 'eat'⁴.

b. The dental *t* has disappeared between a sibilant and *c* in *paś-cā* and *paś-cīt* 'behind' (= IE. *post-qē*, *post-qūt*); and between *p* and *s* in **nap-su* which must have been the loc. pl. (AV. *naṣṣu*), from **napt-*, 'weak stem of *nāpāt-*, beside the dat. *nād-bhyas* 'to the grandsons', for *napt-bhyas*, where on the other hand the *p* has been dropped.

c. A mute may disappear between a nasal and a mute; e. g. *pañti-* for *pañkti-*, *yuidhi* for *yuidghi*. This spelling is common in Vedic Mss.; it is prescribed in APr. II. 20, and, as regards the mediae, in VPr. VI. 30.

4. The only example of the loss of an initial⁵ mute in a medial group of consonants seems to be that of *b* before *dh* in *nādbhyas* for **nādbbhyas* from *napt-* for *nāpāt-*. The semivowel *r* seems to be lost before a consonant when another *r* follows in *cakr-āt* (Pp. *cakrān*) and *cakr-iyās*⁶ for **carker-* beside *cakr-mi*, from *kṛ-* 'commemorate'; and, on the evidence of the Avesta, in *tvāṣṭr-* (cp. *pwaras* 'cut', *pwaršta-* 'created'),

skṛta-, *sām-skṛta-*; also after *nis* in *nir askṛta* (Pp. *akṛta*), perhaps owing to Sandhi forms with *śk* such as *nīshuru* (AV.). There can be little doubt that the *s* here was not original but was due to analogy; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 230 a, β, note.

¹ WACKERNAGEL I, 230 a γ, note, discusses several uncertain or erroneous etymologies based on loss of initial *s* (including *maryās* interpreted as 2. sing. opt. of *smṛ-*). The evidence of Prakṛit seems to point to the loss of initial *s* in *śēpa-* 'tail', *krūd-* 'leap', *kruś-* 'cry', *paraśū-* 'axe', *pariṣā-* 'knotty'; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 230 b.

² On the possible loss of *r* in *bhañj-* (Lat. *frango*) and of *k* in *savyā-* (Lat. *scaevus*), see WACKERNAGEL I, 232 c, note.

3 See above 56, b.

4 On *dṛpas-* 'property', *dāmpati-* 'lord of the house', see WACKERNAGEL I, 233 c, note.

5 The guttural mute only seems to be lost when *ks* + *t* becomes *ṣ*: see above, 56, 6. The loss of *m* in the inst. sing. *-mā* of nouns in *-man* is only a seeming one; for *dānā*, *prāthīnā*, *preṇā*, *bhūnā*, *mahīnā*, *varīnā* (TS.) appear beside the stems *dāman-* etc., because some of them had a stem in *-n* without *m*, so that *-nā* seemed an alternative from *-mnā*: see BENFEY, GGA. 1846, 702. 880; Göttinger Abhandlungen 19, 234; BLOOMFIELD, JAOS. 17, 3; cp. IF. 8, Anzeiger, p. 17.

6 But see GELDNER, VS. I, 279.

probably starting from forms like *tvāṣṣrā* (AV.) in which the *r* immediately followed¹

But the loss of a spirant (IIr. *s*, *z*, *ṣ*, *śh*) at the beginning of a medial group is common.

a. The sibilant *s*² has thus been lost before *k* followed by a consonant in *vaurkām*, *vrkū-*, *vrktvā-*, *vrkṣi* (TS.), from *vraśc-* 'lop' (cp. *-vraśkū-*).

b. The voiced form (IIr. *z*) of dental *s* has disappeared³ before voiced dentals, without leaving any trace, in the roots *ās-* 'sit', and *śās-* 'order'; thus *ā-dhvam*, *śāśā-dhi*. But when *ā* preceded the *z*, the disappearance of the sibilant is indicated by *e* taking the place of *az* before *d*, *dh*, *h* (= *dh*); thus *e-dhi*, from *as-* 'be'; *śad-*, perfect stem of *sad-* 'sit' (for *sazd-*, like *śaśc-* from *sac-*). This *e* also replaces *az* with loss of the sibilant in *de-hi* 'give'; *dhe-hi* 'put'; *kiye-dhā-* 'containing much'; *néd-tyas-* and *néd-iṣṭha-* 'very much'; *ped-h-*⁵ N.; *medati* 'is fat'; *medhā-* and *medhās-* 'wisdom'; *mūdha-* 'juice'⁶.

c. When a vowel other than *ā* preceded, the *z* was cerebralized (like *s* before a voiceless dental) and disappeared after cerebralizing the following dental and lengthening the preceding vowel; thus *a-sto-ṣhvam*⁷ (= *ā-sto-ṣhvam* for *a-stos-dhvam*) 2. pl. aor., beside *a-sto-ṣ-ṣa*, 3. sing., from *stu-* 'praise'. Thus also are to be explained *nūdā-* 'nest' (= *nīṣṭā-* for *ni-sd-a-*); *pūd-* 'press' (= *piṣṭ-* for *pi-sd-* or *pi-ṣ-d-*); *mūdā-* 'reward' (Gk. *μισθός*); *vūd-h-* 'strong', *vūdāyati* 'is strong' (from *vīs-* 'work' + *-d*)⁸; *hūd-*⁹ 'be angry', and its Guna forms, e. g. *hūd-as-* 'anger'; *mūdāti* 'be gracious', *mūdā-* 'gracious' (for *mṛṣ-d-* from *mṛṣ-* 'forget') with vowel pronounced long (12), *d-reṣ-ant-* (TS.) 'not deceiving' (= *a-reṣ-ant-*), from *riṣ-* 'injure'.

d. Similarly the old voiced palatal spirant (IIr. *ṣ*) disappeared after cerebralizing a following *d* or *dh* and lengthening the preceding vowel; thus *tā-dhi* for **taṣ-dhi* (= *tak-ṣ-dhi*) from *takṣ-* 'fashion'; *ṣo-dhū* for **ṣaṣ-dhū* (= *sak-ṣ-dhū*), beside *ṣaṣ-thā-* (AV.) 'sixth'. A similar loss is to be assumed in *ūd-* 'praise' (= *iṣ-d* for *yaj-+d*)¹⁰.

e. This loss is specially frequent in the case of the old voiced palatal aspirated spirant (IIr. *śh*) represented by *h*, which was dropped after cerebralizing and aspirating a followed *t* and lengthening the preceding vowel; thus *bādā-*

¹ In a few forms of the AV. the semi-vowel *y* seems to be lost at the end of the medial group *ksy*: *mekṣāmi*, *yokṣe*, *vidhaksān*, *sāksa*. But these forms may be due to errors in the MSS.

² In *ch* = IE. *śkh*, the original *s* was lost in a pre-Indian period.

³ Before voiced mutes other than dentals, *z* became *d*, as in *madgā-* (44, 3 a) 'diver'; similarly *z* became *d*, as in *ṣagbhis*, from *pāṣ-* 'look' or 'cord'; and in *vī-ṣṛiṣṭā-bhis* from *vīprūṣ-* 'drop'.

⁴ The loss of the voiced sibilant (*z*) must be older than the original text of the RV., as the *e* of *śad-* has been transferred to other stems which contain no sibilant, as in *bhej-ir-*, from *bhaj-* 'divide'. Similarly the vowel of *hūd-*, though derived from *iṣ*, is regarded as a primitive *ī* in the form *ājīhidat* (AV.): cp. WACKERNAGEL I, p. 272 (mid.).

⁵ Cp. BARTHOLOMAE, KZ. 27, 361. On *edh-* 'thrive', *mīyēdha-* 'broth', *vedhās-* 'virtuous', see WACKERNAGEL I, 237 c.

⁶ In stems in *-as* before case terminations beginning with *bh*, and before secondary

suffixes beginning with *m*, *y* or *v*, the sibilant is lost (instead of becoming *d* in the former circumstances, or remaining in the latter) owing to the influence of Sandhi; e. g. *dvēṣo-bhis* from *dvēṣ-as-* 'hate'. An original sibilant has perhaps been lost in *mahīṣā-*, *sāhvāms-*, *jāhṣā-*, *hrādini-*, *jas-* 'be exhausted'; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 237 a β, note.

⁷ The origin of *kroṣṭā-* (AV. VS.) 'breast' (Av. *hroṣṭāra-* 'hard') and of many words with *d* or *dh* preceded by a long vowel, and with no collateral forms containing a sibilant, is obscure.

⁸ Cp. HÜBSCHMANN, KZ. 24, 408. In *sīda-* (= *sīḍa-*) from *sad-* 'sit', the *d* has been retained owing to the influence of other forms of the verb *sad-*. See, however, ROZWADOWSKI, BB. 21, 147, and cp. ZDMG. 48, 519.

⁹ *Pinḍa-* perhaps stands for **piṇḍa-*, from *piṣ-* 'crush'; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 146, d.

¹⁰ On *kṛūd-*, cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 238 b, note; FISCHER, BB. 23, 253 ff. On *ūd-*, cp. OLDENBERG, SBE. 30, 2.

'strong', *nī-bāḍha-* 'dense' (= *baḍḍhā-* for *bah-tā-*) from *banh-* 'be strong'; *sāḍhy-* 'conqueror', *d-sāḍha-* 'invincible', from *sah-*; *riḍhā-* (= *riḍḍhā-*), from *rih-* 'lick'; *ūḍhā-* (= *uḍḍhā-*) from *vah-* 'carry'; *gūḍhā-* 'concealed', from *guh-* 'hide'; *trḍhā-*, *trḍhuvā* (AV.), from *trh-* 'crush'; *ḍrḍhā-* 'firm', from *ḍrh-* 'be strong'. Here *e* also appears for *a* in *ṭṇḍḍhu* (AV.) from *trh-* (= *ṭṇaḥ-ḍhu*); and *o* in *voḍḍham* (= *vaḍḍham*), 2. du. aor. of *vah-* 'carry'. We also find *e* as Guṇa of *i* in *māḍhra-* (AV.), from *mih-* 'mingere' (= *meḍḍhra-*).

63. **Metathesis.**—Apart from the few examples of *ra* before *s* and *h* (51 c), there are probably no certain instances of metathesis in the RV.¹ In the later Samhitās, however, a few other forms of metathesis are to be found. Thus *-valh-* seems to be a transposition of *hval-* 'go deviously' in *upa-valh-* (VS.) 'propound a riddle to'². In *valmika-* (VS.) 'anthill', *m* appears transposed beside *vamri-* and *vamri-* 'ant', *vamra-kā-* 'little ant'. Metathesis of quantity occurs in *ās-thas* for **as-thās*, 2. sing. mid. aor. of *as-* 'throw'. This is analogous to the shortening, in the RV., of the radical vowel of *dā-* 'give', in the forms *ādam*, *ādas*, *ādāt*, where the verb is compounded with the verbal prefix *ā*³, while otherwise the forms *dām*, *dās*, *dāt* alone appear.

64. **Syllable.**—The notion of the syllable is already known to the late hymns of the Rgveda, though the word (*a-kṣāra-*) is there generally used as an adjective meaning 'imperishable'. Thus *akṣāreṇa mimate sapta vāṇī* means 'with the syllable they measure the seven metres'. The vowel being according to the Prātiśākhya⁴ the essential element of the syllable, the word *akṣara-*⁵ is used by them in the sense of 'vowel' also. Initially, a vowel, or a consonant and the following vowel form a syllable. Medially, a simple consonant begins a syllable, e. g. *ta-pas*; when there is a group of consonants, the last begins the syllable, e. g. *tap-ta-*, and if the last is a sibilant or semivowel, the penultimate also belongs to the following syllable⁶, e. g. *astām-pṣtī*, *an-tya-*. A final consonant in pausā belongs to the preceding vowel, e. g. *i-dam*.

By the process called **haplology** one of two identical or similar syllables in juxtaposition is dropped. Syllable is here to be taken in the sense not only of a consonant with a following vowel, but of a vowel with a following consonant.

1. The first of the two syllables is dropped within a word in *tuvi-rá[va]vān* 'roaring mightily', beside *tuvi-ráva-*; *mādh[ya]yā* 'in the middle', from *mādhyā-* (like *āsa-yā*, *nakta-yā*); *vī[ta]thā* 'at will', from *vritā-* 'willed' (like *ṛtu-thā* 'according to ṛtu-'); *svapatyāi* for *svapat[yā]yai*, dat. sing. f. of *sv-apatyā-* 'having good offspring'; perhaps also *yās*, beside *yāyos*, gen. loc. du. of *yā-*⁷. Examples of a vowel with following consonant being dropped are: *ir[ādḥ]ādhyai*, inf. of *iradh-* 'seek to win'; *caḥ[an]anta*, *r[an]anta*, *v[an]anta*⁸; perhaps *sād[as]as-pāti-* beside *sādasas-pāti-* 'lord of the seat'⁹.

a. The final syllable of the first member of a compound is sometimes dropped in this way; thus *śé[va]-vāra-* 'treasury'; *śé[va]-vr̥dha-* 'dear'; *madhīgha-* (AV.),

¹ Perhaps *stokā-* 'drop', may stand for **skotā-*, from *ścut-* 'drip', under the influence of *stikā-* 'tuft'.

² Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 212 b, note, and 239 b.

³ These forms are not resolved in the Pada text, i. e. they are treated as if they did not contain the verbal prefix *ā*.

⁴ RPr. XVIII. 17; VPr. I, 99.

⁵ Though known to Kātyāyana and Patañjali as well as to the Prātiśākhya, *akṣara-*

as the designation of syllable is not found in Pāṇini.

⁶ See TPr. XXI. 7, 9. On the division of syllables cp. further RPr. I. 15; VPr. I. 100ff.; APr. I. 55ff.; TPr. XXI. 1ff.; and WHITNEY on TPr. XXI. 5.

⁷ Cp. BARTHOLOMAE, KZ. 29, 527, 562.

⁸ Cp., however, *en-as* for *ena-yos*.

⁹ See KZ. 20, 70f.

¹⁰ See BLOOMFIELD, JAOS. 16, xxxv.

N. of a plant yielding honey, beside *madhu-d'gha*- 'shedding sweetness'; *śaś[pa]-pñjara*- (VS.) 'tawny like young grass'¹.

2. The second syllable is dropped in the datives *pāumsyā[ya]*, *ratnadh'ṛ[ya]*, *sakhyā[ya]*, and *abhikhyā* beside *abhikhyāya*; also in *vykāt[āt]*- 'destruction', beside *vrkātāt*- and *devātāt*-; and at the beginning of the second member of a compound in *śrīṣa[sa]kt*- (AV.) 'headache'².

a. A following syllable is sometimes dropped in spite of a different one intervening; thus in the dative *maryādā[ya]* 'boundary'; and somewhat peculiarly in *āvarī[ar]ur*, 3. pl. impf. beside the 3. sing. *ā varīvar* and 3. sing. pres. *ā varīvartī*.

II. EUPHONIC COMBINATION (SANDHI).

BENFEY, Vollständige Grammatik p. 21—70. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar p. 34—87. — WACKERNAGEL, Altindische Grammatik I, 301—343. — ARNOLD, Vedic Metre p. 70—80.

65. The nature of Vedic Sandhi.—The sentence is naturally the unit of speech which forms an unbroken chain of syllables euphonically combined. It is, however, strictly so only in the prose portion of the AV.³ and the prose Mantras of the YV. As the great bulk of the Vedas is metrical, the RV. and the SV. being entirely so, the editors of the Samhitā text treat the hemistich (consisting generally of two Pādas or verses)⁴ as the euphonic unit, applying the rules of Sandhi with special stringency between the Pādas or metrical units which form the hemistich. The evidence of metre, however, shows that, in the original form of the text, Sandhi at the end of an internal Pāda is all but unknown⁵. The verse, therefore, is the true euphonic unit⁶. The final of a word appears either at the end of this unit in *pausa* (*avasāne*)⁷, or within it as modified by contact with a following initial. The form which the final of a word assumes in *pausa*, being regarded as the normal ending, is generally the basis of the modification appearing within the verse. It will therefore conduce to clearness if the rules relating to absolute finals are first stated.

66. Finals in *pausa*.—a. Vowels⁸ in this position undergo no change other than occasional nasalization.

1. In all the Samhitās *ā ī ū*⁹ are frequently nasalized when prolated; e. g. *vindatīṣṇ* | = *vindatī* (X. 146¹); *babhūvāṣṇ* | = *babhūva* (AV. X. 2²⁸); *viveśāṣṇ* | = *viveśa* (VS. XXIII. 49); *mamāṣṇ* | = *mamā* (TS. VII. 4²⁰).

2. In the Samhitā text of the RV. there survive, at the end of a verse within a hemistich, from the period when such end also was accounted a pause, several instances of nasalized *ā*, preserved to avoid hiatus and con-

¹ This explanation is doubtful in *ukā-* for *u[ū]lokā-* (cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss I, 624, p. 471); *śuṣmayā-* (TS.) for *śuṣma-māya-*; *bhīmālā-* (VS.) 'terrible', for *bhīma-mālā-*; improbable in *rujānās* for *rujānā-nās*, 'with broken nose' (BLOOMFIELD, JAOS. 16, XXXIV).

² Cp. WHITNEY, Translation of AV. I, 123.

³ See BLOOMFIELD, The Atharvaveda, in this Encyclopedia, § 1 (beginning) and note 1.

⁴ In the Gāyatrī metre, in which there are three Pādas, the third alone constitutes the second hemistich; in the Paṅkti, which has five Pādas, the last three constitute the second hemistich.

⁵ The only probable exception is RV. IX. 113, 7 c d; cp. ARNOLD, Vedic Metre 119.

⁶ The sentence within a Pāda, as well as the Pāda itself, is the unit of accent; cp. below, 83.

⁷ Cp. RP. I. 3; VI. 5; X. 5; XI. 30.

⁸ Final *r* never occurs in the RV., its place being supplied by *m* as nom. acc. s. n. e. g. *sthītūr* 'standing' (cp. WACKERNAGEL, KZ. 25, 287 f.); but the TS. already has *janayitṛ* and *bhartṛ* (B?), WACKERNAGEL I, 259 a, note.

⁹ The vowels *ī* and *ū*, when dual terminations (pragṛhya), cannot be nasalized.

traction. Thus *ā* appears as *am̐* before *e* and *o*; e. g. *ghanēnam̐'ekas'* (I. 33⁴); *ā* appears *am̐* before *e o r*; e. g. *yām̐'rṇan̐,cay̐* (v. 30¹⁴); while the prepositions *ā* 'near', and *sacā* 'together', are nasalized before any vowel; e. g. *sacām̐'udyān*. The vowel *ā* once appears as *am̐* before *r* in *vipanyām̐'rtāsya* (iv. 1¹²), following the regular rule that unnasalized *ā* is shortened before *r* in the RV.

b. Consonants are liable to change of mode of articulation and, to some extent, of place of articulation.

1. Final mutes, whether tenuis, media, or aspirate, are without distinction represented by the corresponding tenuis; e. g. *dūrāt* (III. 59³) = *dūrād* 'from afar'; *uṣar-bhūt* (I. 65⁹) = *uṣar-bīdh* 'waking at dawn'.

2. The palatals *c* and *j* revert to the original guttural, becoming *k*; thus *arvāk* (I. 118²) = *arvāc* 'coming hither'; *su-yik* = *su-yij* 'well yoked'. The old palatal *j*, however, becomes *ṭ*, e. g. *rāj* (I. 121³), m. f. 'king', 'queen', = *rāj*; in *ṛtvik*, however, it becomes the guttural, = *ṛtvij* 'priest' (from *yaj*- 'sacrifice')³.

3. The ritual exclamations *vāṣaṭ* (x. 115⁹) and *śrāvāṣaṭ* (I. 139⁴), which are probably modified forms of the 3. sing. aor. subj. of *vah*- 'carry', and *śru*- 'hear'⁴, have *ṭ* for *t* owing to the analogy of the exclamations *vāt* (VS.), *vāt* (TS.), 3. sing. aor. of *√vah*-⁵.

4. The nasals occurring as finals, *ñ*, *n*, *m*⁶, remain unchanged. Of these, *n* and *m* are very common; but *ñ* is found very rarely and only secondarily after the loss of a following *k* (representing an original palatal; e. g. *prīñ* for **prīñk*, from *prīñc*-). Probably no instance of final *n* can be found in Vedic Mantras. The palatal *ñ* never occurs, since final palatals become guttural (b, 2).

a. In the rare instances in which a radical *m* becomes final after dropping a following *-t* or *-s*, it appears as *n* owing to the influence of the dental; thus *dān* (= **dam-s*) 'of the house' (*dam-*)⁷; *ā-kran* (= **ā-kram-t*), 3. sing. aor. of *kram*- 'stride'; *ā-gan* (= **a-gam-s*, **a-gam-t*), 2. 3. sing. aor., *a-jagan* (= **ajagam-t*), 3. sing. plup., *aganīgan* (VS.), 3. sing. intv. of *gam*- 'go'; *ā-yān* (= **a-yam-s-t*), 3. sing. aor. of *yam*- 'reach'⁸.

5. The semivowels *y v l*⁹ do not occur as finals. *r* is represented by Visarga; thus *pūnar* 'again', is written *pūnaḥ*¹⁰.

6. The sibilants and *h* are all changed when final.

a. The dental *s*, which is by far the commonest of final sibilants, becomes Visarga; e. g. *ketūs* is written *ketūḥ* (III. 61³).

β. The cerebral *ṣ*, which is very rare as a final, becomes cerebral *ṣ* in *ṣāt* 'six', for *ṣās*; *-dvīṭ* 'hating', for *-dvīṣ*; *vi-prīṭ* (AV.) 'sprinkling',

¹ The ritual interjection *ōm* (VS.) may be due to the nasalization of an original *o* prolated (cp. RPr. xv. 3). Thus the JUB. I. 24. 3 ff., mentions the pronunciations *o* as well as *om*, both of which it rejects in favour of *om*.

² Cp. RPr. I. 13; WHITNEY on APr. I. 43.

³ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 149 a α.

⁴ Cp. above 42 c (p. 34).

⁵ Loc. cit.

⁶ Final *m* is often incorrectly written as Anusvāra in Mss. (as conversely in Prakrit Mss. *n* is often written as *m* under Sanskrit influence; cp. PISCHEL, Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen, in this Encyclopedia, 339, 348), and their example is sometimes followed in printed editions.

⁷ In the K. also occurs the form *a-nān* = **nām-s-t*, from *nam*- 'bend'. The ŚB. has *prāṣān* 'painless', = **pra-īam-s*.

⁸ See 46 d, β.

⁹ Final *l* is spoken of as occurring rarely (WACKERNAGEL I, 260 c), or as very rare (WHITNEY I 44), but I have been unable to find a single example in the Vedas (or even in post-Vedic Sanskrit). But though no etymologically final *l* seems to occur either in pausā or in Sandhi, it is found as a substitute for *ḍ* in two or three words in the later Samhitās (see above 52 d, p. 45).

¹⁰ When *h* stands for etymological *r*, this is indicated by an added *iti* in the Pada-pāṭha; e. g. *pūnar iti* (x. 85¹⁸).

for *vi-prīṣ*. These are the only examples occurring in the RV. and AV. In the only two examples in which *s* occurs in the RV. as a final in the compound form *kṣ*, it is dropped: *anīkṣ* 'eyeless', from *an-āks*; *ā-myaḥ*, 3. sing. aor. of *myakṣ*- 'be situated'(?).

γ. The palatal *ś* becomes either *k* or *t*¹; e. g. *-dṛk* for *dṛś*- (III. 61²); *vīpāt*, N. of a river, for *vīpś*-.

δ. According as it is guttural or palatal in origin, *h* become *k* or *t*; thus *ā-dhok*, 3. sing. impf. of *duh*- 'milk'; but *ā-vāt*, 3. sing. aor. of *vah*- 'carry'.

c. The rule is, that only a single consonant may be final. Hence all but the first of a group of consonants are dropped; e. g. *ābhavan* for **ābhavant*; *tān* for **tāns*; *tudān* for *tudānts*; *prān* for **prānks* (= **prāñcs*); *acchān* for **achantst*, 3. sing. aor. of *chand*- 'be pleasing'.

α. *k* *t* or *l*, when they follow an *r* and belong to the root, are allowed to remain; e. g. *vārḥ*, 2. 3. sing. aor. of *vṛj*- 'bend'; *īrk* (VS), nom. of *īrj*- 'strength'; *ā-mṛt*, 3. sing. impf. of *mṛj*- 'wipe'; *ā-var*, 3. sing. aor. of *vṛt*- 'turn'; *suhāt* (AV.), nom. of *suhān*- 'friend'. The only instance of a suffix remaining after *r* is *dar-t*, 3. sing. aor. of *dṛ*- 'cleave', used also for 2. sing. beside *ā-daḥ* = *ā-dar* (for **ā-dars*).

β. Some half-dozen instances have been noted, in the Samhitās, in which a suffixal *s* or *t* seems to have been retained instead of the preceding consonant; but they are probably all to be explained as due to analogical influence. They are:

1. the nominatives *sadhā-mīs* (beside *sadhā-mīd*) 'companion of the feast'; *ava-yās* 'sacrificial share', and *puro-ṛās* (acc. *puro-ṛāsam*) 'sacrificial cake'. *Sadhā-mīs* may be due to the influence of nom. with phonetic *s* like *-mās* 'moon', beside inst. pl. *mīd-bhis* (44 a 3). *Ava-yās*, in the only passage in which it occurs in the RV., has to be read as quadrisyllabic (also in AV.), i. e. as *ava-yā-jah*, and is probably to be explained as a contraction which retains the living *s* of the nom. (and not the prehistoric *s* of **yā-j-s*). *Puro-ṛās* (from *dṛś*- 'worship'), occurring only twice in the RV., may be due to the influence of a frequent nom. like *draviṇo-dīs* 'wealth-giver'. That the prehistoric nom. *-s* should in these three forms have survived in the linguistic consciousness of the Vedic poets, and as such have ousted the preceding consonant, which in all other analogous nominatives alone remains, is hardly conceivable³. The only reasonable explanation is to assume the analogical influence of the nom. *-s* which was in living use after vowels.

2. The four verbal preterite forms (*a-yās* (for **a-yā-j-s*) beside *a-yāj*, 2. sing. aor. of *yaj*- 'sacrifice'; *srās* (AV.) = **a-srāj-s*, 2. sing. aor. of *srj*- 'emit'; *a-bhanas* (AV.) = **a-bhānak-s*, 2. sing. impf. of *bhāñj*- 'break'; and *a-srat* (VS.) = **a-sras-t*, 3. sing. aor. of *sras*- 'fall') are the beginnings of the tendency (of which there are several other examples in the Brāhmaṇas)⁴, to normalize the terminations, so as to have *-s* in 2. sing. and *-t* in 3. sing. This tendency is extended in the RV. from the *s* and *t* of 2. 3. sing. even to 1. sing. in the forms *a-kramīm* (beside *a-kramīsam*) owing to *a-kram-īs*, *a-kram-īt*; and *vam* (for *var-am*) owing to 2. sing. *vaḥ* (for *var*), aor. of *vṛ*- 'cover'.

67. Rules of Sandhi.—The body of euphonic rules by which final consonants are assimilated to following initials and hiatus is avoided between final and initial vowels is called Sandhi in the Prātisākhya⁵. The editors of the Samhitā of the RV. have greatly obscured the true condition of the text with which they dealt by applying to it rules of euphonic combination which did not prevail at the time when the text was composed. Thus though the Sandhi between the verses of a hemistich is (excepting a few survivals from the older form of the text)⁶ applied with greater stringency than elsewhere, the metre clearly shows that the end of the first verse of a hemistich constitutes a pause as much as the end of the last. Within the verse, moreover, Sandhi is, according to metrical evidence, not applied where the caesura occurs; *nā*, when it means 'like' (as opposed to *nā* 'not'), is never contracted with any following vowel, nor *ān* 'then' with a preceding *a*⁶; *ī* and *ū* before

¹ Cp. 43 a.

² Cp. WHITNEY 146 a; BLOOMFIELD, AJP. 3, 28 ff.; BARTHOLOMAE, KZ. 29, 578 ff.

³ Cp. WHITNEY 555 a.

⁴ RPr. II. 2. 7. 13; VII. 1; VPr. III. 2; APr. IV. 414.

⁵ E. g. *manīṣā* | *agnih* (I. 70¹).

⁶ In these instances there is a pause in

dissimilar initial vowels are hardly ever changed to the corresponding semi-vowels², and often remain uncontracted even before similar vowels²; the elision of *a* after *e o* is rare³; contraction is commonly avoided by the final vowel of monosyllabic words, and by an initial vowel followed by conjunct consonants⁴. Nevertheless, it may be said in a general way that the poets of the RV. show a tendency to avoid the meeting of vowels⁵. The divergences between the apparent and the real Sandhi which appear in the RV., decrease in the later Vedas, while the application of particular rules of Sandhi becomes more uniform⁶.

a. **External Sandhi**, or that which applies between words in the sentence, is to a considerable extent identical with internal Sandhi, or that which applies within words. The most striking difference is, that in the latter consonants remain unchanged before verbal and nominal terminations beginning with vowels, semivowels, or nasals⁷. External Sandhi is on the whole followed in the formation of compounds, the divergences from it in the latter being merely survivals of an earlier stage of external Sandhi due to the closer connexion between members of a compound that renders them less liable than separate words to be affected by modifications of phonetic laws.

External Sandhi is to a considerable extent affected by the law of finals in pausā. Under that influence it avoids final aspirates and palatals. There are, however, in the treatment of final *n r*, and *s*, certain survivals which do not agree with the corresponding forms in pausā.

b. There are certain **duplicate forms** which were originally due to divergent euphonic conditions. Thus the tendency was to employ the dual ending *ā* before consonants, but *au* before vowels. Similarly, the word *sādā* 'always', was used before consonants, but *sādam* before vowels⁸.

68. **Lengthening of final vowels**.—Final vowels as a rule remain unchanged before consonants. But *ā ī ū* are very frequently lengthened⁹ before a single initial consonant¹⁰ both in the metrical portion of the Samhitās and in the prose formulas of the Yajurveda; e. g. *śrudhī hāvam* 'hear (our) call'. This practice includes examples in which the consonant is followed by a written *y* or *v*, to be pronounced, however, as *i* or *u*; e. g. *ādha hy āgne* (IV. 10^{2a}) = *ādha hī agne*; *abhi sv āryāḥ* (X. 59^{3a}) = *abhi śī āryāḥ*. The lengthening here appears to have arisen from an ancient rhythmic tendency of the language to pronounce long, between two short syllables, a final short vowel which was liable to be lengthened elsewhere as well¹¹; this tendency being utilized by the poets of the Samhitās where metrical exigencies required a long syllable. Thus *ādha* 'then', appears as *ādha* when a short syllable follows. Similarly *tū* 'but' generally becomes *tū* before a short syllable; and *sū* 'well' nearly always becomes *sū* between short syllables¹².

the sense; cp. OLDENBERG, Prolegomena 443, note 2; ARNOLD 122.

² ARNOLD 125.

³ Op. cit. 124.

⁴ Op. cit. 127.

⁵ Thus *māpsavah* (IV. 47^d) must be read *mā āpsavah*, but *mādvah* (for *mā ādvah*) remains (ibid.).

⁶ Cp. OLDENBERG 434f.

⁷ Cp. BARTHOLOMAE in KZ. 29, 37, p. 511f.

⁸ Thus *śakat*, *śaknuvan*, *śakra*, *śākvān* (from *śak* 'be able'), in all which forms *g* would be required by external Sandhi.

⁹ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 309, bottom.

¹⁰ The Padapāṭha in these instances regularly gives the original unlengthened vowel.

¹¹ Except in compounds, this lengthening disappears in the later language; there are, however, several survivals in the Brāhmaṇas; see AUFRECHT, Aitareya Brāhmaṇa 427; and cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 264 b.

¹² This tendency survived in the post-Vedic language in compounds, in words (which followed the analogy of compounds) before suffixes beginning with consonants, and in reduplicative syllables.

¹³ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 266 b.

a. The short vowel regularly remains unchanged at the end of a verse¹ (even within a hemistich); and often before the caesura of a Trīṣṭubh or Jagatī Pāda (even in terminations otherwise liable to be lengthened)².

b. The final vowel is not lengthened in 1. vocatives (except *vṛṣabhā* VIII. 45³⁸, and *hariyojanā* I. 61¹⁶); 2. datives in *-īya*; 3. nom. plur. neuter in *-i*; 4. verbal forms ending in *-i* and *-u* (excepting imperatives in *-dhi* and the 3. sing. *rakṣati* II. 26¹)³; 5. the prepositions *ūpa*⁴ and *āpa* (except *āpā* *vṛdhi* VII. 27²).

c. In some instances final vowels appear to be lengthened before vowels⁵ or two consonants⁶.

69. **Contraction of similar vowels.**—When a final *ā ī ū* or *ī* is followed by corresponding initial *ā ī ū* or *ī*, contraction resulting in the long form of the respective vowel regularly takes place; e. g. *ikhāsti* = *ihī asti*; *indrā* = *indra ā*; *tvāgne* = *tvā agne*; *vīdām* (VI. 9²) = *vī idim*;

a. The contraction of *ā + a* and of *ū + ū* occasionally does not take place even in the written text of the RV. both at the end of and within a Pāda; thus *manīsā* | *agnīh* (I. 70¹); *manīsā abhi* (I. 101⁷); *pūṣā dsurāh* (V. 51¹¹), *pūṣā abhi-* (VI. 50⁵), *pūṣā aviṣṭu* (X. 26^{1d}); *vīhā utā* (I. 39²); *sū ūrāhvā(h)* (VI. 24⁹); *sū ūtibhih* (I. 112¹⁻²³); the compound *suūtīyāh* (VIII. 47¹⁻¹⁸)⁸.

b. On the other hand, in many instances where the contraction is written, the original vowels have to be restored in pronunciation with hiatus⁹. The restored initial in these instances is long by nature or position, and the preceding final if long must be shortened in pronunciation¹⁰; e. g. *āśāt* (I. 27³) = *ca āśāt*; *cārcata* (I. 155¹) = *ca arcata*; *māpēh* = *mā āpēh*; *māpsāvaḥ* = *mā apsāvaḥ*; *mṛlatīdīṣe* (IV. 57¹) = *mṛlati dīṣe*; *yāntīndavaḥ* (IV. 47²) = *yānti indavaḥ*; *bhavantīkṣṇaḥ* (VI. 16¹⁷) = *bhavantu kṣṇaḥ*. After monosyllables, the hiatus is regular in the case of the written contractions *ī* and *ū*, especially when the monosyllables are *vī* and *hī*; e. g. *vīndra* (X. 32²) = *vī indra*; *hīndra* (I. 102⁵) = *hī indra*¹¹.

c. Duals in *ā ī ū* are regularly uncombined. Such *ī* and *ū* are usually written with hiatus in the Samhitā text; the dual *ā* always appears before *u*¹², but at the end of internal Pādas invariably coalesces in the written text.

70. **Contraction of ā with dissimilar vowels.**—1. When final *ā* is followed by *ī ū*, contraction takes place resulting in *e o*¹³ respectively; e. g. *pitāva* = *pitā iva*; *īm* = *ā im*; *ūbhā* = *ā ubhā*. When *ā* is followed by *r*, contraction is never written in the RV. and VS.¹⁴, but the metre shows that the combination is sometimes pronounced as *ar*, as is the case in the compound *saptarṣiyāh* 'the seven seers'¹⁵.

¹ Apparent exceptions are due to erroneous metrical division of Pādas by the editors of the Samhitās, or to mechanical repetition of formulas originally used in a different position in the verse. Thus *śrudhī* | *hāvam* (I. 25¹⁹) appears in imitation of *śrudhī hāvam* which is frequent at the beginning of a verse (II. 11¹, etc.). Cp. OLDENBERG 420 f.

² See ZUBATY, Der Quantitätswechsel im Auslaute vedischer Wörter, Vienna Or. Journal 2, 315.

³ See ZUBATY, op. cit. 3, 89.

⁴ See OLDENBERG 399.

⁵ Op. cit. 60.

⁶ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I. 265 b, note.

⁷ There is no example of contracted *r* in the Samhitās, as *r* never meet; and in the RV. final *r* never occurs (cp. above, p. 59, note ⁸).

⁸ Cp. BENFEY, SV. XXXIII f.; ROTH, Literatur 67 f.

⁹ *nā* 'like', is never combined in pronunciation, see above 67; cp. ARNOLD 120.

¹⁰ Long vowels being regularly shortened before vowels; see OLDENBERG 465 f.

¹¹ Cp. ARNOLD 124.

¹² Op. cit. 120. Before other vowels, *āv*, the Sandhi form of *au*, the alternative dual ending, appears.

¹³ Because the long monophthongs *ē* and *ō* represent IE. *āi* and *āu*.

¹⁴ The MS. does not contract either, but on the contrary often lengthens *ā* to *ā*, even where the metre requires contraction. Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 267 a, note.

¹⁵ See GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch p. VII.

a. In the RV. $\tilde{a}+i$ is once contracted to ai in *prāśayūr* (I. 120⁵) = *prā śayūrē* (Pp.)¹; in the SV. $\tilde{a}+i$ is once contracted to a in *dindra* = \tilde{a} *indra* (I. 2. I. 45); and in the AV. and VS. the preposition \tilde{a} contracts with r to \tilde{ar} in *āti* = \tilde{a} - f - t i- 'suffering', and *ārchatu* = \tilde{a} - r - c - h - a - t - u . The last three instances are perhaps survivals of an older contraction. That \tilde{a} is not otherwise contracted with \tilde{r} to \tilde{ar} to ai *au* \tilde{ar} , is doubtless to be accounted for by the previous shortening of \tilde{a} in hiatus³.

b. Occasionally \tilde{a} followed by i remains uncontracted in the written text of the RV.; thus *jyā iydā* (VI. 753); *fibā imām* (VIII. 17¹); *raṇayā ihā* (VIII. 34¹¹)⁴. When \tilde{a} is followed by r , it is either shortened⁵ or nasalized; e. g. *tātha r-tih* for *tāthā r-*; *kadām r-tad* (V. 39) = *kadā r-*; *vibhān pbbūr* (IV. 33)⁶ = *vibhā r-*; *vipanyām r* | *rāśya* (IV. 1¹²) = *vipanyā rāśya*.

c. On the other hand, in many instances where the contraction e or o is written, the original simple vowels must be restored with hiatus; e. g. *ēndrāgnī* (I. 1084) = \tilde{a} *indrāgnī*; *subhāgāh* (I. 487) = *subhāgā uśāh*⁸.

2. Final \tilde{a} contracts with a following e or ai to ai ; and with o or au to au ; e. g. *āibhih* for \tilde{a} *ebhih*. But though the contraction is written, the original vowels must sometimes be restored; e. g. *āiṣu* (I. 61¹⁰) must be read \tilde{a} *eṣu*.

a. Final \tilde{a} , instead of being contracted with e and o , is in a few instances elided before those diphthongs; thus *tātār'evēd* (VII. 333) = *tātāra evēd*; *ivā tayaḥ* (X. 914) = *iva tayaḥ*; *āśvin'evēd* (VII. 99) = *āśvinī | evēd*; *yāth'ohise* (VIII. 53) = *yāthī oh se*; *ūp'ēsatu* = *ūpa ēsatu*⁹. An example of a compound with this elision seems to be *dāśa-ṇi*-¹⁰ = *dāśa-ṇi*- 'having ten aids'.

b. Final \tilde{a} , instead of being contracted with e is, in a few instances, nasalized before that diphthong; thus *aminantān'ēvaiḥ*¹¹ (I. 793) for $-a$ $ē$; *śāśadānām'ēsi* (I. 123¹⁰) for $-ā$ $ē$; *upāsthām'ēkī* (I. 356) for $-ā$ $ē$.

3. When \tilde{a} remains after a final y or s has been dropped, it does not as a rule contract with the following vowel. Nevertheless such contraction is not infrequent in the Samhitās. In some instances it is actually written; thus *sārtavājāu* (III. 32⁶) = Pp. *sārtavāi ājāu*; *rāśāu* (V. 173) = Pp. *vāi asāu*; and the compound *rājeṣitam* (VIII. 46²⁸) = Pp. *rājāh-iṣitam*; in the later Samhitās are found *kṛtyēti* (AV. X. 1¹⁵) = Pp. *kṛtyah iti*; *pīvopavasānanām* (VS. XXI. 43) = Pp. *pīvāh-upavasānanām*¹².

In other instances the contraction, though not written, is required by the metre; thus *ta indra* (VII. 21⁹), Pp. *te indra*, must be read as *tendra*; *prthivya antāriṣṭ* (AV. IX. 1⁹), Pp. *prthivyaḥ*, as *prthivya antāriṣṭ*¹³; *goṣṭhā ūpa* (AV. IX. 4²³), Pp. *goṣṭhē ūpa*, as *goṣṭhāpa*.

a. There appear to be several other instances of such written contraction, which are however otherwise explained by the Padapāṭha; thus *rāyātā* (X. 93¹⁰) = *rāyē utā*,

¹ Several instances of this contraction occur in B and later.

² The TS. extends this contraction to prepositions ending in a : *ūpārchati*, *avārchati*; see WHITNEY, APr. III. 47f., TPr. III. 9f. In the post-Vedic language this contraction was extended to all prepositions ending in \tilde{a} .

³ Cp. BENFEY, GGA. 1846, p. 822.

⁴ The Pp. explains *pibā* and *raṇayā* as imperatives (*piba*, *raṇaya*); but the \tilde{a} here may represent $-ās$ of the subjunctive (cp. WACKERNAGEL I, p. 311 mid.). Occasionally \tilde{a} remain uncontracted because the editors regarded them as representing $ah-e$, or $āh$, as in *raṇa iydā* (VII. 363) *jmayā ātra* (VII. 393). Cp. RPr. II. 28f.; BENFEY, SV. XXXf.; WACKERNAGEL I, 267 a β.

⁵ See p. 63, note ¹⁰; \tilde{a} is shortened before r in the AB.; see AUFRECHT's ed. 427.

⁶ *vibhān* occurs thus three times; see LANMAN 529.

⁷ In opposition to the Mss. MAX MÜLLER, RV². reads *vipanyām rāśya* because Sāyaṇa appears to favour that reading.

⁸ See ARNOLD, Vedic Metre 123.

⁹ This is a precursor of the post-Vedic rule by which the \tilde{a} of a preposition before initial e and o of verbs (except *eti* etc. and *edhate* etc.) is elided.

¹⁰ Though the AV. has *pāṇcaudana* = *pāṇca udana* the elision of a before $-odana$ often takes place in the Sūtras and later.

¹¹ The old hiatus is here treated as it would be at the end of an internal Pada. The TS. (III. 1, 115) retains the hiatus in the same verse without nasalization; cp. OLDENBERG 469 ff.

¹² See WACKERNAGEL I, 268 b.

¹³ In the Paippalāda recension this contraction is actually written.

Pp. *rājā utā*; *bhāmyopari* (x. 753) = *bhāmyā upari*, Pp. *bhāmyā upari*. In a few of these the contraction must be removed as contrary to metre; thus *uṣā yāti* (III. 61⁴). Pp. *uṣāh yāti*, which means 'Dawn goes', should be read as *uṣā ā yāti*, as the sense requires 'Dawn comes', and the metre requires an additional syllable; *abhiṣṛpāsi* (II. 20³), Pp. *āsi*, should be read as *abhiṣṛpāsi* (ā) *asi*; *vyābhīva* (VI. 46⁴), Pp. *vyābhīva*, as *vyābhīva* *iva*.

b. In a very few instances a final *m* is dropped after *a*, which then combines with a following vowel. This contraction is actually written in *durgāhātā* (IV. 18²) for *durgāham ātā* (but Pp. *durgāhātā* *ātā*), and *sāvanādam* (TS. I. 4. 44²) for *sāvanam idam* (Pp. *sāvanā idam*). Occasionally this contraction though not written is required by the metre; thus *rājāgrām ihā* (AV.) must be read *rājāgrāhā*.

71. Final *ī* and *ū* before dissimilar vowels.—i. The final vowels *ī* and *ū*⁴ before dissimilar initial vowels and before diphthongs are in the Samhitās regularly written as *y* and *v*⁵ respectively; e. g. *prāty āyam* (I. 11⁶) = *prāti āyam*; *ā tv itī* (I. 5¹) = *ā tū itī*; *jānitry ajjanat* (x. 134¹) = *jānitry ajjanat*. The evidence of the metre, however, shows that this *y* or *v* nearly always has the syllabic value of *i* or *u*²; e. g. *vy āsāh* (I. 92⁴) must be read as *vī āsāh*; *vidāthesv anjan* (I. 92⁵) as *vidāthesv anjan*.

a. The final of disyllabic prepositions must, however, frequently be pronounced as a semivowel, especially before augmented forms; e. g. *ādhyāsthāh* (I. 49³); *anv aciriyam* (I. 23³); also *anv itī* (x. 53³)⁷.

b. In all the Samhitās the particle *u* following a consonant is written as *v* and pronounced as *u* before a vowel; e. g. *āvēd v indra* (I. 281⁸); but the long form of the same particle occasionally remains unchanged in the RV. even after a consonant; e. g. *ūd ā uṣm* (VI. 71⁵); *tām ū akṛṇvan* (x. 88¹⁰).

c. In RV. I.—IX there are other instances of monosyllabic and disyllabic words at the end of which *y* and *v* are pronounced; but the only example of a trisyllabic word in which this occurs is *śvayatu āpah* (II. 32⁴). In RV. X there are a few further examples; e. g. *devēsv dāhi* (x. 121⁸)⁹.

d. The semivowel is regular in the compounds *ṛtv-ij-*, *gāvy-ūti-*¹⁰, *sv-āhā*, and *sv-īd-ii*.

2. Unchangeable *ī* and *ū*. a. The dual *ī* and *ū* never change to *y* or *v*; nor is the former ever prosodically shortened, though the latter sometimes is; e. g. *hāri* (—) *ritāsya*; but *sādhū* (—) *asmai* (II. 27¹⁵). The dual *ī* may remain even before *i*; e. g. *hāri iva*, *hāri indra*, *akṣi iva*; but the contraction is written in *upadhīva*, *pradhīva*, *dāmpatīva*, *viśpātīva*, *nṛpātīva* (AV.), *rōdasim* (VII. 90³) = *rōdasī imē* 'these two worlds'. There are also several passages in which the contraction, though not written, must be read¹¹.

b. The rare locatives in *ī* and *ū*¹² (from stems in *ī* and *ū*) are regularly written unchanged in the Samhitā text of the RV., except *vīdy asyām* (II. 3⁴),

¹ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 268 a.

² In instances in which contraction with *iva* seems to take place, the existence of a byform *va* has to be taken into consideration; cp. GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch, column 221; WACKERNAGEL I, 268 a, note.

³ Cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum 67, end.

⁴ In the RV. *r* is never final, and I doubt whether any example can be quoted from the other Samhitās in which it is followed by an initial vowel.

⁵ The Sandhi which changes a vowel to the semivowel is called *kṣaipra* 'gliding', in the Prātisākhya; cp. RPr. II. 8; III. 7; VII. 5.

⁶ The long vowel being regularly shortened; cp. OLDENBERG 465.

⁷ WACKERNAGEL I, 271 b; OLDENBERG 438, note, ZDMG. 44, 326 note; ARNOLD, Vedic Metre 125.

⁸ The TS. has *uv* for *v*. Elsewhere also

ij and *uv* are sometimes written for *i* and *u*; e. g. *su-ūtā* = *su-ūtā* 'accessible'; hence the pronunciation may have been *ij*, *uv*; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 270 c, 271 a.

⁹ See ARNOLD, Vedic Metre 125.

¹⁰ If the analysis of BR., *gāvy-ūti-*, is correct; the *u* divides *gā-vy-ūti-*.

¹¹ See ARNOLD, Vedic Metre 125.

¹² Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 270 b, note. Here we have probably not contracted forms with *iva*, but the dual *ī* + *va*, the byform of *iva*.

¹³ The vowels which regularly remain unchanged are called *pragṛhya*, 'separated', by the native phoneticians; see RPr. I. 16 etc.; VPr. I. 92 etc.; APr. I. 73 etc. They are indicated as such in the Pp. by an appended *iti*. The particle *u* is indicated as *pragṛhya* in the Pp. of RV. and AV. by its nasalized form *ūṁ* (nasalization being employed to avoid hiatus: see above 66, 1).

where, however, the vowel must be pronounced (—o—). The vowels here (unlike the dual *i*) seem always to be treated as prosodically short¹.

c. The final *i* of other cases also occasionally remains unchanged; thus the nominatives *pr̥thivī*, *pr̥thujr̥āyī*, *samr̥ājū* and the instrumental *sus̥āntī* sometimes retain their *i*, and the inst. *ntī* frequently does so².

72. Final *e* and *o*.—I. a. Before *a*. The diphthongs *e* and *o* remain unchanged before an initial *a*. This *a* is often not written in the Samhitās³, being dropped in about three-fourths of its occurrences in the RV. and in about two-thirds in the AV.⁴; but the evidence of metre shows that, in 99 instances out of 100 in the RV., and in about 80 in the AV. and the metrical parts of the YV., it is, whether written or not, to be read, and at the same time shortens the preceding diphthong to *ē* or *ō*⁵. In *viśve devāso aptūrah* (I. 3⁸) the *a* is both written and pronounced; in *sūnāve* | 'gne (I. 1⁹) it must be restored: *sūnāve* | āgne⁶. The exceptional treatment of *e* in *st̥itava ambyām* (VIII. 72⁵), for *st̥otave ambyām*, indicates that the Sandhi of *e* and *o* before *a* was originally the same as before other vowels⁷. But their unchanged form, as before consonants, gained the day, because the short close *ā*, when coming immediately after them in their character of monophthongs, would have a natural tendency to disappear and thus leave a consonant to follow.

b. Before other vowels. The diphthongs *e* and *o* before any vowels but *ā* would naturally become *ay* and *av*, as being originally = *āi* and *āu*, and as having the form of *ay* and *av* within a word. But *ay* regularly drops the *y*; e. g. *agna ihā* (I. 22¹⁰); *av* on the other hand generally retains the *v*, dropping it before *ū*⁸; e. g. *vāyav ā yāhi* (I. 2¹); but *vāya ukthēbhir* (I. 2²).

2. Unchangeable *e*. a. The *e* of the dual nom. acc. f. n. of *a*-stems, e. g. *ūbhe* 'both', is regularly uncontracted (*pragr̥hya*), because it consists of *a* + the dual *i*⁹.

b. Under the influence of this nominal dual *e*, the verbal dual *e*¹⁰ of the 2. 3. present and perfect middle, e. g. *vāhethe* 'ye two bring', *bruvāte* 'they two speak', *ās-āthe* 'ye two have obtained', come to be uncontractable, though the *e* is nearly always prosodically shortened; e. g. *yuñjāthe apāh* (I. 151⁴); but *parimamnat̥hē asmān* (VII. 93⁵).

c. The *e* of the locative *tvē* 'in thee', is uncontractable. Under its influence the other pronominal forms *asmē* 'us', and *yuṣmē* 'you', are also always treated as *pragr̥hya* by the Samhitā as well as the Padapāṭha; it is,

¹ Cp. OLDENBERG 456, note; WACKERNAGEL I, 270 b.

² Cp. op. cit. I, 270 b, note. Such forms, in which the absence of contraction is only occasional, are not indicated by *iti* in the Pp.

³ This form of Sandhi is in the Prātiśākyas called *abhinīhiā* 'elided'; RPr. II. 13 etc.; VPr. I. 114, 125; APr. III. 54; TPr. II. 8.

⁴ See WHITNEY 135 c.

⁵ Cp. OLDENBERG 435 f., 453 ff., ZDMG. 44, 331 ff.; WACKERNAGEL I, p. 324.

⁶ The few instances (70 out of 4500) of the elision of *a* in the RV. are the fore-runners of the invariable practice of post-Vedic Sandhi.

⁷ Internally the original Sandhi of the compound *gō-agra* must have been *gōv-agra*; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, p. 325, note.

⁸ There are a few survivals of *ay*; e. g. *tāy ā* (MS. I. 11) = *tā ā* (TS.); cp. TPr. x. 23; OLDENBERG 447 ff. In the MŚ, the K., and Mantras occurring in the Mānavasūtras, unaccented *a* for *e* before an accented initial vowel is lengthened; e. g. *ā dadhū itī*.

⁹ See above 71, 2. A dual *e* once appears contracted in *dhiṣṣyemē* (VII. 72³), which, however, should probably be read uncontracted as *dhiṣṣyē imē*. The *-eva* which occurs several times (I. 186⁴ etc.) and looks like a contraction of the dual *e* with *iva*, in reality probably stands for the dual *e* + *va*, the byform of *iva*; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, p. 317, note, top.

¹⁰ There was originally no difference between this dual *e* and any other *e* in middle forms, such as that of the dual *-vāhe*, the singular *-te*, and the plural *-ante*.

however, doubtful whether they were so treated in the original text of the RV.¹

3. Unchangeable *o*. a. When *o* is the result of combining the final *ā* of particles with *u* (which itself is often unchangeable)², it is *pragryhya*; thus *ś* (= *ā u*), *ātho* (= *ātha u*), *utś* (= *utś u*), *mś* (= *mā u*).

b. Following this analogy, the vocative in *o* of *u*-stems is sometimes treated as *pragryhya* in the Samhitā of the TS.: e. g. *pīto ā* (TS. v. 7.2⁴). It is regularly so treated in the Padapāthas of the RV., AV., VS., TS. (but not SV.). Thus in *vāyav ā* (I. 2¹), *vāya ukthābhīr* (I. 2²), *vāyo tīva* (I. 2³) the vocative is equally given in the Padapātha as *vāyo iti*.

73. The diphthongs *ai* and *au*.—The diphthongs *ai* and *au* are treated throughout in the same way as *e* and *o* before vowels other than *a*. Thus *ai* is regularly written *ā* (having dropped the *y* of *ai*); e. g. *tīsmā aksī* (I. 116¹⁶); *tīsmā indrāya* (I. 4²). On the other hand, *au* is generally written *āv*, but always *ā* before *ā* in the RV. and VS.; e. g. *āv ā* (I. 2⁵); *tāv indragrā* (I. 108³); but *sujihvā āpa* (I. 13⁸). In the AV. *ā* appears before *u* in *pādā ucye* (AV. XIX. 6⁵). In the MS. *ā* appears before other vowels also³.

74. Euphonic combination of consonants.—The Sandhi of final consonants, generally speaking, starts from the form which they assume in pausā. Thus an aspirate first loses its aspiration; the palatal *c* becomes *k*; *j ś h* become *k* or *t*⁴; and of a group of consonants the first alone remains. Final *n* is, however, to a great extent differently treated from what it is in pausā; and the Sandhi of *s* and *r* is, for the most part, based not on *h*, their form in pausā, but on the original letter.

A final consonant is assimilated⁵ in quality⁶ to the following initial, becoming voiceless before a voiceless consonant, and voiced before a voiced sound⁷; e. g. *tāt satyām* (I. 1⁵) for *tād*; *yāt tvā* (I. 15¹⁰) for *yād*; *haryavān juhvāsyaś* (I. 12⁶), through *-vāś* for *-vāh*; *gāmad vājebhiḥ* (I. 5³) for *gāmat*; *arvāg rādhaś* (I. 9⁵) for *arvāc* through *arvāk*.

a. A final media before a nasal may become the nasal of its own class. There seems to be no certain instance of this in the RV.; *cakrān nā* (X. 93¹²⁻¹³), however, probably stands for *cakrāt nā*, though the Pp. has *cakrān nā*. This assimilation is regular in some compounds; e. g. *śaṇ-ṇavati* '96' for *śāt-ṇavati*. From here it penetrated into internal Sandhi; e. g. *śaṇ-ṇām*.

b. Assimilation not only in quality, but also largely in the place of articulation occurs in the Sandhi of final *m*, of the final dentals⁸ *t n s*, and of final *r* (under the influence of *s*).

75. Euphonic combination of final *m*.—1. Before vowels, final *m* remains unchanged; e. g. *agnīm tē* (I. 1¹). In a very few instances, however, the *m* is dropped, and the vowels then contract. This Sandhi is mostly indicated by the metre only: it is very rarely written⁹, as in *durgāhaitāt*

¹ Cp. OLDENBERG 455, note.

² Cp. above 71, 1 b.

³ See GARBE, GGA. 1882, 117 f.; WACKER-NAGEL I, 274; OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 60, 755—758 (Duale auf *-i* und *-au*).

⁴ Some compounds, however, preserve survivals of an earlier phase of Sandhi; e. g. *viś-pāti* 'lord of the house'; *viśpālī* N., not *viś-*; *nabh-rāj* (MS.) 'cloud-king', not *nab-i-āj*. Cp. L. v. SCHROEDER, ed. of MS. I, p. XVI.

⁵ Final *t* before vowels becomes *l* in the RV., not *d* as later; e. g. *bāt itihā*, for *bāt*.

⁶ Within a word a voiced consonant is not necessary before vowels, semivowels, and nasals.

⁷ Some scholars think that the 3. sing. impv., e. g. *bhāvatu* represents *bhavat u* for original *bhavat u*, the *t* being retained owing to the influence of the innumerable forms of the 3. sing. with *-ti*, *-ti*, *-te*, etc. (cp. WACKER-NAGEL I, 276 b); but this is doubtful; DELBRÜCK, Altindische Syntax 517 ff., thinks it may originally have been *bhāva + ti* (particle); cp. IF. 18, 71.

⁸ An example of a final guttural becoming a dental before a dental occurs in TS. I. 2. 7¹, where *samyāt te* stands for *samyāk te*. There are a few other examples in B. passages of the TS.; see WACKER-NAGEL I, 277 b.

⁹ See above 70, 3 b.

(iv. 18²) for *durgāham etāt*, and it is never analysed by the Padapāṭha in this way. It may perhaps have started from the analogy of the doublet *tībhya* beside *tībhyam* 'to thee'¹.

2. Before mutes, final *m* is regularly assimilated², becoming the corresponding nasal, and before *n* similarly becoming *n*. The Mss. and printed texts, however, represent this assimilated *m* by the Anusvāra sign; e. g. *bhadrām karisyāsi* (I. 1⁶) for *bhadrām karisyāsi*; *bhadrām no* (x. 20¹) for *bhadrām no*. This actual change of *m* to *n* before dentals led to some errors in the Pada text; e. g. *yān ni-pāsi* (iv. 11⁶), analysed as *yāt* instead of *yām*; *avi-venan tīm* (iv. 24⁶), analysed as *avi-venan* instead of *avi-venam* (cp. iv. 25³).

3. Before *r ś s* and *h*³, final *m* becomes Anusvāra (*m*); e. g. *hōtāraṇ ratnadhātāmam* (I. 1¹); *vārdhamānaṇ svē* (I. 19⁹); *mitrām huve* (I. 2⁷). From its original use before sibilants and *h*, Anusvāra came to be employed before the semivowel also⁴. A compound like *sam-rāj-* 'overlord' shows that *m* originally remained unchanged in Sandhi before *r*.

4. Before *y* / *v*, final *m* is assimilated as nasalized *ṃ* / *ṁ*. The TPr.⁶, however, allows Anusvāra beside these, while the APr. even requires Anunāsika before *y* and *v*; and the printed texts regularly use Anusvāra; e. g. *sām yudhī* (I. 8³); *yajñām vaṣṭu* (I. 30¹⁰). Forms like *yamyāmāna-* 'extended' and *āpamlukta-* 'concealed' show that final *m* originally remained unchanged in Sandhi before *y* and *ṽ*⁵; and forms like *jaganvān*, from *gam-* 'go', point to its having at one time become *n* before *v* in Sandhi.

76. Euphonic combination of final *t*. — 1. Before *l*, final *t*⁶ becomes fully assimilated as *l*; e. g. *āngāt lōmnaḥ* (x. 163⁶) for *āngāt lōmnaḥ*.

2. Before palatals (including *ś*)⁷ final *t* becomes palatal⁸; e. g. *tác cáksuḥ* (vii. 66¹⁶) for *tād cáksuḥ*; *rohít chyāvā* (I. 100¹⁶) for *rohít śyāvā*; and in a compound *yātayāj-jana-* 'marshalling men', for *yātayāt-jana-*.

77. Euphonic combination of final *n*. — 1. Before vowels. Final *n*⁹, a. if preceded by a short vowel, is doubled¹⁰; e. g. *āhann āhim* (ii. 11⁵) for *āhan*. The final *n* is here chiefly based on original *ns* or *nt*. Though it is always written double¹¹, the evidence of metre shows that this rule was only partially applied in the RV.¹²

b. If preceded by a long vowel, it becomes within¹³ a Pāda in the RV. *m̐* after *ā*¹⁴, but *m̐r* after *ī ū* *ṛ*¹⁵; e. g. *sārgāṁ iva*, for *sārgān*; *paridhīm̐r āti*, for *paridhīn*; *abhīśum̐r iva*, for *abhīśun*; *n̐m̐r abhī*, for *n̐fn*. This Sandhi was caused by the *n* having originally been followed by *s*¹⁶; e. g. *vṛkān* originally

¹ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 283 a, note.

² Op. cit. I, 283, b a.

³ Op. cit. I, 283 d.

⁴ In the post-Vedic language Anusvāra came to be allowed before mutes and nasals also.

⁵ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 283 c.

⁶ Representing *th d dh* also, if they occur.

⁷ In the MS. *t* anomalously becomes *ñ*, instead of *c*, before *ś*; see L. v. SCHROEDER, ZDMG. 33, 185; ed. of MS. I, p. xxix. On the aspiration of *ś* in this Sandhi, see below 80 a.

⁸ Final dentals never come into contact with initial cerebrals in the Samhitās.

⁹ This rule applies to final guttural *n̐* also; e. g. *kīdān̐ ī-* (x. 1083), cp. LANMAN 490; *hīn̐ akṛnot* (I. 164²⁸) for *hīn̐ a-*.

¹⁰ The compound *vṛṣaṇ-āśvā-* 'having stallions as steeds', forms an exception.

¹¹ For various explanations of this doubling, see WACKERNAGEL I, 279 a (p. 330).

¹² Cp. OLDENBERG 424 f., 429 ff.

¹³ At the end of a Pāda, *-ān -īn -ūn* remain unchanged (as being in pausa) before a vowel. For passages in which *-ān* is unchanged within a Pāda, see below and OLDENBERG 428.

¹⁴ In the MS. and K., *-āṁ* is shortened to *-am̐*; e. g. *asmāṁ āmotu* for *asmān*. Cp. v. SCHROEDER, ed. of the MS. I, p. xxix.

¹⁵ *ṛn* becomes *ṛm̐r* only once (v. 54¹⁵), remaining unchanged elsewhere because two *r* sounds are avoided in the same syllable (see below 79).

¹⁶ For examples of this Sandhi applied to nominatives in *-ān*, see LANMAN 506 A, note (*mahān*), 512 (*-vīn*), 514 (*-jūn*), 517 (*-mān*); for accusatives, 346.

**vr̥kants*¹; *māh̥n* for **māh̥ants*; *ā-yān*, 3. sing. aor. for **ā-yān-st* (1. sing. *ā-yān-sam*)². The *n* became Anusvāra (or Anunāsika) before this *s*, which was treated in exactly the same way as when it followed an unnasalized vowel (*ās* becoming *ā*, but *īs*, *ūs*, *ṛs* becoming *ir*, *ur*, *ṛr*).

a. The *ān* of the 3. pl. subjunctive (originally *ān̄*), however, remains unchanged before vowels within a Pāda, obviously owing to the *-t* which at one time followed. There happen to be only five occurrences of this form under the conditions required: *ā vahān āśh* (I. 84¹⁸); *ghōśān ūtarā* (III. 33⁹); *spharān pīpīyām* (VI. 67¹¹); *śacchān id* (VIII. 79⁵); *gacchān ūtarā* (X. 10²⁰)³.

2. Before consonants. Final *n* remains unchanged before all gutturals and labials (including *m*), as well as before voiced dentals (including *n*). It is, however, liable to be changed before the following sounds:

a. Before *p*, final *n*, when etymologically = *ns*, sometimes becomes *nḥ*; thus *nḥnḥ pāhi* (VIII. 84³)⁴; *nḥnḥ pātram* (I. 121¹).

b. Before all palatals that occur it becomes palatal *ñ*; e. g. *ūrdhvāñ carāthāya* (I. 36¹⁴) for *ūrdhvān*; *tāñ juṣethām* (V. 51⁹) for *tān*; *vajriñ cñathihī* (I. 63⁵) for *vajrin śnathihī*⁵; *devāñ chlōkah* (X. 12³) for *devān ślōkah*.

Before *c*, however, the palatal sibilant is sometimes inserted⁶ in the RV., the *n* then becoming Anusvāra. This insertion occurs only when the sibilant is etymologically justified (that is, in the nom. sing. and acc. pl. masc.) almost exclusively (though not invariably) before *ca* and *cīd*; thus *anuyājāñs ca* (X. 51⁸), *amenāñs cīd* (V. 31²)⁷. In the other Saṃhitās the inserted sibilant becomes commoner, occurring even where it is not etymologically justified (that is, in the 3. pl. impf., and the voc. and loc. of *n*-stems)⁸.

c. Before dental *t*⁹, final *n* usually remains; but the dental sibilant is sometimes inserted in the RV., the *n* then becoming Anusvāra. This insertion, however, occurs in the RV. only when it is etymologically justified; it is commoner in the other Saṃhitās¹⁰, where it appears even when not etymologically justified.

d. Before *y r v h*, final *n* as a rule remains unchanged; but *-ān*, *-in*, *-ūn* sometimes become *-āñ*¹¹, *-iñ*, *-ūñ*, as before vowels; e. g. *-annāñ rayivṛdhah* (VII. 91³) for *-annān*; *dadvāñ vā* (X. 132³) for *dadvān*; *paññir hatam* (I. 184²) for *pañin*; *dīsyūñr yōnau* (I. 63¹) for *dīsyūn*.

e. Before *l*, final *n* always becomes nasalized *l̥*¹²; e. g. *jigtvāñ lakṣām* (II. 124⁴).

f. Before the dental sibilant, final *n* remains; but a transitional *t*¹³ may be inserted; e. g. *āhan̄ sāhasā* (I. 80¹⁰) 'he slew with might'; *tān sām* may also be written *tānt sām*¹⁴. In the former example the *t* is organic; from such survivals it spread to cases where it was not justified. A similar insertion may take place before *ś*; that is, *vajrin śnathihī* may become *vajriñ śnathihī* or *vajriñ cñathihī* (through *vajriñc śnathihī* for *vajrint śnathihī*)¹⁵.

¹ Cp. Cretic *ἀνκονς*.

² In all the other Saṃhitās the pause forms *-ān -in -ūn -ṛn* predominate. In the post-Vedic language they became the only allowable forms.

³ Cp. OLDENBERG 428.

⁴ The MS. (II. 131¹) has *nḥnḥ pāhi*.

⁵ For examples of nominatives with this Sandhi, see LANMAN 506A, note, 512 (top), 517.

⁶ Op. cit., 506 A, note, and 514.

⁷ Op. cit., 512.

⁸ There are no examples of the inserted sibilant before *ch* in the Saṃhitās. In the

post-Vedic language a sibilant is invariably inserted after *n* before all voiceless palatals, cerebrals, and dentals.

⁹ Neither *ch* nor *ś* occur in the Saṃhitās after final *n*.

¹⁰ Cp. LANMAN 516 A, note.

¹¹ For *dadhanvāñ yāh* of the RV. (IX. 107¹) and SV., the VS. (XIX. 2) has *dadhanvā yāh*.

¹² As *m* does before *l*; see above 75, 4.

¹³ Before *s* a transitional *k* may similarly be inserted after a final *n*; e. g. *pratyāñ sū* may also be written *pratyāñk sū*.

¹⁴ See LANMAN 506 A, note, and 346.

¹⁵ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 282, note.

78. Euphonic combination of final *s*. — 1. Before voiced sounds.

a. Final *s* after all vowels except *ā*, assumes its voiced form *r* before all vowels and voiced consonants¹; e. g. *ṛṣibhīr tīyo* (I. 1²) for *ṛṣibhis*; *agnīr hōtā* (I. 1⁵) for *agnis*; *paribhūr āsi* (I. 1⁴) for *paribhūs*; *nūtanair utā* (I. 1²) for *nūtanais*.

The *s* doubtless became *r* through an older transitional voiced cerebral *ṣ*², as is shown by the Avesta, e. g. in *duzīta-* = *dur-ita-*³.

b. Final *s* after *ā* must originally have become *z* before voiced sounds. But *az* drops the sibilant before vowels and voiced consonants, while *az* drops it before vowels except *a*⁴, but becomes *o*⁵ before voiced consonants⁶ and *a*; thus *sutā imē* (I. 3⁴) for *sutās*; *vīśvā vī* (I. 3¹²), for *vīśvās*; *khyā ā* for *khyas* (I. 4³); *no āti* (I. 4³) for *nas*; *indavo vām* (I. 2¹) for *indavas*.

2. Before voiceless consonants. a. Before the palatals *c*, *ch*, *ś* final *s* becomes the palatal sibilant *ś*⁷; e. g. *devās cakrma* (x. 37¹²).

b. Before the dental *t*⁹, final *s* following *ā* always remains; e. g. *yās te* (I. 4¹); *mēdhīrās tśam* (I. 11⁷). After *i* *ū*¹⁰, it remains as a rule; e. g. *anvibhis tādā* (I. 3⁴). But *s* becomes *ṣ*, which cerebralizes the following *t* to *ṭ*: *ā*. regularly in compounds¹¹ in all the Samhitās; e. g. *dīṣ-ṭara-* 'insuperable' for *dūs-tara-* (but *rajas-tūr-* 'traversing the air'); *ṣ*. often in external Sandhi in the RV. This occurs chiefly, and in the independent passages of the other Samhitās¹² only, before pronouns; e. g. *agnis te*; *krātus tām*; otherwise it occurs occasionally only in the RV.; thus *niṣ-ṭataksūr* (x. 31⁷); *gobhis ṭarema* (x. 42¹⁰); *nākiṣ ṭanāsu* (viii. 20¹²)¹³.

c. Before *k kh p ph*, final *s* as a rule becomes Visarjaniya (its pause

¹ When final *s* becomes *r* before *r*, it is treated like an original *r*, being dropped after lengthening the preceding vowel.

² This *ṣ* would be the voiced cerebral corresponding to the voiceless *ś* which appears before voiceless consonants (e. g. in *duṣkha-*).

³ This *ṣ* would account for the Sandhi of some Vedic compounds formed with *du-* 'ill': *dū-dābha-*, *dū-dās-*, *dū-dhī-*, *dū-dāsa-*, *dū-ṇāsa-*, beside *dur-niyantu-*. It may possibly also account for the forms *svādhitva* (v. 8⁷), for *svādhitvā va* (Pp. *svādhitvā-iva*), and *urū va* (ix. 96¹⁵), where the metre requires *urū va* (Pp. *urū-iva*); the cerebral being dropped after lengthening the preceding vowel.

⁴ In the MS. unaccented *-a* for *-as* is lengthened before an accented vowel; e. g. *tātā indraḥ*. In TS. II. 4. 7¹ *ar* for *a* in *jinvār āvīt* is merely a bad reading (MS. II. 4⁷ *jinvā rāvāt*); cp. above p. 33, note ¹³.

⁵ In the compound *ānar-vā-* (I. 121⁷) 'having a wain as his abode', *ar* instead of *o* (cp. *ānas-vant-* 'possessed of a wain') is perhaps due to the influence of *vanar-*, beside *vanas-* and *vana-*. On a still more anomalous compound of the same word, *anaḍ-vāh-* 'drawer of a cart', 'bull', cp. WACKERNAGEL I, p. 339, top. The vowel *ā* appears instead of *o* in *pracetā | rājan* (I. 24⁴) 'O wise king' (*praceto rājan* in the same verse, TS. I. 5. 113), probably owing to the voc. *pracetāḥ*, as it would have been pronounced at the end of a Pāda in the original text, having been misunderstood as

a voc. in *-tar* (from a stem in *-tr*), which would become *-tā* before *r*.

⁶ The starting point of this Sandhi was probably the treatment of *az* before voiced dentals, where the sibilant was dropped and the preceding vowel lengthened to *e* or *o*. The latter finally carried the day, *e* surviving only in *sāre duhitā* (I. 343); cp. BARTHOLOMAE, BB. 15, 1 f.; WACKERNAGEL I, p. 338.

⁷ *Sā cit* does not stand for *sāḥ cit*, but for *sā v cit*.

⁸ If initial cerebral mutes had existed in the Samhitās, final *s* would doubtless have become the cerebral sibilant *ś* before them.

⁹ No example of initial *th* occurs in the Samhitās; but the internal Sandhi of *sthā-* 'stand', in *ti-ṣṭhātī* (for *ti-stha-ti*) shows that initial *th* would have been treated in the same way as *t*.

¹⁰ Final *ṣ* never occurs; *ṣs*, occurring only once in the RV., remains unchanged in *mātṛs trīm* (I. 164¹⁰).

¹¹ The only exception in the RV. is *cātus-trimśat* 'thirty-four', doubtless due to the avoidance of the combination *gr*.

¹² The TS. also has *niṣ-ṭap-* 'heat'. On the usage of the SV., see BENFEY, SV. p. XLIII; on that of the AV., see WHITNEY, APr. II. 84.

¹³ Owing to the far more numerous occurrences of *ās* before *t*, combined with the disinclination to change the following initial, the retention of *s* after *i* *ū* gradually gained ground and finally prevailed in the post-Vedic language, even in compounds.

form), or Jihvāmūliya (*ḷ*) before the gutturals and Upadhmanīya (*ḥ*) before the labials; e. g. *Indraḥ pāñca* (I. 7²). But *ās* remains and *īs ūs ṛs* become *īṣ ūṣ ṛṣ*¹; a. regularly in compounds in all the Saṃhitās; e. g. *paras-pā-* 'far-protecting'; *harīṣ-pā-* 'drinking the offering'; *duṣ-kṛt-* 'evil-doing'; *duṣ-pād-* 'evil-footed'. The general rule, however, applies in the following compounds: *purāḥ-prasravaṇa-* 'streaming forth'; *chāndāḥ-pakṣa-* (AV.) 'borne on the wings of desire'; *śrīyaḥ-keta-* (AV.) 'striving after superiority'; *sadyaḥ-kṛ-* (AV.) 'bought on the same day'; *bahīḥ-paridhī-* (TS.) 'outside the enclosure'; *itīḥ-pradāna-* (TS.) 'offering from hence (= this world)'.

The repeated (or *ānreṣita*) compounds also follow the general rule, doubtless from a desire to change the repeated word as little as possible; thus *pūrvaḥ-pervo* 'each first'; *parāḥ-payaḥ* 'always without' (AV.); *pāruṣaḥ-paruṣa-* (VS.) 'from every knot'; *pāruṣaḥ-puruṣo* (TS.) 'every man'; *pāruḥ-paruḥ* (TS.) 'joint by joint', but *pāruṣ-parur* also in RV. AV. TS.

β. Often in external Sandhi in the RV.²; e. g. *dīnīs pāri* (X. 45¹) 'from the sky'; *pātnīvatās kṛdhī* (I. 14⁷) 'make them possessed of wives'; *dytus pitā* (IV. 1¹⁰) 'Father Heaven'.

d. Before mutes immediately followed by *s* or *ś*, final *s* regularly becomes Visarjanīya; e. g. *satīkratuḥ tsārat* (VIII. 1¹¹); *ubhayataḥ-kṣṇr* (TS.) 'two-edged'. Occasionally the sibilant disappears, as in *ādha kṣārantir* (VII. 34²).

e. r. Before a simple sibilant final *s* is either assimilated or becomes Visarjanīya; e. g. *vaś śivātamo* or *vaḥ śivātamo* (X. 9¹); *dśvṣ ṣaḥ* or *dśvṣ ṣaḥ* (X. 128⁵); *naṣ sapītnā* or *naḥ sapītnā* (X. 128⁶). Assimilation is undoubtedly the original Sandhi⁴ and is required by some of the Prātiśākhya⁵; but the Mss. usually employ Visarjanīya, and European editions regularly follow this practice⁶.

a. The sibilant disappears in the compounds *barhi-sād-* 'sitting on the sacrificial litter'; *dyāu-samśita-* (AV.) 'sky-sharpened'; and, after lengthening the preceding *a*, *ayī-sayā rajā-sayā harā-sayā* (TS. I. 2. 11² = MS. I. 27) for *ayāḥ, rajāḥ, harāḥ*.

2. Before a sibilant immediately followed by a voiceless mute, a final sibilant is dropped; e. g. *mandbhī stōmebhīr* (I. 9³) for *mandbhīs*; *mītha-spādhyā* (I. 166⁹) for *mīthas-*; *du-ṣtūt-* 'ill praise' for *duṣ-ṭ*. The omission is required by the Prātiśākhya of the RV., VS., TS., and is the practice of all the Mss. of the MS.

3. Before a sibilant immediately followed by a nasal or semivowel, a final sibilant is optionally dropped; thus *kṛta śrāvah* (VI. 58³), beside which (though the Pp. reads *kṛta*) the MS. reads *kṛtaḥ śrāvah*⁷; *ni-svarām* (VII. 1¹) for *nis-svarām* 'noiseless' (Pp., however, *ni-sarām*).

79. Euphonic combination of final *r*. — As *ḥ* is the pause form of both *r* and *s*, a certain amount of mutual contamination appears in their Sandhi; *r*, however, suffers much more in this respect than *s*. Since both *s* and *r* when preceded by *ī ū* have the same natural Sandhi, it is in a few

¹ This treatment of final *s* before voiceless gutturals and labials, which is parallel to that before *t*, was doubtless the original from of sentence Sandhi.

² *adś pīto* (I. 187⁷) is probably only an apparent exception, as *adś* = *āda u*, not *ādas* (Pp. *addh*); the Paippalāda recension of the AV., however, has *ādas pīto*, for *adās*.

³ Though the Pp. reads *ādha*, the PB. in quoting the verse has *ādhaḥ*; see OLDENBERG 369, note 1.

⁴ Cp. WHITNEY on APr. II. 40.

⁵ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, p. 342, top.

⁶ In *pārītō śincata* (X. 107¹), *itā* probably = *itā u* (Pp. *pāri itāḥ*).

⁷ The omission was doubtless due to the fact that it made no difference to the pronunciation. Hence probably the wrong analysis of *iṣastūt* by the Pp. as *iṣaḥ-stūt*, instead of *iṣa-stūt*, as in *iṣa-vant-* (cp. BR. I.

⁸ Cp. BOLLENSEN, ZDMG. 45, 24; FISCHER, Vedische Studien I, 13.

instances uncertain which was the original sound. Thus it is somewhat doubtful whether the *-uḥ* of the abl. gen. sing. of *r*-stems and of the 3. pl. act. of past tenses represents original *us* or *ur*. In the verbal form, the *r* in the corresponding middle termination of the perfect, *-re*, seems to decide in favour of *ur*¹.

1. a. Before vowels and voiced consonants (except *r* itself) *r* remains not only when preceded by *ī ũ²*, but by *ā* also³; e. g. *gír* | *iṣṭ* (I. 117¹); *pūr devatrā* (VII. 52¹); *prātār agnīh* (V. 18¹); *pūnar naḥ* (X. 57⁵); *svār druho* (II. 35⁶)⁴.

b. Before *r*, *r* disappears, after lengthening a preceding vowel; e. g. *pīna rūpāni* (AV. I. 24⁴). In a few instances, however, *o* appears instead of *ā* (= *ar*), under the influence of *-aḥ* as the pause form of neuters in *-as*; thus *ūdho romaśām* (VIII. 31⁹), for *ūdāh*; and the compound *aho-rātrā-* 'day and night', for *ahā-*.

2. Before voiceless consonants final *r* is as a rule treated like *s*.

a. Before the gutturals *k kh* and the labials *p ph*, it becomes *h* under the influence of the pause form; e. g. *pīnaḥ kalēh* (X. 39⁸); *pīnaḥ pātām* (X. 85³⁹); *pīnaḥ-punar* (I. 92¹⁰). But that the *r* originally remained before these consonants is shown by its survival in the compounds *pūr-pati-*, *svār-pati-*, *vār-kāryā-*, *ahār-pati-* (VS.). But even here the pause form was gradually introduced; e. g. *svāh-pati-* (SV.); it supplanted the *r* of *antār* throughout; e. g. *antaḥ-pēya-* 'drinking up'; *antaḥ-kośā-* (AV.) 'inside of a store-room'; *antaḥ-parśavyā-* (VS.) 'flesh between the ribs'; *antaḥ-pātrā-* (AV.) 'interior of a vessel'; and because the pause form of *r* and *s* was identical, the Sandhi of *s* came to be applied here even in the RV.; thus *āntas-patha-* 'being on the way' (for *āntar-*); *cātus-kaparda-* 'having four braids', *cātus-pād-* 'four-footed' (for *cātur-*).

b. Before the palatals *c ch*, final *r* invariably (like *s*) becomes the palatal sibilant *ś*; e. g. *pūś ca* (I. 189²) for *pūr ca*. This applies almost always even in compounds; e. g. *cātus-catvāriṃśat* (VS.) 'forty-four'. There are only two examples of the *r* being retained even here: *svār-caḥśas-* 'brilliant as light', *svār-canas-* 'lovely as light'.

c. Before dental *t*, final *r* is without exception treated like *s*; e. g. *gīs tribarhiṣi* (I. 181⁸) for *gír*; *cātus-triṃśat* 'thirty-four' for *cātur-*. The retention of *r* before *t* in *āvar tīmaḥ* (I. 92⁴) is only apparently an exception, as this really stands for *āvart tīmaḥ*⁵.

d. Before sibilants, final *r* appears in its pause form as Visarjanīya in sentence Sandhi, e. g. *pīnaḥ sām* (II. 38⁴). In compounds, however, it

¹ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 284 note (p. 335).

² A list of root-stems in *-ir* and *-ur* will be found in GRASSMANN'S Wörterbuch 1693—1694, columns 3—4.

³ *r* is original in *dūr-* 'door'; *vār-* 'protector'; *vār-* 'water'; *āhar-* 'day'; *uṣār-* 'dawn'; *ūdhar-* 'udder'; *vādhar-* 'weapon'; *vanar-* 'wood'; *svār-* 'light'; *antār* 'within'; *avār* 'down'; *pūnar* 'again'; *prātār* 'early'; the voc. of *r*-stems, e. g. *bhrātār*; the 2. 3. sing. of past tenses from roots in *-r*, e. g. *āvar*, from *vṛ-* 'cover'.

⁴ *āha evā* (VI. 48⁷) for *āhar evā* is due to *āhāh*, the pause form of *āhar*, being treated like that of a neuter in *-as*, *āhas*. In *akṣā indur* (IX. 983) for *akṣār indur* (Pp. *akṣār*), the editors of the Samhitā misunderstood *akṣāh*,

as the form would originally have been pronounced at the end of an internal Pāda. *ūdho* for *ūdhar*, which appears before *a* and *m*, is due to the influence of neuters in *as*, the pause form of which, *-aḥ*, would be the same as of those in *-ar*. The form *avā*, for *avār* 'down', which appears before *d* (*avā divāh* V. 40⁶, etc.; but before *m*, *avār mahāh*, I. 133⁶), is due to the influence of *pāro divāh* and *pāro divā* (for *pāras*), cp. RPr. I. 32. *āvo* before *a*, *d*, *m*, explained by BENFEY (SV. XL and 176) as standing for *āvar* is probably from *vas-* 'shine' (cp. WACKERNAGEL I, p. 335, top).

⁵ Cp. above 62, 1.

frequently remains; thus *vanar-sād-* and *vanar-śād-* 'sitting in the wood'; *dhūr-sād-* 'being on the yoke'; *svar-śā-* 'winning light'; *svār-śāti-* 'acquisition of light'; *dhūr-śāh-* (VS.) 'bearing the yoke'. This indicates that it originally remained before sibilants in sentence Sandhi also.

80. Initial aspiration.—The palatal sibilant *ś* and the breathing *h*, when initial, may under certain conditions be changed to aspirates.

a. After a final *c*, initial *ś* may become, and in practice always does become, *ch*; e. g. *yāc chaknāvāma* (X. 2³) for *yāc śaknāvāma*. The same change occasionally takes place after *ṭ*; thus *vīpāt chutudrī* (III. 33¹), for *śutudrī*; *turāśāt chuśmī* (V. 40¹) for *śuśmī*.

b. After a final voiced mute, initial *h* may be and usually is changed to the aspirate of that mute; e. g. *tād dhī* (I. 126²) for *tād hī*; *śādad dhōta* (X. 12¹) for *śādad* (= *śādat*) *hōti*; *āvād āhavyāni* (X. 16¹²) for *havyāni*.

81. Sandhi of compounds.—The euphonic combination at the junction of the members of compounds is on the whole subject to the rules prevailing in external Sandhi or between words in a sentence. Thus the evidence of metre shows that contracted vowels are often even in compounds to be read with hiatus, when the initial vowel of the second member is in a heavy syllable; e. g. *yuktā-asva-* 'having yoked horses', *devī-iddha-* 'kindled by the gods', *āccha-ukti-* 'invitation'. Many archaisms of Sandhi are, however, preserved in compounds which have either disappeared from or are obsolescent in the sentence.

1. An earlier stage of Sandhi has been preserved by compounds alone in the following instances:

a. Several old phonetic combinations appear in single words: *dvi-bārha-jman-* 'having a double course' for *dvi-bārha-j-man-* (= **dvi-bārhad-* from *bārḥ-as*, with *-ad* for *-as* before the voiced palatal)³; *barhi-śād-* 'sitting on the sacrificial litter' (from *barhis-* for *barhiṣ-śād-*); *viś-pāti-* 'lord of the house' and *viś-pātū-* 'mistress of the house' (with *ś* retained instead of *ṣ*)⁴, *sam-rāj-* 'sovereign ruler' (with *m* preserved before *r*)⁵.

b. In a group of compounds with *duṣ-* 'ill' as first member, the combinations *dū-d* = *duṣ-d* and *dū-ṇ* = *duṣ-ṇ* appear instead of *dur-d* and *dur-ṇ*: *dū-dābha-* 'hard to deceive', *dū-dhī-* 'malevolent', *dū-nāśa-* 'hard to attain', *dū-nāśa-* 'hard to attain' and 'hard to destroy', *dū-dās-* (AV.) 'not worshipping'. But *dur-*, the form which would be required by external Sandhi, is already commoner in the RV.; e. g. *dur-dīśika-* 'looking bad', *dur-dhūr-t-tu-* 'hard to restrain', *dur-nāman-* 'having a bad name', *dur-nāśa-* (AV.) 'hard to attain'.

c. Final *r* in the first member is preserved in the RV. before voiceless sounds⁶; thus *vār-kāryā-* 'producing water', *svār-caṣas-* 'brilliant as light', *pūr-pati-* 'lord of the stronghold', *svār-pati-* 'lord of heaven', *dhūr-śād-*⁶ 'being on the yoke'.

d. Radical stems ending in *-ir* and *-ur* mostly lengthen their vowel before consonants (as within words), e. g. *dhūr-śād-* 'being on the yoke', *dhūr-śāh-* (VS.) 'bearing the yoke', *pūr-pati-* 'lord of the stronghold', *pūr-bhīd-* 'breaking down forts', *pūr-bhīdyā-* n. 'destruction of forts', *pūr-yāṇa-*⁷ 'leading to the fort'.

¹ See BENFEY, Göttingische Abhandlungen 15, 105 ff.; WACKERNAGEL 2¹, 125—139.

² Cp. above 44 a, 3.

³ Later *vīpāt-* (TB. II. 5. 7⁴), and even in the RV. *pāṭ-bīśa-* 'fetter' from *pāś-* 'bind'.

⁴ Otherwise Anusvāra, as in *sam-rājantam*.

⁵ While in external Sandhi it would become Visarjanīya or a sibilant.

⁶ External Sandhi gradually encroaches here in the later Samhitās, as in *śāḥ-pati-* (SV.). On *ṣunāḥ-* for *ṣunār-* in *ṣunāḥ-sarā-*, *āntas-* for *āntar-* in *āntas-pātha-*, and *antah-* in *antah-pēya-* see WACKERNAGEL 2¹, 126 γ, note, and above 79, 2 a.

⁷ But *gir* retains the short vowel in *gir-vayas-* 'fond of praise', *gir-vāhas-* 'praised in

e. As first member of a compound *dyu*- 'heaven' appears as *div*- before vowels¹ (while *yu* would in external Sandhi become *yv*), as *dīv-iṣṭi*- 'striving for heaven', *dīv-it*- 'going to heaven'.

2. Compounds in the Samhitās preserve many euphonic archaisms which, while still existing in external Sandhi, disappear from the sentence in later periods of the language though still partially surviving in compounds.

a. A final consonant disappears before the same consonant when the latter is the initial of a group: *upā(s)-stha*- 'lap', *nā(k)-kṣatra*- 'star', *hr(d)-dyotī*- (AV.), an internal disease, *hr(d)-dyōtana* (AV.) 'breaking the heart'².

b. A final sibilant disappears before a mute followed by a sibilant, as in *divā-kṣa*- 'heavenly' ('ruling over heaven', *dīv-ās*, gen.)³.

c. A sibilant as initial of the second member is retained; thus *śandra*- 'bright' in *puru-śandrā*- 'much-shining' and many other compounds, but almost invariably *candrā*- as an independent word⁴.

d. A final *s* in the first member or an initial *s* in the second is cerebralized; e. g. *duṣ-śāra*- 'invincible', *niṣ-śākvarī*- (AV.) 'running away', *duṣ-svāpnya*- 'evil dream'.

e. An original *n* in the second member is cerebralized after a *r* *r* *s* with the necessary phonetic restrictions (47) a. In derivatives from verbs compounded with prepositions containing *r*, initial, medial, or final *n* of the root is almost invariably cerebralized in the Samhitās; thus *nir-nij*- 'bright garment', *pari-hṇuta*- (AV.) 'denied' (*ṽhnu*-), *pari-nāh*- 'enclosure', *pary-ā-naddha*- (AV.) 'tied up', *pra-nī*- and *pra-netī*- 'leader', *prā-nīti*- 'guidance', *prānā*- 'breath', *prānana*- and *prānātha*- (VS.) 'respiration' (*an*- 'breathe'). The cerebralization appears even in suffixes, as *pra-yāna*- 'advance'⁵.

β. In other compounds *n* greatly predominates when the second member is a verbal noun; e. g. *grāma-nī*- 'chief of a village', *dur-gāni*- 'dangers'; *ny-pāna*- 'giving drink to men', *pitr-yāna*- 'trodden by the fathers', *pūr-yāna*- (AV.) 'leading to the fort', *rakṣo-hān*- 'demon-slaying', *vṛtra-hān*- 'Vṛtra-slaying'. The cerebralization fluctuates in *-yāvan*: thus *prātar-yāvan*- 'going out early', *vīṣa-pra-yāvan*- 'going with stallions', but *puro-yāvan*- 'going in front', *śubhra-yāvan*- 'going in a radiant chariot'; also in *purīṣa-vāhana*- (VS.) and *purīṣa-vāhana*- (TS. K.) 'removing rubbish'. Cerebralization never takes place in *-ghn*-, the weak form of *-han*- 'killing'; nor in *akṣā-nāh*- 'tied to the axle', *kravya-vāhana*-⁶ 'conveying corpses', *carma-mnā*- 'tanner', *yusmā-nīta*- 'led by you'.

γ. The cerebralization takes place somewhat less regularly when the second member is an ordinary (non-verbal) noun; e. g. *urū-nasā*- 'broad-nosed', *tri-navā*- (VS.) 'consisting of three times nine parts', *tri-nāman*- (AV.)⁷ 'having three names', *dru-ghaṇā*- 'mallet', *ny-mānas*- 'friendly to men', *purī-nāman*- 'many-named', *pūrvāhṇā*- 'forenoon', *prā-napāt*- 'great-grandson'. There is

song'. The long vowel in *ān-āśir-dā*- 'not fulfilling expectation', *āśir-dā*- and *āśir-dāyā*- 'fulfilment of a benediction' is due to analogy, as *ā-śis*- is derived from the root *ās*-.

¹ *dyu*- remains before consonants: *dyu-kṣā*-, *dyu-gā-t*-, *dyu-bhaktā*-.

² Also in external Sandhi *tā dyām* (AV. IV. 196) for *tā dyām*.

³ Also in external Sandhi *ādha kṣārantīr* (VII. 342), cp. above 78, 2 d.

⁴ Divergence from external Sandhi is sometimes not archaic but due to innovation;

as *go*- 'cow' instead of *gav*- before vowels, e. g. *gā-agra*- 'headed by cows'; cp. WACKERNAGEL 2ⁱ, p. 129 e. Another kind of innovation in compounds is due to haplogogy; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 241 a β; 2ⁱ, p. 128 bottom.

⁵ There are a few exceptions: *pari-pāna*- 'drink', *pary-ūhāmāna*- 'being led home' (*Vvāh*-), *prā-pīna*- (VS.) 'distended'.

⁶ Like *havya-vāhana*- 'conveying oblations'.

⁷ The later Samhitās always have *n* after *tri*-, while the RV. always has *n*; as *tri-*

fluctuation when *dus-* 'ill' assumes the later Sandhi form of *dur-*, as *dur-nāman-* 'having a bad name', *dur-haṇu-* 'having ugly jaws', but *dur-niyantu-* 'hard to restrain'¹; also in *vārdhrā-nasī-* (TS.) 'rhinoceros' and *vārdhr-nasī-* (VS.) 'having streaks on the nose'; *śrī-mānas-* (TS.) and *śrī-mānas-* (VS.) 'well-disposed'.

But *n* often remains in this type of compound: initially in *kṛpā-nīla-* 'whose home is splendour', *candri-nirṇij-* 'having a brilliant garment', *vārsā-nirṇij-* 'clothed with rain', *treṣā-nṛmṇa-* 'of brilliant power', *dīrghā-nītha-*, N. of a man, *pūnar-nava-* 'again renewed', *babhr'-ntkaśa-* (VS.) 'looking brownish', *vīśa-nābhi-* 'having a mighty nave'; medially in *īśi-manas-*² 'inspired', *indrāgni* 'Indra and Agni', *ksatra-vāni-* (AV.) 'addicted to military rule', *brāhma-vāni-* (VS.) 'well disposed to the priesthood', *catur-anṭha-* 'four-faced', *try-anṭhi-* 'three-faced', *jyōtir-anṭha-*³ 'having a shining face', *vibhā-bhīnu-* 'having bright lustre', *dhruvā-yoni-* (VS.) 'having a fixed abode', *pra-mānas-* (AV.) 'careful', *hāri-manyu-sāyaka-*⁴ (RV. x) 'stimulating the mettle of the bays'.

f. The final vowel of the first member is often lengthened. This frequently occurs before *v-*; e. g. *annā-vrdh-* 'prospering by food', *prati-varāt-* (AV.) 'returning into itself', *prā-vīś-*⁵ 'rainy season'. It is often due to the **rhythmical tendency** (which also prevails in the sentence) to lengthen a vowel before a single consonant between two short syllables; e. g. *ahī-sāka-*, N. of a demon (from *ahi-*), *urū-nasī-* 'broad-nosed', *rtā-sāh-* (VS.) 'maintaining the sacred law', *pari-nasī-* (AV.) 'having a nose like a spearhead', *naghā-risā-*⁶ (AV.) N. of a plant, *rathā-sāh-* 'able to draw the car'. Lengthening of a vowel between other than two short syllables is less common, being probably due to imitation of compounds in which the long vowel is produced by the normal rhythm; e. g. *dhanvā-sāh-* 'skilled in archery' and *vibhva-sāh-* 'overcoming the rich' like *rathā-sāh-*; *sahāsrā-magha-* 'having a thousand gifts' like *śatā-magha-* 'having a hundred gifts'. The interchange of short and long is entirely regulated by the rhythmic principle in *sanā-* 'of old' and almost entirely in *tuī-* 'much'; e. g. *sanā-jīr-* 'long since aged' and *sāna-śruta-* 'famous of old', *tuvi-maghā-* 'very rich' and *tuvi-bādhā-* 'killing many'⁷. The final vowel of prepositions is particularly often lengthened in the later Sāphitis without reference to rhythm, especially before nouns ending in *-a* with long radical vowel, e. g. *nī-vīd-* (AV.) 'liturgical invitation', *abhi-moda-mīd-* (AV.) 'excessively joyful', *nī-nādh-* (AV.) 'girth', *prati-bodhi-* (AV.) 'vigilance', *vī-barkhā-* (AV.) 'scattering'. Sometimes the final vowel is left unlengthened between two short syllables; e. g. *rayi-pāti-* 'lord of wealth', *ghṛta-duh-as* (voc. pl.) 'yielding ghee'⁸.

g. On the other hand, final *ā* and *ī* of the first member are often shortened before a group of consonants or a long syllable; e. g. *amīva-cātana-* (AV.) 'driving away disease' and *amīva-hān-* 'destroying disease' (*amīvā-*); *ūrṇa-mradas-* 'soft as wool' (*ūrṇā-*) and **ūrṇa-vābhi-* 'spinning wool', 'spider', in the patronymic *aurṇavābhā-*; *kakṣya-prā-* 'filling out the girth' (*kakṣyā-*);

nākā- 'third heaven', *nī-nābhi-* 'having three naves'.

¹ The AV. here always has the cerebral, as *dur-nihita-* 'badly kept'.

² But *nṛ-mānas-* 'friendly to men' and *vīśa-mānas-* 'manly-spirited'.

³ But *purv-anṭha-* 'having many faces'.

⁴ But *vīśa-manyu-* (RV. 1) 'vigorous-minded'.

⁵ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 42.

⁶ Beside *nagha-mārā-* (AV.) N. of a plant.

⁷ Cp. also *prā-sāh-* and *pra-sāh-* 'victorious'. The long vowel in the former is probably historic, = IE. *prō*.

⁸ The vowel is originally long, in *aṣṭā-* 'eight', probably also in *acchā-* 'to' and *vīśvā-* 'all', and may be differently explained in *ā-deva-* 'hostile to the gods', *ā-rupita-* (IV. 5⁷) meaning, and *ā-sat-*; see WACKERNAGEL 21, p. 131, note.

senajit- (VS.) 'vanquishing armies' (*śnā-*); *gduri-ṛtti-* N. of a seer (from *gauri-*), *prthivi-ṣṭhā-* 'standing on the earth'; even before a short syllable in *prthivi-śād-* (AV.) and *prthivi-sād-* (VS.) 'sitting on the earth' (*prthivē-*), *sdrasvati-ṛpta-* (VS.) 'made by Sarasvatī'¹.

82. Extension of external to internal Sandhi. — The rules of sentence Sandhi as applied between members of a compound are often found to affect the internal form of words.

a. Nominal (chiefly secondary) suffixes with initial consonants are frequently treated like the second member of a compound; e. g. beside *duvas-yā-* 'worshipping', appears *duvo-yā-*². This influence extends even to radical finals before primary suffixes; e. g. *ān-na-* 'food' for *ād-na-*; *ṣaṇ-nām* for *ṣaṇ-nām*, from *śās-* 'six'; *nāmo-bhis*, from *nāmas-* 'obedience', with *o* for *ad* (as in *uśād-bhis* from *uśās-* 'dawn')³; *havīṣ-su*⁴ for *havīṣ-su*, from *havīṣ-* 'oblation'; *jigv-vāms-* for *jigī-vāms-* 'having conquered', with radical final lengthened as in sentence Sandhi.

b. In the verb the influence of sentence Sandhi is seen in reduplicated forms. Thus parallel with the lengthening of final syllables in the sentence, the final radical vowel is made long before the ending *-hi* in *didhī* beside the more usual *dīdhi*, from *dī-* 'shine'. The rhythmical lengthening in the reduplicated aorist is probably due to a similar influence.

III. ACCENT.

ROTH, Nirukta LVII—LXXII: Ueber die Elemente des indischen Accentues nach den Prātiśākhya Sūtren. — BENFEY, Vollständige Grammatik p. 9—13. — WHITNEY, 'On the nature and designation of the accent in Sanskrit', Transactions of the American Philological Association, 1869—70; Oriental and Linguistic Studies 2, 318 ff.; Sanskrit Grammar, p. 28—33; see also General Index, s. v. 'Accent'. — HAUG, Ueber das Wesen und den Werth des vedischen Accents, München 1873 (cp. WEBER, Indische Streifen 3, 335 ff.; WHITNEY, JAOS. 10, IX ff., CHU f.). — WACKERNAGEL, Altindische Grammatik I, 243 ff. — Cp. also HIRT, Der indogermanische Akzent, Strassburg 1895, and Akzentstudien in IF. VI—IX; BRUGMANN, Kurze vergleichende Grammatik I (Strassburg 1902), p. 52—66.

Besides the Prātiśākhya several other native authorities refer to the accent. Pāṇini and his commentators give an account of it; all the Sūtras of Pāṇini relating to accentuation are collected in a chapter of the Siddhānta-kaumudī called *vaidika-svara-prakriyā* 'section on the Vedic accent'. The accent is further dealt with in the Bhāṣikasūtra, in the Pratiśākhya, in the Śikṣas, and as regards the position of the accent in individual words, in the Uṇādisūtras and especially in the Pīṭhīsūtras.

83. General character of the Vedic accent. — In Vedic literature sacred texts only, primarily all the Samhitās⁵ have been handed down in an accented form. Of all other sacred texts, only those to which a special importance was attached, have preserved the accent. These are the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (together with its Āraṇyaka) and the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (including the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad). There is, however, evidence to show that the Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa⁶ and other Brāhmaṇas were at one time accented⁷.

¹ On the relation of this shortening to the lengthening in the same position, and its probable explanation, see WACKERNAGEL 2^d, p. 135 (56 g).

² Hence the Padapāṭha treats a nominal stem which takes a suffix with initial consonant like the first member of a compound, separating it from the suffix by Avagraha; e. g. *duvaṣṣyih* for *duvayih*; *adriśvaḥ* for *adriśvaḥ*, voc., 'armed with a bolt'; *ūtīśbhīḥ* for *ūtīśhis* 'with aids'.

³ See above 44^a, 3.

⁴ See 57, I.

⁵ The Mss. of the Kāthaka are so defective as regards accentuation that L. v. SCHROEDER found it possible to print parts only of his edition of the text (vol. I, 1900) with accents.

⁶ WEBER, Indische Studien 10, 421; cp. MAX MÜLLER, ASL. 348; BURNELL, Samavedhāna Brāhmaṇa p. VI. The Mantra parts of the AitareyaĀraṇyaka are accented (KEITH's ed. p. 10).

⁷ The Suparṇādhyaṃya, an artificially archaic

The Sūtras, though not themselves accented, occasionally accent the Mantras which they quote.

The Vedic accent, like that of ancient Greece, was of an essentially musical nature. This is indicated by the fact that the accent exercises no influence on the rhythm of versification. The phoneticians of the Prātiśākhya, in describing it, speak only of its pitch, which is also indicated by the name of the chief tone, *udātta* 'raised', 'high'¹. But that the Vedic accent was accompanied by some stress², is shown by certain phonetic changes which cannot otherwise be explained³.

In the Vedic accent three degrees of pitch may be distinguished: the high, properly represented by the *udātta*, the middle by the *svarita* ('sounded'), and the low by the *an-udātta* ('not raised'). That the *Udātta* originally denoted the highest pitch in the oldest form of the Vedic language, is shown by the evidence of Comparative Philology, and especially of Greek which, as far as its peculiar laws of accent will admit, has the acute on the same syllable as in the Vedic language has the *Udātta* (e. g. *Διός* : *divós*; *ἑπτὰ* : *saptá*; *ἄσπετος* : *asṛtu*). This conclusion is also supported by the method of marking the *Udātta* in the Sāmaveda, the Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā, and the Kāthaka. In the Rgveda, however, the *Udātta* has a middle pitch, lower than that of the *Svarita*, as is shown both by the way in which it is marked and by the account given of it in the Prātiśākhya. This must be an innovation, though an old one.

The *Svarita* is a falling accent of a dependent nature, marking the transition from an accented to a toneless syllable. It regularly follows an *Udātta*, to the rise of which its fall corresponds in pitch. It assumes an independent appearance when the preceding *Udātta* is lost in consequence of the vowel that bears the *Udātta* being changed to a semivowel in Sandhi. It is described in Pāṇini 1. 2³⁴ as a combination of *Udātta* and *Anudātta*, which means that it falls from the high pitch of the acute to the low pitch of unaccented syllables. According to the RV. Prātiśākhya and the TS. Prātiśākhya, however, the first part of the *Svarita* sounds higher than the *Udātta*. This means that, instead of falling immediately from the high pitch of the preceding *Udātta*, it first rises somewhat before falling to low pitch⁵. It would thus have something of the nature of a circumflex in the RV.; only the rise in pitch above the highest level of the *Udātta* is but slight (corresponding to the initial rise of the *Udātta* from *Anudātta* to *Anudātta* level), while the fall corresponds to the total rise of the *Udātta*⁶. The low tone of the syllables preceding an accented syllable (with *Udātta* or *Svarita*) is called *an-udātta* 'not raised' in the Prātiśākhya⁷. When it follows a *Svarita* it is called the *pracaya*⁸ (*svara*), or 'accumulated pitch' (as several such unaccented syllables often occur in succession) which continues at the low level reached by the preceding *Svarita* till the syllable immediately

poem composed in the style of the Vedic hymns, is also accented, but with many mistakes; see GRUBE's edition in Indische Studien, vol. XIV.

¹ Cp. HAUG, op. cit. 19.

² The Vedic accent, like the Greek, was, after the beginning of our era, changed to a stress accent which, however, unlike the modern Greek stress accent, did not remain on the original syllable, but is regulated by the quantity of the last two or three syllables, much as in Latin; cp. HAUG 99, end.

³ See WACKERNAGEL I, 218 and cp. OSTHOFF, Morphologische Untersuchungen 4, 73.

⁴ In agreement with VPr. I. 126; APr. 1. 17; cp. HAUG 73.

⁵ See OLDENBERG, Prolegomena 483 f.

⁶ According to Pāṇini's account the *Svarita* does not rise above *Udātta* pitch before falling; see OLDENBERG, loc. cit.

⁷ See RPr. III. 1; cp. HAUG 91.

⁸ HAUG 92 f.

preceding the next accent¹. The latter syllable, called *sanna-tara* 'lower' or *anudatta-tara*² 'more lowered', sinks somewhat below this monotone.

84. Methods of marking the accent.—The accent is marked in the Vedic texts in four different ways.

1. The system of the *Ṛgveda* is followed also by the *Atharvaveda*³, the *Taittirīya Samhitā* (along with its *Brāhmaṇa*) and, with only slight deviations in the treatment of the *Svarita*, by the *Vājasaneyi Samhitā*. This system is peculiar in not marking the principal accent at all. The explanation is doubtless to be found in the fact that the pitch of the *Udatta* is in the *RV.* intermediate between that of the other two tones. Hence the preceding *Anudatta*, as having low pitch, is marked by a horizontal stroke below the syllable, while the following *Svarita*, as rising to a higher pitch, is marked by a vertical stroke above the syllable⁴; e.g. अग्निना *agninā* = *agnīnā*. The presence of successive *Udattas* at the beginning of a hemistich is recognizable by the absence of all marks till the *Svarita* which follows the last of them, or the *Anudatta* which follows the last of them and precedes the next accented syllable; thus तावा यतम् *tāv ā yātam* = *tāv ā yātam*; तवत तत् सत्यम् = *tāvāt tāt satyam*. On the other hand, all the unaccented syllables at the beginning of a hemistich are marked; e.g. वैश्वानरम् = *vaiśvānarām* = *vaiśvānarām*. But all the syllables following a *Svarita* remain unmarked till the one immediately preceding the next *Udatta* or *Svarita*; e.g. इमं मे गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वति सुतुद्रि *imam me gaṅge yamune sarasvati śtutudri* = *imam me gaṅge yamune sarasvati śtutudri*⁵.

a. The hemistich being treated as the unit with regard to accentuation⁶, the marking of the *Anudatta* and of the *Svarita* is not limited to the word containing the *Udatta* which those accents precede and follow respectively⁷. Hence the final syllable of one word may be marked with an *Anudatta* as preceding an *Udatta* of the next initial syllable; or the initial syllable of one word may be marked with the *Svarita* following the *Udatta* at the end of the preceding word; e.g. पूर्वभिर्हृषिभिर् *pūrvēbhīr ṛṣibhīr* = *pūrvēbhīr ṛṣibhīr*; यज्ञमध्वरम् *yajñam adhvaram* = *yajñam adhvaram*. But if an initial syllable after a final *Udatta* precedes an accented syllable, it loses the enclitic *Svarita* and must be marked as *Anudatta*; e.g. देवमृत्विजम् *devam ṛtvijam* = *devam ṛtvijam*.

b. If an independent *Svarita*⁸ precedes an *Udatta*, it is marked with the numeral १ (1) when its vowel is short, and with ३ (3) when it is long, the figures receiving both the sign of the *Svarita* and that of the *Anudatta*⁹ which precedes an *Udatta*; e.g. अप्सवन्तर *apsv antār*; रायो वनिः = *rāyō 'vāniḥ*. The phenomenon is described by the phoneticians with the words *kāmpa*

¹ See OLDENBERG, Prolegomena 485, end.

² *Sanna-tara*, *APr.* I. 43; *anudatta-tara* in *Kāśikā vṛtti* on *Pāṇini* I. 210.

³ The Mss. of the *AV.*, however, show considerable variations; see WHITNEY's Translation p. CXXI ff.

⁴ In the *Kashmir Ms.* of the *RV.* the *Udatta* and the independent *Svarita* only are marked, the former by a vertical stroke above the accented syllable, the latter by a hook (∩) above the accented syllable; see SCHEFFTELOWITZ, *Die Apokryphen des Ṛgveda* 48 ff.

⁵ Cp. HAUG, op. cit. 92 f.

⁶ From the point of view of the sentence accent the *Pāda* is the unit; thus a verb or vocative is always accented at its beginning.

⁷ In the *Padapāṭha*, on the other hand, each word receives its natural accent only, so that where the one text has a *Svarita*, the other may have an *Anudatta*; e.g. in I. 13 the *Samhitā* has *rayīm āśnavat*, the *Pada* *rayīm āśnavat* (the latter word being unaccented has the *Anudatta* marked under each syllable).

⁸ Examples of independent *Svarita* are *svār* for *śār*; *kvā* for *kūā*; *vīryām* for *vīriām*. 'Independent' *Svarita* in the above rule is intended to include that which results from change to a semivowel (*ksaipra*), from contraction (*prāśliṣṭa*) and from elision of *a* (*abhinihita*).

⁹ The long vowel before the ३ receives the *Anudatta* stroke as well.

'quaver', *vikampita*, and the verb *pra-kamp-*. In the TS. it appears only when the second syllable as well as the first has the Svarita, and the figure 2, as well as 1 and 3, is here used.

2. In the system of the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*¹ and of the *Kāthaka*², the *Udātta* is marked by a vertical stroke above (which seems to indicate that this accent was here pronounced with the highest pitch; e. g. अग्निना = *agninā*). The two *Saṃhitās*, however, diverge in their method of indicating the Svarita. The MS. marks the independent Svarita by a curve below the accented syllable, e. g. वीर्यम् *vīryam*; but the dependent Svarita by a horizontal stroke in the middle or three vertical strokes above the accented syllable. The *Kāthaka*, on the other hand, marks the independent Svarita by a curve below (if an unaccented syllable follows; e. g. वीर्यं बध्नाति *vīryam baddhāti*; or by a hook below (if an accented syllable follows; e. g. वीर्यं व्याचष्टे *vīryam vyācāṣṭe*; but the dependent Svarita by a dot below the accented syllable³. Both these *Saṃhitās* mark the *Anudāttatara* in the ordinary way by a stroke below the syllable. In L. v. SCHROEDER's editions, however, the *Udātta* and the independent Svarita only are marked. When the text of any of the *Saṃhitās* is transliterated in Roman characters, it is the regular practice to omit any indication of the dependent Svarita and of the *Anudātta* as unnecessary.

3. In the system of the *Sāmaveda*, the figures 1 2 3 are written above the accented syllables to represent three degrees of pitch. Here 1 always stands for the highest pitch (*Udātta*), and 3 always for the lowest (*Anudātta*), and 2 generally for the middle pitch (*Svarita*); e. g. ³ ¹ ² *barhiṣi* = RV. *barhiṣi* (*barhiṣi*). But 2 also represents the *Udātta* when the latter is not followed by a Svarita (that is when the *Udātta* syllable is final in the hemistich or when an *Anudāttatara* preceding another accented syllable follows); e. g. ³ ² *girā* = RV. *girā* (*girā*); ³ ² ³ ² ³ ² ³ ² ³ ² *yajñānām hotā viśveṣām* = RV. *yajñānām hotā viśveṣām* (*yajñānām hotā viśveṣām*). If there are two successive *Udāttas*, the second is not marked, but 2r is written over the following Svarita; e. g. ³ ¹ ^{2r} *diviṣo martyasya* = RV. *diviṣo martyasya* (*diviṣo martyasya*). If in such case there is no room for 2r, the first *Udātta* has 2u written over

it instead; e. g. ³ ^{2u} ³ ¹ ² *eṣa sya pītaye* = RV. *eṣa sya pītaye* (*eṣa sya pītaye*). The independent Svarita (as well as the dependent one which follows two successive *Udāttas*) is marked with 2r; and the *Anudātta* which precedes it, with 3k;

e. g. ^{3k} ^{2r} *tanvā*. Syllables which follow a Svarita and in which the pitch remains unchanged, are left unmarked; e. g. ³ ¹ ² *dūtām vṛṇīmahe hotāram* = RV. *dūtām vṛṇīmahe hotāram* (*dūtām vṛṇīmahe hotāram*)⁴.

4. Though the *Brāhmaṇas* do not come within the scope of this work, the system of accentuation in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* cannot be passed over here, as it must be treated in connexion with the other systems of the Vedic period. It is historically important as forming a transition to the post-Vedic period, when the accent assumed a different character⁵. The system of the SB. in various respects differs considerably from the three described above.

¹ See HAUG 27—32; L. v. SCHROEDER, Introduction to his edition 1, p. XXIX—XXXIV; ZDMG. 33, 186 ff.

² Cp. L. v. SCHROEDER, Introduction to his edition, 2, p. x—xi.

³ On some peculiarities of the VS. in marking the Svarita, see HAUG 32—35.

⁴ For further details see HAUG 35—42.

⁵ Cp. LEUMANN, KZ. 31, 50 (mid.).

a. Its chief peculiarity is that it marks only the main accent, the **Udātta**. This is done by means of a horizontal stroke below the accented syllable; e. g. *पुरुषः* *pūruṣaḥ*. If there are two or more successive Udāttas, only the last is marked; e. g. *agnir hi vai dhūr ātha* = *agnir hi vai dhūr ātha*. When, however, an Udātta is thrown back as the result of Sandhi, an immediately preceding Udātta is also marked; e. g. *so 'gnim evābhikṣamāṇaḥ* = *só 'gnim evābhikṣamāṇaḥ*, where *evābhī-* stands for *evābhī-* = *evā abhī-*. Two successive syllables are also sometimes marked when a compound receives a secondary Udātta; e. g. *sprhayād-varṇaḥ*, for *sprhayād-varṇaḥ*.

b. An independent **Svarita** is thrown back on the preceding syllable in the form of an Udātta; e. g. *manuṣyeṣu*, that is, *manuṣyeṣu* for *manuṣyeṣu*. The Svarita resulting from change to a semivowel (*kṣaipra*), from contraction (*praśliṣṭa*), or elision of a (*abhinihita*), is similarly treated; e. g. *kathāṃ nu imāṃ*, that is, *kathāṃ nu imāṃ* for *kathāṃ nu imāṃ*; *evaitāḍ*, that is, *evaitāḍ* from *evā etād*; *tē 'rcantaḥ*, that is, *tē 'rcantaḥ* for *tē 'rcantaḥ*.

When, however, the prepositions *ā* and *prā*, and final *ā* in the first member of a compound, combine with an unaccented vowel, the contracted syllable retains the Udātta; e. g. *dhī* (= *ā ihī*); *prāha* (= *prā āha*); *citrā-ūti-* (= *citrā-ūti-*) 'bestowing wondrous gifts'.

c. Before a pause an accented syllable may lose its Udātta or receive a reduced accent marked with three dots, if the initial syllable after the pause has an Udātta or independent Svarita; e. g. *sa bhāgaḥ | samsthite*, for *sā bhāgaḥ | samsthite*. The penultimate syllable may also be thus reduced; e. g. *juhōti | ātha*, for *juhōti | ātha*. This may occur even when the following initial syllable is unaccented; e. g. *nāpsu | āpa*, for *nāpsu | āpa*.

d. Reduplicated forms or long compounds accented on the first syllable or prior member, sometimes receive a secondary accent near the end of the word; e. g. *bālbalīti*, that is *bālbalīti* for *bālbalīti*; *eka-catvāriṃśat*, that is, *eka-catvāriṃśat* for *eka-catvāriṃśat*. Sometimes, in such case, the primary accent itself is lost; e. g. *eka-saptatīḥ* beside *eka-saptatīḥ*. Somewhat analogous to this double accentuation of compounds is the frequent accentuation of both verbal prefix and verb at the same time; e. g. *abhi gopayād* (cp. 109). Finally, the accent occasionally appears on a syllable different from that on which it usually rests. The irregularities mentioned here (d) are much commoner in Books x-xiii than in the earlier Books; they are commonest of all in xiv¹.

85. Normal accentuation of words.—As a general rule, every Vedic word is both accented and has one main accent only. The Udātta is the only main accent in the original text of the R̥gveda. It is generally found on the syllable which, according to the evidence of Comparative Philology², bore it in the Indo-European period³. Sometimes, however, the Udātta is secondary, being a substitute for the independent Svarita (itself the result of an original Udātta). Thus there is already a tendency in the RV. to change a final Svarita into a final Udātta: the vocative *dyāus* (= *dīaus*) 'O Heaven', appears as *dyāus* (VIII. 89¹²); *aryā-* (= *arīa-*) 'kind', occurring only once (I. 123¹), otherwise and very frequently appears as *aryā-*; thus, too, *svān-* 'dog', was probably at one time *svān-* for *śvān-* (Gk. *kúwn*), which would explain the

¹ For further details, see HAUG, 43-48; LEUMANN, Die accentuation des Çatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, KZ. 31, 22-51; cp. also WACKER-NAGEL I, 252; Bhāṣikavṛtti, ed. by KIEL-HORN IS. 10, 397 ff.

² Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 45, 1.

³ Under the influence of analogy the

Vedic Udātta shifted, in a few instances, to other syllables in the Brāhmaṇas and in Pāṇini's system; thus *sāptā*, ŚB. and C. *sāpta*, *aṣṭāu*, C. *aṣṭāu*; AV. VS. ŚB. *tilā* 'sesamum', C. *tila-*; *sīdati* 'sit', C. also *sīddati*; AV. *gāhvara-* 'deep', C. *gahvārad-*.

abnormal accentuation *śīmas* etc. instead of the regular accentuation **śūnis* etc. prevailing in monosyllabic stems (93). Or the final Svarita is thrown back as an Udātta on the preceding syllable: thus *mītrya*- 'friendly', beside *mītryā*-¹.

In some Vedic words, however, the only accent which is written is the 'independent' Svarita, by the native phoneticians called the 'genuine' (*jātya*)² or also the 'invariable' (*nitya*). Always following a *y* or *v*, it is, however, just as much due to a preceding Udātta (lost by the change of *i* and *ū* to *y* and *v*), as the dependent Svarita is; e. g. *kvā* (= *kūā*) 'where?'; *svār* (= *siār*, TS. *siāvar*) 'light'; *rathvām* (= *rathlām*, from *rathī*- 'charioteer'); *tanvām* (= *tanlām* from *tanū*- 'body'); *ek-yā*- (= *ek-lā*-) 'belonging to home'; *vasav-yā*- (= *vasat-lā*-) 'wealthy'. In reading the RV. the original vowel with its Udātta must be restored except in a very few late passages³.

a. **Double accent.** Contrary to the general rule that a word has a single accent only, a certain class of infinitives and a special type of compounds have a double accent⁴. The infinitives in *-tavai*, of which more than a dozen examples occur, accent both the first and the last syllable; e. g. *ā-tavāi* 'to go', *āpa-bhartavāi* 'to take away'. The Udātta on the final syllable is probably to be explained as a secondary accent like that of the SB. in intensives and compounds (*bālbaliti*, *śka-catevāriṣṣāt*, cp. 84, 4 d), where an accent at the beginning of a word is counterbalanced by another at the end.

A good many compounds of a syntactical type, in which both members are duals in form or in which the first member is nearly always a genitive in form, accent both members; e. g. *mitrī-vṛuṇā* 'Mitra and Varuṇa', *bṛhas-pāti*- 'Lord of prayer'⁵.

b. **Lack of accent.** Contrary to the general rule that every word is accented, some words never have an accent, while others lose their accent under special conditions.

1. The following are **invariably enclitic**:

a. **pronouns**: *tvā*- 'another'; *samā*- 'some'; *ena*- 'he', 'she'⁶; *mē*, D. G., 'of or to me'; *mā*, A., 'me'; *nau*, du. A. D. G., 'us two', etc.; *nas*, A. D. G., 'us', etc.; *te*, D. G., 'of or to thee'; *tva*, A., 'thee'; *vām*, A. D. G., 'ye two', etc.; *vas*, A. D. G., 'you', etc.; *īm*, *sīm* 'him', 'her', 'it', 'them', etc.; *kis* 'some one' in *nī-kis*, *mā-kis* 'no one'; *kīm* in *ā-kīm* 'from', *nā-kīm*, *mā-kīm* 'never'.

β. **particles**: *ca* 'and'; *u* 'on the other hand'; *vā* 'or'; *iva* 'like', 'as it were'; *kaṃ* 'indeed' (after *nī*, *st*, *hi*); *gha*, *ha* 'just' (emphasizing); *cid* 'at all'; *bhala* 'indeed'; *samā-ha* 'somehow'; *sma* 'just', 'indeed' (almost invariably with the present tense); *svīd* 'probably'.

2. The following classes of forms or individual words are subject to **loss of accent** according to their position or function in the sentence:

a. **vocatives**, unless beginning the sentence or Pāda.

β. **finite verbs**, in principal clauses, unless beginning the sentence or Pāda.

γ. **all oblique cases** formed from the demonstrative pronoun *a-*, when used merely to replace a preceding substantive, and not occurring at the beginning of a sentence or Pāda; e. g. *asya jānimāni* 'his (i. e. Agni's) births' (but *asyā uśāsaḥ* 'of that Dawn').

¹ Cp. the accentuation of the SB., 84, 4 b. In Pāṇini's system of accentuation this tendency went still further; thus V. *vīryā*- (= *vīriā*-), becomes in C. *vīrya*-; and the gerundive in *-tavya* (= *-taviā*) appears in C. as *-tavya* also.

² RPr. III. 4, VPr. I. 111 f.; cp. HAU 75.

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³ Cp. BENFEY, Gött. Abhandlungen 27, 31 ff.

⁴ In the Brāhmaṇas also the particle *vāvā*-

⁵ See below, on the accentuation of compounds, 91.

⁶ The A. sing. f. occurs once (VIII. 619) accented at the beginning of a Pāda as *enām*.

δ. *yáthā* 'as', when used in the sense of *iva* 'like', 'as it were', at the end of a Pāda; e. g. *tāyāvo yathā* (I. 50²) 'like thieves'.

ε. *ná* 'not', when followed by *hi* 'for', the two particles being treated as one word; e. g. *nahí tvā . . . Invatah* (I. 10⁸) 'for the two do not restrain thee'; similarly when combined with the particle *nú* 'now': *na-nú* 'certainly not'.

1. Accentuation of Nominal Stems.

86. A. In primary derivation no general law for the accentuation of nominal suffixes can be stated; but there is a tendency, when *-a*, *-ana*, *-as*, *-an*, *-man* are added, to accent the root in action nouns, and the suffix in agent nouns; and in nouns formed with *-as* and *-man* difference of gender is to some extent accompanied by difference of accent.

1. Root stems when reduplicated or compounded with prepositions as a rule retain the accent on the radical syllable; e. g. *juhū-* 'tongue' and 'ladle', *yavī-yīdh-* 'eager to fight'; *pra-nenī-* 'guiding constantly'. In stems formed with intensive reduplication, however, the reduplicative syllable is sometimes accented; thus *jōgū-* 'singing aloud', *vānīvan-* 'desiring', *dāridra-* (VS.) 'roving'. The prefix is accented in *āva-sā-* 'deliverance', *īpa-stu-t-* 'invocation', *pāri-jri-* 'running round'.

2. When the suffix *-a* is added, the root is accented in action nouns, but the suffix in agent nouns; e. g. *vid-a-* 'knowledge', *śisnāth-a-* 'perforation'; but *cod-ā-* 'instigator', *cacar-ā-* 'moveable'. When there is a verbal prefix, the final syllable is as a rule accented; e. g. *sam-gam-ā-* m. 'coming together'. In a few of these compounds, however, the root is accented, as *ut-pāt-a-* (AV.) 'portent', *ā-srēś-a-* (AV.) 'plague'; and in some others (mostly agent nouns) the prefix: *ā-bhag-a-* 'sharing', *prāti-ves-a-* 'neighbour', *vy-ḥṣ-a-* (AV.) 'burning', *sām-kāś-a-* (AV.) 'appearance'.

3. The suffix *-ata* is always accented on the final syllable; e. g. *dars-atā-* 'visible', *pac-atā-* 'cooked', *yaj-atā-* 'to be adored'.

4. Of the participial suffixes *-at* and *-ant* the former is never accented when the sense is verbal; e. g. *dād-at-* 'giving', *dās-at-* 'worshipping'. A few old participles, however, which have become substantives, have shifted the accent to the suffix: *vah-āt-* 'stream', *vegh-āt-* (AV. VS.) 'barren cow', *vāgh-āt-* 'sacrificer', *sraṇ-āt-* 'stream', *saśc-āt-* 'pursuer'. The suffix *-ant* is accented in the present participle of the second (450) and sixth (429) classes and of the denominative (562), e. g. *ad-ant-*, *tud-ant-*, *aghāy-ant-*; in the future (537), e. g. *dāsy-ant-* (AV.); in the root aorist, e. g. *bhid-ant-* and sometimes in the *a*-aorist, e. g. *vṛdh-ant-*; also in the old present participles which have become adjectives, *rūh-ant-* 'weak', *brh-ant-* 'great', and (with lengthened vowel) *mah-ant-* 'great'.

5. The suffix *-an* is generally accented; e. g. *ukṣ-an-* m. 'bull', *ud-an-* n. 'water'. The radical syllable is, however, not infrequently accented; e. g. *rāj-an-* m. 'king', *ūdhan-* n. 'udder'.

6. Stems formed with *-ana* predominantly accent the root; e. g. *kār-ana-* n. 'act', *cūd-ana-* (AV.) 'impelling'. The final syllable is, however, accented fairly often; e. g. *kar-anā-* 'active', *kros-anā-* 'yelling', *kṣay-anā-* (VS.) 'habitable', *tvar-anā-* (AV.) 'hastening', *roc-anā-* 'shining' (AV.), n. 'light', *svap-anā-* (VS.) 'sleepy'. The penultimate is also accented in several words: the substantives

¹ The ŚB., however, accents both particles; Cp. LEUMANN, KZ. 31, 22.

² Cp. WHITNEY 1147 g.

³ Cp. WHITNEY 1148; LINDNER p. 34.

kir-āna- m. 'dust', *kṛp-āna-* n. 'misery' (but *kṛp-ānā-* 'miserable' AV.), *danis-āna-* n. 'great deed', *vṛj-āna-* n. 'enclosure', *ves-āna-* n. 'service'; and the adjectives *tur-āna-* 'hastening', *doh-āna-* 'milking', *bhant-āna-* (VS. TS.) 'rejoicing', *man-āna-* 'considerate', *mand-āna-* 'joyful', *saks-āna-* 'overcoming'. When the stem is compounded with a verbal prefix, the root is nearly always accented; e. g. *saṃ-gūmana-* 'gathering together'; but the final syllable is accented in *vi-caṣṣant-* 'conspicuous', *upari-sayanā-* (AV.) 'couch'.

7. The suffix *-anā*, whether forming the feminine of adjectives in *-ana* or f. action nouns, is always accented either on the penultimate or the final syllable; e. g. *tur-ānā-* 'speeding', *spand-anā-* (AV.) 'kicking'; *arh-ānā-* 'inherit', *jā-ānā-* 'old age'. The word *pīt-anā-* 'fight' is irregularly accented on the radical syllable.

8. The suffix *-anī* is always accented, either on the final or the penultimate syllable; e. g. *dyot-anī-* 'brilliance'; *aś-inī-* 'missile'.

9. The suffix *-anī* being the feminine form of action and agent nouns in *-ana*, is similarly accented; e. g. *pś-anī-* (AV.) 'beautiful' (*pś-ana-*). The accent is, however, sometimes shifted to the final syllable; e. g. *tap-anī-* 'heat' (*tāp-ana-*).

10. Stems formed with the suffix *-as* accent the root if they are action nouns, but the suffix if they are agent nouns; e. g. *āp-as-* n. 'work', but *ap-ās-* 'active'. There are also some masc. substantives with the accent on the suffix; e. g. *raṣ-as-* m. beside *rāṣ-as-* n. 'demon'.

11. The suffix *-ā*, forming action nouns from roots and secondary conjugation stems, is invariably¹ accented; e. g. *nind-ā-* (AV.) 'blame'; *jigṛs-ā-* 'desire to win'; *gamay-ā-* (AV.) 'causing to go'; *asṛay-ā-* 'desire for horses'.

12. The suffix *-āna*, forming middle participles, is normally accented on the final syllable; e. g. *ad-ānā-* 'eating'. Reduplicated stems, however, regularly accent the first syllable; e. g. *dād-āna-* 'giving', *jāhuv-āna-* 'invoking'. A few others accent the root; e. g. *cīt-āna-* (AV.) 'shining', *dyūt-āna-* (RV.) 'beaming' (beside the usual *dyūt-ānā-*)². There are also a few adjectives and substantives ending in *-āna* in which the primary character of the suffix or the derivation of the word is doubtful. These also accent the first syllable; e. g. *vāsav-āna-* 'possessing wealth', *pārś-āna-* m. 'abyss'³.

13. No general rule can be stated regarding the suffix *-ī*, either the suffix or the root being accented with about equal frequency; e. g. *āj-ī-* 'race', *grāh-ī-* 'seizure'. Action nouns used as infinitives, however, regularly accent the suffix; e. g. *drś-dye* 'to see'. Reduplicated derivatives tend to accent the initial syllable; e. g. *cākr-ī-* 'active'; while stems compounded with a preposition usually accent the final syllable; e. g. *parā-dad-ī-* 'delivering over'.

14. Stems formed with the superlative suffix *-iṣṭha* regularly accent the root; e. g. *yāj-iṣṭha-* 'sacrificing best'. The only exceptions are *jyēṣṭha-* when meaning 'eldest' (but *jyēṣṭha-* 'greatest') and *kan-iṣṭha-* 'youngest' (but *kān-iṣṭha-* 'smallest', TS. B). When the stem is compounded with a preposition the latter is accented; e. g. *ā-gam-iṣṭha-* 'coming best'.

15. The suffix *-is* is nearly always accented; e. g. *arc-is-* 'flame'. The exceptions are *ām-is-* 'raw flesh', *jyōt-is-* 'light', and *vyāth-is-* 'course'(?).

16. The few action and agent nouns formed with the suffix *-ī*, are accented either on the root or the suffix; e. g. *deh-ī-* 'rampart', *śac-ī-* 'power'.

¹ If *jānghā-* 'leg' is formed with this suffix, it is the only exception.

² See LINDNER p. 54, top.

³ See below, Nominal stem formation, under *-āna-* (130).

17. Stems formed with the comparative suffix *-īyāms* invariably accent the root; e. g. *jānu-īyāms-* 'swifter'. When the stem is compounded with a preposition the latter is accented; e. g. *prāti-cyau-īyāms-* 'pressing closer against'.

18. The suffix *-u* is usually accented; e. g. *ur-ū-* 'wide', *pād-ū-* m. 'foot'. The radical syllable is, however, not infrequently accented; e. g. *tāḥ-u-* 'speeding', *ās-u-* m. 'life'. The suffix is regularly accented in adjectives formed from desiderative, causative, and denominative stems; e. g. *dīps-ū-* 'wishing to harm', *bhāvay-ū-* 'cherishing', *aghāy-ū-* 'malignant'.

19. Substantives formed with the suffix *-us* regularly accent the root (excepting *jan-ūs-* 'birth'); e. g. *dhān-us-* 'bow'. But a few adjectives which are never used as substantives accent the suffix; e. g. *jay-ūs-* 'victorious', but *tāp-us-* both 'hot' and 'heat'.

20. The suffix *-ū* forming independent feminine substantives is regularly accented; as *cam-ū-* 'dish', *vadh-ū-* 'bride'.

21. When the suffix *-ta* forms past passive participles it is invariably accented; e. g. *jā-tū-* 'born', *rakṣ-i-tū-* 'protected'. But a few ordinary nouns formed with this suffix accent the radical syllable: *ī-ta-* 'variegated'; m.: *gār-ta-* 'car-seat', *mār-ta-* 'mortal', *vā-ta-* 'wind', *hās-ta-* 'hand'; n.: *ās-ta-* 'home', *nāḥ-ta-* 'night'.

22. Stems formed with the suffix *-tar* generally accent the root when the meaning is participial, but the suffix when it is purely nominal; e. g. *dā-tar-* 'giving' (with acc.), but *dā-tār-* 'giver'.

23. Stems formed with the suffix *-ti* accent the root more frequently than the suffix; e. g. *īṣ-ti-* 'offering', *kṣi-ti-* (AV.) 'destruction', *dhū-ti-* m. 'shaker', but *iṣ-ti-* 'desire', *kṣi-ti-* 'abode', *jñā-ti-* m. 'relative', *rā-ti-* 'gift'. Reduplicated derivatives seem to have accented either the first syllable or the suffix; e. g. *dīdhi-ti-* 'devotion' and *carkṛ-ti-* 'fame'. When these stems are compounded with prepositions, the latter are nearly always accented; e. g. *ā-hu-ti-* 'offering'; the only exceptions are *ā-sak-ti-* 'pursuit', *ā-su-ti-* 'brew' and 'enlivening', and *abhi-ṣ-ti-* m. 'helper' beside *abhi-ṣ-ti-* f. 'help'.

24. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-tu*, with some half dozen exceptions, accent the root (invariably when they are used as infinitives); e. g. *tān-tu-* 'thread', but *ak-tū-* 'ray'.

25. The suffix *-tnu* is always accented; e. g. *ha-tnū-* 'deadly', *jigha-tnū-* 'harming'.

26. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-tra* generally accent the root; e. g. *mān-tra-* 'prayer', but *kṣa-trā-* 'dominion'.

27. Gerundives formed with the suffix *-tva* regularly accent the root; e. g. *kār-tva-* 'to be made', *vāk-tva-* 'to be said', *bhāv-i-tva-* 'future'.

28. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-tha* generally accent the latter; e. g. *uk-thā-* n. 'saying'. Sometimes, however, the root is accented; e. g. *ār-tha-* 'goal'. When the suffix is added with the connecting vowel *-a-*, the latter is generally accented; e. g. *uc-ā-tha-* n. 'praise'.

29. The suffix *-na* when forming past passive participles is invariably accented; e. g. *bhin-nā-* 'split'. When forming ordinary nouns, whether adjectives or masc. substantives, it is usually accented; e. g. *ī-nā-* 'guilty', *ghṛ-nā-* m. 'heat'; but a few masculines accent the root, as *kūr-na-* 'ear', *vār-na-* 'colour', *svāp-na-* 'sleep'. Neuters (except *śu-nā-* 'welfare') and feminines (*-nā*) accent the root; e. g. *ān-na-*¹ 'food', *tī-na-* 'grass', *tīṣ-nā-* 'thirst'.

¹ Originally a past participle of *ad-* 'eat'.

30. Derivatives formed with *-ni* accent either the root or the suffix; e. g. *yó-ni*- m. 'receptacle', but *ag-ni*- m. 'fire'.

31. The suffix *-nu* is almost invariably accented; e. g. *vag-ni*- 'sound'. An exception is *vís-nu*-¹, N. of god.

32. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-ma* accent the suffix more than twice as often as the root; e. g. *tig-mi*- 'sharp', *ghar-má*- 'heat', *dhū-má*- 'smoke', but *ī-ma*- 'friend', *só-ma*- 'Soma'.

33. Derivatives formed with *-man* regularly accent the root in neuter substantives; e. g. *kár-man*- 'action', *ján-man*- 'birth', *ná-man*- 'name'. There are, however, several masculine agent nouns which accent the suffix; e. g. *dar-mán*- 'breaker'. In several instances the accent varies in the same word according to the gender and meaning; e. g. *brīh-man*- n. 'prayer', *brah-mán*- m. 'one who prays'; *sád-man*- n. 'seat', *sad-mán*- m. 'sitter'. These stems when compounded with prepositions nearly always accent the latter; e. g. *pri-bharman*- n. 'presentation'.

34. The participial suffix *-māna* is never accented except in the anomalous perfect participle *sasṛ-māna*- (RV¹.) = *sasṛ-āna*- 'speeding'. The accent of these derivatives is regularly on the same syllable as in the tense-stem to which the suffix is added; e. g. *yíja-māna*- 'sacrificing', *icchá-māna*- 'desiring', *idhýá-māna*- 'being kindled', *yakṣýá-māna*- 'about to sacrifice'.

35. Gerundives formed with the suffix *-ya* invariably accent the root; e. g. *híva-ya*- 'to be invoked'.

36. The suffix *-ra* is usually accented; e. g. *ak-rá*- m. 'banner', *rud-rá*-, m. N. of a god, *abh-rá*- n. 'cloud'. The root is, however, accented in a good many words; e. g. *gídh-ra*- 'greedy', *íj-ra*- m. 'field', *ind-ra*-, N. of a god, *ág-ra*- n. 'point'.

37. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-ri* accent the root oftener than the suffix; e. g. *bhū-ri*- 'abundant', but also *sā-ri*- m. 'patron'.

38. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-va* accent the suffix rather oftener than the root; e. g. *ṛk-vá*- 'praising', but also *ṛbh-va*- 'skilful'.

39. The root is regularly accented in derivatives formed with the suffix *-van*; e. g. *kṛt-van*- 'active', *pát-van*- 'flying', *yáj-van*- 'sacrificing'. This is the case even when the stem is compounded with a preposition; e. g. *vi-míḡ-van*- (AV.) 'cleansing'.

40. The suffixes *-vana*, *-vanu*, *-vaní* are always accented, the first two on the final, the last on the initial syllable; e. g. *vag-vaní*- 'talkative', *vag-vanú*- m. 'noise', *bhur-váni*- 'restless'.

41. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-vara* chiefly accent the final syllable when they are masc. nouns, but the root when they are neuter substantives; e. g. *it-vará*- 'going', *ís-vará*- (AV.) 'able', but *kár-vara*- n. 'deed', *gáh-vara*- (AV.) n. 'thicket'. The suffix appears with *l* instead of *r* in the adjective *vid-valá*- 'cunning'.

42. The suffix *-vāms* of the perfect participle is always accented, even in the reduced form *-us* appearing in the weak cases; e. g. *caḡṛ-vāms*- and *caḡṛ-ús*- 'having made'.

43. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-vi* from the simple root accent the radical syllable, but the first syllable of the reduplicated root; thus *ghṛs-vi*- 'lively', but *jáḡṛ-vi*- 'watchful'.

¹ This word may, however, be differently derived; possibly *vi-snu*- 'der in die Weite strebende', according to UHLENBECK, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch der altindischen Sprache*, Amsterdam 1898; cp. BLOOMFIELD, *AJPh.* 17, 427 f., 'crossing the back (of the world)'.

44. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-sa* sometimes accent the root, sometimes the suffix; e. g. *gīt-sa* 'adroit', *ūt-sa* m. 'fountain', but *prk-śā* 'dappled', *ghraṃśā* m. 'sun's heat'.

45. The suffix *-snu* is always accented; e. g. *jī-snu-* 'victorious', *vrđh-a-snu-* 'joyful', *car-i-snu-* 'wandering', *ni-śat-snu-* 'sitting down', *tāpay-i-snu-* 'tormenting', *abhi-śocay-i-snu-* (AV.) 'causing torments'.

B. In secondary derivation five groups of stems may be distinguished with regard to accentuation: a. those which accent the suffix, being formed with *-āyand*, *-āyā*, *-īn*, *-iya*, *-īna*, *-īya*, *-enī*, *-ēnya*, *-tā*, *-taṇ-yā*, *-tvā*, *-tvā-tā*, *-tvand*, *-mā*, *-māya*, *-mān*, *-mnā*, *-yīn*, *-vā*, *-vāt*, *-valī*, *-vīn*; b. those in which the suffix is not accented, being formed with *-taya*, *-lara*, *-tā*, *-tāt*, *-tāti*, *-tāya*; c. those in which only the first syllable is accented, being formed with *-i* and *-nī*; d. those in which either the first or the last syllable is accented, being formed by means of *Vṛddhi* with the suffixes *-eya*, *-a* or *-na* (the last two also without *Vṛddhi*); e. those in which the accent is sometimes on the suffix, and sometimes on one or other syllable of the primitive stem, being formed with the suffixes *-ā*, *-ānī*, *-īma*, *-ī*, *-ka*, *-tana* or *-tāna*, *-tama*, *-tha*, *-bha*, *-mant*, *-ya*, *-ra*, *-la*, *-van*, *-vant*, *-vaya*, *-śa*. The following is a detailed account of the accent in derivatives formed with the above secondary suffixes in their alphabetical order.

1. Stems formed with the suffix *-a* and *Vṛddhi* of the first syllable from primitive stems ending in *-a* are predominantly accented on the final syllable. This is, however, mostly the case when the primitive is accented on any syllable other than the last; e. g. *āmītrā* 'hostile' from *amitra* 'foe', *nārāsaṃsā* 'belonging to *Nārā-sāmsa*', *śaucadrathā*, patronymic from *śucādratha* 'having a shining car', *pāvamānā* 'relating to the clear-flowing (*pāvamāna*-) Soma'. In several instances, however, the primitive stem is also oxytone, e. g. *kauśikā* 'belonging to *Kuśikā*'. On the other hand, stems formed with *Vṛddhi* sometimes accent the first syllable, when the primitive is otherwise accented; e. g. *mādhyaṃdīna* 'belonging to midday' (*madhyaṃ-dīna*-), *śubhagān* 'luck' from *su-bhāga* 'lucky', *vādhyāśva* 'descendant of *Vadhryāśva*'. The derivative *dīvodāsa* 'belonging to *Dīvodāsa*' is, however, formed from a stem similarly accented (*dīvo-dāsa*-).

A similar rule prevails in the accentuation of stems derived from other primitives by means of the suffix *-a* and *Vṛddhi* of the first syllable; e. g. *āyas-ā* 'made of metal' (*āyas*-), *saumanas-ā* 'benevolence' from *su-mānas* 'well-disposed'; also sometimes from stems similarly accented, as *paidv-ā* 'belonging to *Pedū*'. On the other hand, the first syllable is accented in derivatives from primitives mostly accented on the last; e. g. *pārthīva* 'earthly' from *prthivī* 'earth', *māghona* 'belonging to the bountiful one' (*maghāvan*-); but sometimes also from stems similarly accented, as *nāhus-a* 'neighbouring' from *nāhus* 'neighbour'. The accentuation is similar when the secondary *-a* is added without *Vṛddhi*; e. g. *paruṣ-ā* 'knotty' from *pārus* 'knot', but *hārit-a* 'fallow' from *harit*.

2. The suffix *-ā* forming feminines to masculines in *-a* retains the accent on the same syllable as in the masculine; e. g. *priyā* beside *priyā* 'dear'.

3. Stems formed with the somewhat rare suffix *-ānī* accent one of the last three syllables; e. g. *indrānī* 'wife of *Indra*', *mudgalānī* 'wife of *Mūdgala*', *purukūtsānī* 'wife of *Purukūtsa*', *uśīndrānī* 'queen of the *Uśīnaras*'.

4. The only example of the patronymic suffix *-āyana* in the RV. *kāṇv-āyana* 'descendant of *Kaṇva*' is unaccented (occurring in the voc. only); the final syllable seems to have been accented judging by *dākṣ-āyand*.

(VS. AV.) 'son of Dakṣa', and the fem. *rāmāyaṇī-* (AV.) 'daughter of the Black one'. The derivative *uṣṣāyīyana-*, N. of a man, is unique both in accentuation and absence of Vṛddhi.

5. The suffix *-āyī* occurs accented on the first syllable only in *agn-āyī-* 'wife of Agni'; *vr̥ṣākāp-āyī-* (RV¹) 'wife of Vṛṣākapi', occurring in the voc. only, is unaccented.

6. The suffix *-āyya-* forming gerundival adjectives is always accented on its first syllable; e. g. *paṇ-āyya-* 'to be admired'.

7. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-i* and Vṛddhi, being almost exclusively patronymics, always accent the first syllable; thus *āgniveśi-* 'son of Agniveśa', *pūturukutsi-* 'descendant of Purukūtsa', *prātardani-* 'descendant of Prātardana', *prāhrād-i-* (AV.) 'son of Prahrāda', *sāṃvāraṇi-* 'descendant of Sāṃvāraṇa'. Similarly formed and accented is *sīrathi-* 'charioteer' (from *sa-rītha-m* 'on the same chariot'). Two other words, formed without Vṛddhi, take the secondary *-i*: *tāpus-i-* 'burning' (*tāpus-* 'heat') and, accented on the final syllable, *śucant-i-*, N. of a man.

8. The very frequent suffix *-in* forming possessive adjectives is always accented; e. g. *ast-in-* 'possessing horses', *dhan-in-* 'wealthy'; *mantī-in-* 'wise'; *abhimāt-in-* 'insidious'. The adjective *śāk-in-* 'powerful' occurs once accented on the first syllable: *śāk-i* (I. 51⁸); the accentuation of this form and of the two nominatives (each occurring once) *ir-i* 'violent' and *śitr-i* 'speeding' is perhaps due to error.

9. The accentuation of the suffix *-ima*, which is attached to three stems in *-tra* and to one in *-ra*, varies: *khanītr-ima-* 'made by digging', *krītr-ima-* 'artificial', *pūtr-ima-* (AV.) 'purified'; *agr-imd-* 'foremost'.

10. The suffix *-iya* is regularly accented either on its first or its second syllable; e. g. *abhr-īya-* and *abhr-iyā-* 'derived from the clouds' (*abhrā-*). *ksatr-īya-* 'having authority' (*ksatrā-*), *amitr-īya-* 'inimical' (*amitra-* 'foe'); *agr-īyā-* 'foremost', *indr-īyā-* 'belonging to Indra'. The only exceptions are *ītv-īya-* (AV.) 'being in season' (*rtī-*), beside *rtv-īya-*, and *śrītr-īya-* (AV.) 'learned' (*śrōtra-* 'learning').

11. Derivatives with the feminine suffix *-ī* commonly accent the same syllable as the corresponding masculines (except oxytones); e. g. *bhāvant-ī-* 'being', m. *bhāvant-*. But the feminine in *-ī* from masculines in *-a* that are not accented on the final syllable usually accents the *-ī* (and follows the radical *ī-* declension); e. g. *rath-ī-* 'charioteer' (m. f.) from *rātha-* 'chariot'. The *-ī* is also accented when it forms the fem. of masc. oxytones in *-u*, e. g. *prthu-ī-* 'broad' (*prthū-*); in *-ant*, e. g. *usāt-ī-* 'desiring' (*usānt-*); in *-tār*, e. g. *avītr-ī-* 'protectress' (*avī-tār-*); in *-āñc* taking Samprasāraṇa, e. g. *pratic-ī-* 'facing' (*praty-āñc-*). The fem. in *-ī* from masc. oxytones in *-a* sometimes retains the accent on the suffix, e. g. *devī-* 'goddess' (*devā-* 'god'), but more usually throws it back on the first syllable, e. g. *āruṣ-ī-* 'ruddy' (*aruṣi-*).

12. The suffix *-ina* is generally accented on its first syllable, rarely on its last; e. g. *apāc-ina-* 'western', *samvatsar-īna-* 'annual'; *pratic-ind-* 'turned towards'. The suffix is unaccented only in *māḥ-ina-* (RV¹) 'mine'.

13. The suffix *-īya* is always accented on its first syllable; e. g. *ārjīk-īya-* a kind of Soma vessel, *āhavan-īya-* (AV.) 'sacrificial fire', *gr̥hamedh-īya-* 'relating to the domestic sacrifice', *parvat-īya-* (AV.) 'mountainous'. Similarly in the ordinals *dvit-īya-* 'second', *tṛt-īya-* 'third', *tur-īya-* 'fourth'.

14. The suffix *-ena* is accented on the final in its only occurrence in the feminine form *sāmidh-enī-* 'relating to fuel' (*samidh-*).

15. The suffix *-enya*, nearly always forming gerundives, regularly accents

its first syllable; e. g. *dṛś-én̄ya* 'worthy to be seen'. The only exception is *vātr-en̄ya* 'desirable'. Similarly accented are the ordinary adjectives *vīr-en̄ya* 'manly' (*vīrā-*) and *kīrt-en̄ya* 'famous' (*kīrti-* 'fame').

16. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-eya* and Vṛddhi accent the final syllable when they have a patronymic sense, but otherwise the first; e. g. *ārs-eyā* 'descendant of a seer' (*īśi-*), but *pāruṣ-eya* 'relating to man' (*pāruṣa-*). The analogy of the gerundive from roots ending in *-ṛ*, which is formed with *-eya* (e. g. *dāya-* 'to be given'), is followed by *didṛkṣ-ēya* 'worth seeing' (*didṛkṣā-*) and *sabh-ēya* 'fit for an assembly' (*sabhā-*).

17. Derivatives formed with *-ka* are variously accented. Those which have a diminutive sense regularly accent the suffix; e. g. *arbhā-kā* 'small', *kanīna-kā*¹ 'youth', *kumāra-kā* 'little boy'. Otherwise the accent sometimes remains on the same syllable as in the primitive; e. g. *ānta-ka* 'making an end' (*ānta-*), *yusmā-ka* 'your' (*yusmā-*); or it shifts to the suffix, e. g. *anya-kā* 'other' (*anyā-*), *sana-kā* 'old' (*sāna-*); or to the first syllable, e. g. *rūpa-ka* (AV.) 'having an assumed form' (*rūpā-* 'form').

18. The rare suffix *-ta* is regularly accented: *eka-tā* (VS.) 'First', *dvi-tā* 'Second', *tri-tā* 'Third' as Proper Names, *ava-tā* 'well', *muhūr-tā* 'moment'.

19. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-tana* or its syncopated form *-tna* are variously accented: *nī-tana-* and *nū-tna-* 'present', *sanā-tāna* (AV.) and *sand-tna* (AV.) 'lasting', *prā-tnā* 'ancient'.

20. The suffix *-tama* when forming superlatives is hardly ever accented², the primitive nearly always retaining its original accent; e. g. *tavās-tama*³ 'very strong'. But when it forms ordinals the final syllable is accented; e. g. *śata-tamā* 'hundredth'.

21. A few adjectives formed with *-taya* from numerals meaning 'consisting of so many parts', accent the primitive: *cātuṣ-taya* (AV.) 'fourfold', *dśa-taya* 'tenfold'.

22. The suffix *-tara* forming comparatives is hardly ever accented, the primitive retaining its original accent; e. g. *ratht-tara* 'better car-fighter'. An exception is *vṛtra-tāra* 'a worse Vṛtra'.

23. Derivatives formed with *-tā* regularly accentuate the syllable preceding the suffix; e. g. *a-gō-tā* 'want of cows', *devā-tā* 'divinity', *puruṣā-tā* 'human nature'. The only exception is *a-vīra-tā* 'want of sons'.

24. Derivatives formed with *-tāti* and *-tāt* have the same accentuation as those formed with *-tā*; e. g. *a-riṣṭā-tāti* 'security', *devā-tāti* 'divinity', *śānt-tāti* 'good fortune'. The accent is exceptional in *āsta-tāti* 'home' and *dīkṣa-tāti* (AV.) 'cleverness'.

25. The suffix *-tya*, forming nouns from particles, is never accented: *āpa-tya* n. 'offspring', *amā-tya* 'companion', *āvis-tya* 'manifest', *nī-tya* 'own', *nīs-tya* 'foreign', *sānu-tya* 'secret'. When attached to the substantive *ap-* 'water' it is, however, accented: *ap-tyā* and *āp-tyā* 'watery'.

26. The suffix *-tva* is invariably accented; e. g. *amṛta-tvā* 'immortality', *patī-tvā* 'matrimony'.

27. The very rare suffix *-tva-tā* is accented on its first syllable: *iṣṭa-tvātā* 'excitement', *puruṣa-tvātā* 'human nature'.

28. The suffix *-tvana* is always accented on its final syllable; e. g. *kavi-tvānā* 'wisdom', *patī-tvānā* 'matrimony', *sakhī-tvānā* 'friendship'.

¹ Accented *kanīnaka-* in the VS. The fem. in the RV. is *kanīnakā-* but in the AV. *kanīnikā-*.

² Except *puru-tāma* 'very many' and *ut-*

tamā- 'highest', *śatvat-tamā-* 'most frequent' (with the ordinal accent).

³ It is shifted in *mṛdayāt-tama-* 'showing great compassion' (*mṛdayat-*). Cp. below 89.

29. The suffix *-tha*, forming ordinals from a few numerals and adjectives of a cognate sense from pronominal stems, is nearly always accented: thus *catur-thā* (AV.) 'fourth', *ṣaṣ-thā* (AV. VS.) 'sixth', *kati-thā* 'the how-maniest'; but *saptā-tha* 'seventh'.

30. The rare derivatives formed with the suffix *-na* are accented either on the first or the last syllable: *strī-na* 'feminine' (*strī* 'woman'), *vīṇa-na* 'various'; but *purā-nā* 'ancient', *saṁā-nā* 'like'.

31. With the suffix *-bha*² are formed the names of a few animals with one exception accented on the final syllable: *ṛṣa-bhā* and *ṛṣa-bhā* 'bull', *gārda-bhā* 'ass', *śara-bhā* (AV. VS.) 'fabulous eight-legged animal', *ṛṣa-bhā* 'ass'. This suffix also occurs once in the adjective *śikhā-bhā* (AV.) 'big'.

32. The suffix *-ma* is regularly accented, whether forming superlatives; e.g. *adha-mā* 'lowest', *madhya-mā* 'middle-most', or ordinals; e.g. *aṣṭa-mā* 'eighth'. An exception is *dāta-mā*³ 'next'.

33. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-mant* retain the accent of the primitive, unless the latter is oxytone, when the accent in the great majority of instances (about three-fourths) is thrown forward on the suffix; e.g. *śradhī-mant* (AV.) 'rich in herbs', *aśāni-mant* 'bearing the thunderbolt'; but *agni-mānt* 'having fire' (*agni*-).

34. The suffix *-maya* is always accented on the first syllable; e.g. *āyama* 'made of metal', *gomāya* 'consisting of cows', *śakama* 'arising from excrement'.

35. The suffix *-min* is accented (like *-in*) in the only two derivatives formed with it: *iṣ-min* 'impetuous', and *ṛṣ-min* 'jubilant with praise' (*ṛc*-).

36. The rare suffix *-mna* is always accented: *dyu-mnā* 'brightness', *nṛ-mnā* 'manliness', *ni-mnā* 'depth', *su-mnā* 'welfare'.

37. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-ya* and Vṛddhi accent the initial or the final syllable with the same shift as appears in those formed with *-a*: the initial, when the primitive is accented on the final (or sometimes a medial) syllable, but the final, when the primitive is accented on the initial (or sometimes a medial syllable); e.g. *dāiv-ya* 'divine' (*dāiv* 'god'), *ārtviṣ-ya* 'office of priest' (*ārtviṣ*-), *gārhapat-ya* 'position of a householder' (*grhā-pati*-); but *āditi-yā* 'son of Aditi', *prajāpat-yā* (AV.) 'relating to Prajāpati'. In a very few instances the accent remains unchanged, as *ādhipat-ya* 'lordship' (*ādhi-pati* 'lord'), *pāṇis-ya* 'manliness' (*pāṇis* 'man'), *vāis-ya* 'man of the third caste' (*vāis* 'settler'), *śrādisṭh-ya* (AV.) 'superiority' (*śrēṣṭha* 'best'); while in several instances it shifts from the final syllable to the suffix (instead of to the initial syllable); e.g. *kāv-yā* 'descendant of Kavi' (but *kāv-ya* 'endowed with the qualities of a sage', *kāv*-).

a. In derivatives formed without Vṛddhi the accentuation is to some extent similar; thus a final accent shifts to the first syllable; e.g. in *pitr-ya* 'belonging to the fathers' (*pitr*-), *pratījan-ya* 'adverse' (*prati-janā* 'adversary' AV.); or from the first to the last; e.g. *grām-yi* 'belonging to the village' (*grāma*-); or it remains on the first syllable; e.g. *āv-ya* 'belonging to sheep' (*āvi*-), *gāv-ya* 'derived from cows' (*gā*-); or it shifts from the final syllable to the suffix (instead of the first syllable); e.g. *kāv-yā* 'wise' (*kāv*-). But here the accent may also remain on or be shifted to a medial syllable; e.g. *svarāj-ya* 'autocracy' (*svarāj* 'sovereign'), *viśvādev-ya* 'belonging to all gods' (*viśvādeva*-); *hiraṇyā-ya* 'golden' (*hiraṇya* 'gold'), *āv-yā* 'derived from sheep' (beside *āvya-ya*-), *gāv-yā* 'derived from cows' (beside *gāvya-*).

¹ Cp. BB. 28, 318, bottom.² Cp. PRELLWITZ, BB. 22, 74—114, on animal names in *-bha*.³ But *antamēbhī* (I. 165).

But a peculiarity of the derivatives formed without Vṛddhi is that the majority of them have the Svarita accent on the suffix; e. g. *rājan-yā-* 'belonging to the royal class' (*rājan-*); *doṣaṇ-yā-* 'relating to the arm' (*doṣān-*); *vāyav-yā-* 'belonging to Wind' (*vāyā-*); *-duṇḍubh-yā-* (VS.) 'relating to a drum' (*duṇḍubh-*); *budhn-yā-* 'belonging to the bottom' (*budhnā-*). The suffix thus accented also appears in the gerundive in *-tav-yā-* (twice found in the A.V.) formed from an infinitive stem in *-tu* (585, 4).

38. The rare suffix *-yin* is (like *-in*) always accented: *ātātā-yīn-* (VS.) 'having one's bow drawn', *dhanvā-yīn-* (VS.) 'bearing a bow', *marā-yīn-*, N. of a man, *sykā-yīn-* (VS.) 'having a spear', *svadhā-yīn-* (VS.) 'owning the Svadhā'.

39. Derivatives formed with *-ra* having a comparative sense (chiefly from prepositions) accent the initial syllable: *ādha-ra-* 'lower', *āpa-ra-* 'later', *āva-ra-* 'lower', *ūpa-ra-* 'lower', *ānta-ra-*¹ 'near' (*ānta-* 'end'). Other nouns formed with the suffix are chiefly accented on the final syllable; e. g. *a-śrī-rā-* 'ugly', *dhūm-rā-* (VS.) 'dusky' (*dhūmā-* 'smoke'), *pāṃsu-rā-* 'dusty', *rath-ī-rā-* 'riding in a chariot'; but sometimes otherwise; thus *āgnīdh-ra-* 'belonging to the fire-kindler' (*āgnīdh-*), *mādh-i-ra-* 'wise', *karmā-ra-* 'smith'.

40. Derivatives formed with *-la* nearly always accent the suffix; e. g. *a-śrī-lā-* (AV.) 'ugly', *jīva-lā-* (AV.) 'lively', *bahu-lā-* 'abundant', *madhu-lā-* 'sweet'; but *tīlvi-lā-* 'fertile', *śēva-lā-* (AV.) 'slimy', *śiśū-lā-* 'little child'.

41. The suffix *-va* is regularly accented: *aṇṇa-vā-* 'billowy', *keśa-vā-* (AV.) 'hairy', *añji-vā-* (AV.) 'slippery', *śānti-vā-* (AV.) 'friendly', *śraddhi-vā-* 'credible'.

42. The fem. substantives formed from adverbs or prepositions with the suffix *-vāt* always accent the final syllable: *arvā-vāt-* 'proximity', *ā-vāt-* (AV.) 'proximity', *ud-vāt-* 'height', *nī-vāt-* 'depth', *parā-vāt-* 'distance', *pra-vāt-* 'height', *saṃ-vāt-* 'region'.

43. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-van* may have the accent on any syllable; e. g. *āthar-van-*, 'fire-priest', *indhan-van-* 'possessed of fuel', *īghā-van-* 'violent'; *ṛtā-van-* 'regular', *maghā-van-* 'bountiful'; *arātī-vān-* 'hostile', *śruṣṭi-vān-* 'obedient'.

44. Derivatives formed with *-vant* generally retain the original accent except in oxytone stems (if not ending in *a* or *ā*), which as a rule throw it on the suffix; e. g. *keśa-vant-* 'hairy', *putrā-vant-* (VS.) 'having a son', *prajā-vant-* 'having offspring', *dyaūvāprthivī-vant-* 'connected with heaven and earth'; but *agni-vānt-* 'having fire' (*agnī-*), *āsan-vānt* (AV.) 'having a mouth'. The accent is anomalously shifted in *kṛśāntā-vant-* 'decorated with pearls' (*kṛśāna-*) and *viṣṭu-vānt-* 'central' (*viṣṭu-*) 'in both directions'.

45. The very rare derivatives formed with the suffix *-vaya* accent either the suffix or the primitive: *dru-vāya-* (AV.) 'wooden dish' and *cātur-vaya-* 'fourfold'.

46. Derivatives formed with the rare suffix *-vala* accent their final syllable: *kṛṣṭi-valā-* 'peasant', *naḍ-valā-* (VS.) 'reed bed'.

47. The suffix *-vin* is always accented; e. g. *namas-vīn-* 'reverential', *yaśas-vīn-* (AV.) 'beautiful', *medhā-vīn-* (AV.) 'wise', *dhṛṣad-vīn-* 'bold'.

48. The very rare names of relationship formed with the suffix *-vya* accent the first syllable: *bhrātṛ-vya-* (AV.) 'nephew'.

49. A few adjectives and substantives formed with the suffix *-śa* accent either the final or, less often, the first or second syllable: *arva-śā-* or

¹ This word may, however, be derived from *antār-* 'within', with BR. and WHITNEY 1209 i.

śrva-sa- 'hasting', *cta-sā-* or *ēta-sā-* 'variegated', *bābhlu-sā-* (VS. MS.) 'brownish', *roma-sā-* 'hairy', *yuva-sā-* 'youthful', *aṅku-sā-* 'hook', *turvā-sa-*, N. of a man. Perhaps also *kāśma-sā-* (AV.) 'stupefaction'(?), and *kālā-sa-* 'jar'.

2. Accentuation of Compounds.

AUFRECHT, De accentu compositorum Sanscriticorum, Bonn 1847. — GARBE, KZ. 23, 470f. — REUTER, Die altindischen nominalcomposita, ihrer betonung nach untersucht, KZ. 31, 157—232; 485—612. — WACKERNAGEL, Altindische Grammatik 2^e, p. 40—43, etc.

87. The rule as to the accentuation of compounds, stated in the most general way, is that iteratives, possessives, and governing compounds place the accent on the first member; determinatives and regularly formed copulatives (with one accent) on the last member and to a large extent on its final syllable. Speaking generally the accent of a compound is that of one of its members. But some words always change their accent when compounded; thus *vīśva-* 'all' regularly becomes *vīśvā-*, and in the later Samhitās *sārva-* 'all' sometimes becomes *sarvā-*. Other words when compounded change their accent in certain combinations only; thus some paroxytones become oxytone, as *pūrva-* 'prior' in *pūrvā-citti-* 'foreboding', *pūrvā-pīti-* 'precedence in drinking', *pūrvā-hūti-* 'first invocation'; *nēma-* 'one' in *nemā-dhiti-* 'separation'; *mādha-* 'sacrifice' in *madhā-pati-* 'lord of sacrifice', and *madhā-sāti-* 'receiving the oblation'; *ṛṣan-* in *ṛṣā-kapī-*, N. of a monkey; on the other hand some oxytones throw back the accent, as *khādī-* 'bracelet' in *khādī-hasta-* 'having hands adorned with bracelets'; *grīvā-* 'neck' in *turvi-grīva-* 'powerful-necked'; *vīra-* 'hero' in *puru-vīra-* 'possessed of many men' and *su-vīra-* 'heroic'; *dhūmā-* 'smoke' in *śaka-dhūma-* (AV.) 'smoke of cowdung'.

An adjective compound may shift the accent from one member to the other if it becomes a substantive or a Proper Name; thus *a-kṣūra-* 'imperishable', *ā-kṣarā-* 'speech'; *sū-kṛta-* 'well done', *su-kṛtī-* n. 'good deed'; *ā-rāya-* 'niggardly', *a-rāya-*, N. of a demon.

88. In iteratives, which may consist of repeated nouns, pronouns, adverbs, prepositions, or particles, the first member alone is accented, the two words being separated by Avagraha in the Pada text, like the members of other compounds. Examples are: *āhar-ahar jāyate māsi-māsi* (x. 52³) 'day after day he is born, month after month'; *yād-yad yāmi tād ā bhara* (VIII. 61⁶) 'bring to me whatever I ask'; *yāthā-yathā matāyaḥ śānti nṛṇām* (x. 111¹) 'as are the desires of men in each case'; *adyādya śādh-sva indra trāsva parā ca naḥ* (VIII. 61¹⁷) 'on each to-day, on each to-morrow protect us, Indra, and in the future'. The prepositions which appear as iteratives are *āpa*, *pārā*, *prā*, *sām*; e. g. *prā-pra pūṣnās turviṭāśya śasyate mahitām* (I. 138¹) 'forth and again the greatness of the mighty Pūṣan is praised'. The only verbal iterative occurring is *piba-piba* (II. 11¹¹)² 'drink again and again'.

89. Governing compounds always accent the first member when it is a verbal noun³, as *trāsā-dasyu-* 'terrifying the foe', N. of a man. When the first member is a present or aorist participle, its final syllable is invariably accented, whatever the original accentuation may have been, e. g. *viddā-vasu-* 'winning wealth', *tardā-dveṣas-* 'overcoming (*tārat-*) foes'.

¹ In a few instances the repeated words are not treated as a compound and are both accented, as *nū nū* 'now, now', (VIII. 130¹). *ihthā* (AV.) 'here, here', *sām sām* (AV.). ² Otherwise a repeated verbal form is not treated as an iterative, e. g. *stuhī stuhī* 'helping men'. ³ Except *śikṣā-narā-* 'helping men'.

a. When the first member is a preposition, the accentuation is much the same as in possessives: either the first member is accented on its proper syllable, as *abhi-dyu-* 'directed to heaven'; or the last member on the final syllable, but only when it ends in the compositional suffix *-a*, or when as a simple word it is not accented on the final syllable; e.g. *adhas-pad-á-* 'being under the feet', *anu-kāma-* 'according to wish' (*kāma-*). The accentuation of *api-prāṇa-* (f. *-ī-*) 'accompanying the breath' is quite exceptional.

go. A. Possessive compounds (Bahuvrīhis) normally accent the first member on the same syllable as the simple word, e.g. *rāja-putra-* 'having kings as sons' (but *rāja-putrá-* 'son of a king'). Other examples are: *in-abhimlūta-varṇa-* 'whose colour is not dimmed', *iddhāgni-* 'whose fire is kindled', *indra-jyēṣṭha-* 'having Indra as chief', *indra-sakhī-* 'having Indra as a friend', *ghṛtā-prṣṭha-* 'butter-backed', *rūṣad-vatsa-* 'having a bright calf', *śahisra-pad-* 'thousand-footed'¹. Similarly when the first member is a preposition, an ordinary adverb, or *śahá-* and (chiefly in the later Vedas) *sa-* in the sense of 'accompanied by'; e.g. *nir-hasta-* (AV.) 'handless', *prá-mahas-* 'having pre-eminent might', *vi-grīva-* 'wrynecked', *viśvato-mukha-* 'facing in all directions', *śahá-vatsa-* 'accompanied by her calf', *sá-kāma-* ('accompanied by' =) 'fulfilling desires' (VS.), *sá-cetas-* 'intelligent'².

a. The original accent of the first member is sometimes changed. 1. The adjective *viśva-* 'all' always, and (owing to its influence) *sárva-* 'all' sometimes in the later Samhitās, shift their accent to the final syllable; e.g. *viśvā-peśas-* 'having all adornment', *sarvā-janman-*³ (AV.), *sarvā-buddha-vāta-* (VS.) 'having a completely white tail', *sa-vāyusa-* (VS.) 'having all life'⁴. — 2. Present participles in several instances shift the accent to their final syllable; e.g. *krāṇdāt-iṣṭi-* 'having roaring (*krāṇdāt-*) speed', *dravāt-āśva-* 'having swift (*dravāt-*)⁵ steeds'. Other participles with this shift of accent are *arcāt-* and *bhāndāt-* 'shining', *rapśāt-* 'swelling', *svanāt-* 'resounding'. — 3. There are also a few miscellaneous examples of shift of accent in the first member: *abhiṣṭi-dyumna-* 'abounding in aid', *jyoti-ratha-* 'whose car is light' (*jyótis-*), *dadṛśānā-pari-* 'whose felly is visible' (*dāḍṛśāna-*), *avākola-* (AV.) 'surrounded with Avakā plants' (*āvākā-*); *cātuv-aṅga-* 'four-membered' (*cātūr-*), *khādī-hasta-* 'having hands adorned with bracelets' (*khādī-*).

B. About one eighth of the total number of Bahuvrīhis accent the second member, and in the majority of instances on the final syllable.

a. This accentuation is common when the first member is a dissyllabic adjective ending in *i* or *u*. It is invariable in the RV. after the very frequent *puru-* 'much' and the less frequent *krdhū-* 'shortened', *bahū-* 'much', *śīti-* 'white'; e.g. *puru-putrá-* 'having many sons', *puru-vāra-* 'having many treasures', *krdhū-kārṇa-* 'having short ears', *bahv-anná-*⁶ 'having much food' (*ánna-*), *śīti-pád-* 'white-footed'. Examples of this accentuation after other adjectives ending in *i* and *u* are: *āśu-heśas-* 'having swift steeds', *uru-kṣāya-* 'having a wide abode', *ṛju-krātu-* 'whose works are right', *tuvi-dyumná-* 'having great glory', *ṛṣu-cyāvas-* 'moving greedily', *prthu-páksas-* 'broad-flanked', *vibhu-krātu-* 'having great strength', *vīḷu-pāni-* 'strong-hoofed', *hiri-śiprá-* 'golden-cheeked'⁷. In the later Samhitās there is an increasing tendency to follow

¹ When another adjective or an adverb precedes the first member, it has the accent; e.g. *ēka-śīti-pad-* (VS. TS.) 'having one foot white'; cp. WACKERNAGEL 27, p. 291.

² There are, however, a few exceptions in which the final member is accented, as *vi-śikhā-* 'hairless' (but *vi-śikha-* AV.), *puro-rathā-* 'whose car is foremost', *sa-prāthas-* 'extensive', *sāṅgá-* (AV.) 'together with the limbs'.

³ This is the only example (occurring beside *sarvā-janman-*) of this shift of accent in

sárva- in the AV., where *sárva-* as first member is common.

⁴ *sárva-* shows this shift of accent in the RV. in the adverb *sarvā-tas* 'from all sides' and in the derivative *sarvā-tīti-* 'totality'.

⁵ Here the accent may be affected by that of the adverb *dravāt* 'swiftly'.

⁶ After *bahv-* the final syllable is always accented, even in the later Samhitās.

⁷ Both accentuations occur in *prthu-budhna-* and *prthi-budhna-* 'broad-based'.

the general rule; e. g. *purī-nāman-* (AV.) 'many-named', *śīti-kakud-* 'having a white hump', and *śīti-bhasad-* 'having white buttocks' (TS. v. 6. 14).

b. Bahuvrīhis beginning with *dvi-* and *tri-* generally accent the second member; e. g. *dvi-pād-* 'two-footed', *dvi-dhāra-* 'forming two streams', *tri-tāntu-* 'having three webs', *tri-nībhi-* 'having three naves', *tri-vandhur-* 'three-seated'¹. The only exceptions to this rule in the RV. are *dvi-savas-* 'having twofold might', *try-imbaka-* 'having three mothers' and *try-āśir-* 'having three products of milk'. The later Sāṃhitās accent *dvi-* and *tri-* in new Bahuvrīhis as often as not. In a few possessives beginning with other numerals the second member is accented on the last syllable, e. g. *catur-akṣat-* 'four-eyed'².

c. Possessives beginning with the negative prefix *a-* or *an-* almost invariably accent the final syllable irrespectively of the original accent of the second member (doubtless in order to distinguish them clearly from determinatives); e. g. *a-dānt-* 'toothless', *a-phal-* 'unfruitful' (*phala-*), *a-bal-* 'not possessing strength' (*bala-*). A very few accent the penultimate; *a-bhrātṛ-*³ (AV.) 'brotherless', *a-vīra-* 'childless', *a-śīṣas-* 'without offspring'. On the other hand a good many (though only a small proportion of the whole) accent the prefix (like determinatives), especially when the second member is a noun formed with the suffix *-ti*; e. g. *ā-gu-* 'kineless', *ā-jñās-* 'kinless', *ā-dyu-* 'not burning', *ān-āpi-* 'kinless', *ā-prajas-* (AV.) 'childless', *ā-mṛtyu-* 'deathless', *ā-hri-* 'bold', *ā-kṣiti-* 'imperishable'⁴.

d. Possessives beginning with *duṣ-*⁵ 'ill' or *su-* 'well' regularly accent the second member, usually on the original syllable; e. g. *dur-mānman-* 'ill disposed', *su-bhāga-* 'well endowed'. There is, however, a tendency to throw the accent forward on the final syllable; e. g. *su-āṅguri-* 'fair-fingered' (*āṅguri-*), *su-phalā-* (AV.) 'fruitful', *su-bandhū-* (AV.)⁷ 'closely related'⁸. On the other hand, the accent is in a few instances shifted from the final to the penultimate syllable, as *su-vīra-* 'rich in heroes' (*vīra-*), and *su-gāndhi-* 'sweet-smelling' beside *su-gandhi-* (from *gandhū-* 'smell')⁹.

gr. Determinatives as a rule accent the last member, and pre-vaillingly on the final syllable.

A. 1. In the descriptive type, that is, those in which a substantive is described by an adjective or an appositional substantive (Karmadhāraya) and those in which a verbal noun is described by an adverbial word, the accent is on the final syllable; e. g. *kṛṣṇa-śakunā-* (AV.) 'black bird', *mahā-dhanda-* 'great spoil', *ajñāta-yakṣmā-* 'unknown disease', *yāvayat-sakhā-* 'a protecting friend', *rāja-yakṣmā-* ('king' =) 'royal disease'¹⁰, *sūrya-śvit-* 'sun-bright'; *pura-ely-* 'going before', *prathamajā-* 'first-born', *prātara-yuj-*¹¹ 'early yoked', *svayam-bhā-* 'self-existent', *duṣ-kṛt-* 'acting wickedly', *su-pra-tīr-*¹² 'victorious', *a-ghṛīn-* (AV.) 'not anointing', *a-cit-* 'senseless', *a-jaray-*¹³ 'not aging', *a-jīr-* 'unaging'.

¹ But *aṣṭa-vandhūa-* 'having eight car-seats'.

² Cp. WHITNEY 1300 c.

³ But in the RV. with the usual accentuation *a-bhrātṛ-*.

⁴ For many other examples see WACKERNAGEL 21, 114 note (p. 293).

⁵ The only possessive of this kind in which the second member ends in *-ti* and accents the final syllable seems to be *a-gavyūti-* 'pastureless'.

⁶ The only exception in the case of *duṣ-* is *dur-āśir-* 'ill-mixed'.

⁷ The RV. retains the original accent, *su-phāla-*, *su-bāndhu-*.

⁸ For other examples see WACKERNAGEL 21, p. 294, bottom.

⁹ Op. cit. 21, p. 295 7, note.

¹⁰ Exceptions, when the first member is a noun, are all compounds formed with *vīśva-* 'all', as *vīśvā-mānuṣa-* 'every man', also *madhyamī-dina-* 'midday', *vyṣā-kapī-* 'male ape', in all of which the original accent of the first member is shifted.

¹¹ *ādhri-gu-* 'irresistible' and *sadhū-stha-* 'standing together', are exceptions.

¹² *sv-ā-vy-* 'easy to acquire' is an exception.

¹³ But *ā-maviṣṇu-* 'immoveable'.

a-yoddh- 'not fighting', *a-rājīn-* 'not shining', *a-pra-mṛṣ-yá-*¹ 'indestructible', *a-budh-yá-* 'not to be wakened', *an-aty-ud-yá-* (AV.) 'unspeakable', *an-ādhrṣ-yá-* 'unassailable', *an-āmāyi-tul-* 'not making ill'.

a. When, however, the second member ends in *-an*, *-man* or *-i*, or has the form of a gerundive used as a neuter substantive, the penultimate (radical) syllable is accented; e. g. *raghu-pátvan-* 'swift-flying', *puro-yávan-*² 'going in front'; *su-tárman-* 'crossing well', *vīlu-pátman-* 'flying mightily', *raghu-yāman-* 'going swiftly', *su-vāhman-* 'driving well', *dur-gṛbhi-* 'hard to hold', *ṛju-vāni* 'striving forward', *tuvi-ṣvāni-* 'roaring mightily', *pūrva-páyya-* and *pūrva-péya-* n. 'precedence in drinking', *saha-séyya-* n. 'act of lying together', *amutra-bhūya-*³ (VS.) n. 'state of being in the other world'.

2. The first member is, however, accented under certain conditions. a. It is generally accented if it is an adverbial word and the last member is a past participle in *-ta* or *-na*⁴ or a verbal noun in *-ti*; e. g. *dāmsu-jūta-* 'speeding wondrously', *dhr-hita-* 'faring ill', *sāna-śruta-*⁵ 'famed from of old'; *pūrṇ-hiti-* 'priestly ministration', *sadhā-stuti-* 'joint praise'.—b. The privative particle *a-* or *an-* when compounded with a participle⁶, adjective, or substantive is nearly always accented; e. g. *án-adant-*⁷ 'not eating', *á-ditsant-* 'not wishing to give', *á-manyamāna-* 'not thinking', *á-himsāna-* 'not injuring', *á-vidvāms-* 'not knowing', *á-kṛta-*⁸ 'not done', *á-kr-a-*⁹ 'inactive', *á-susv-i-* 'not pressing Soma', *á-tandra-* 'unwearied', *á-kumāra-*¹⁰ 'not a child'; *á-citti-* 'thoughtlessness'. The particle is regularly accented when it negatives a compound; e. g. *á-duṣ-kr-* 'not doing ill', *án-aśva-dā-* 'not giving a horse', *á-paścād-daghvan-* 'not remaining behind'; *á-punar-dīyamāna-*¹¹ (AV.) 'not being given back', *án-agni-dagḍha-* 'not burnt with fire', *án-abhi-sasta-*¹² 'blameless'.

B. I. Dependent determinatives as a rule accent the second member and that mostly on the last syllable, even if the simple word is not an oxytone.

a. When the second member is a root¹³, a verbal noun in *-a*, an ordinary substantive (without verbal sense), or an adjective ending in *-in*¹⁴, the final

¹ This is the regular accent of the gerundive with the negative prefix, which is, however, accented in some half dozen instances: *á-gohya-*, *á-jesya-*, *á-dabhya-*, *á-nedya-*, *á-yabhya-* (AV.) and *á-ghnya-* beside *á-ghnyá-*. Two of these compounds in the AV. retain the Svarita of the simple gerundive: *an-ativyādhyā-* and *an-ādharṣyā-*.

² *satyā-madvan-* 'truly rejoicing' is an exception.

³ *sadhā-stutya-* n. 'joint praise', is an exception.

⁴ Here the adverb is treated like a preposition compounded with a past participle.

⁵ There are a good many exceptions in which the original accent of the past participle remains on the final syllable; e. g. *tuvi-jātā-* 'mightily born', *duṣ-kr-tā-* 'ill done', *su-jātā-* (beside *sū-jātā-*). This is the regular accentuation when the first member is *puru-*; e. g. *puru-śtutā-* 'much praised'.

⁶ Not, however, when the second member is a gerundive, a root, or a noun with verbal meaning ending in *-yu*, *-tva*, *-nu*, *-in*, *-ty-*; see examples above (A 1).

⁷ But *a-sācānt-* beside *á-sācānt-* 'not ceasing', *a-codānt-* (v. 44²) and as substan-

tives *a-rundhat-ī-* (AV.) a name, and *a-jārant-ī-* (VS.) 'unaging'.

⁸ Exceptions are *a-citta-*, *a-dṛṣṭa-*, *a-mṛta-*, *a-yūta-* n. 'myriad' but (AV.) *á-yuta-* 'undisturbed', *a-tūrta-* (beside *á-tūrta-*), *a-bhinná-* (AV.) beside *á-bhinna-*.

⁹ There are also some verbal derivatives in *-a* which accent the second member; e. g. *a-kṣāra-* 'imperishable', *a-jāra-* 'unaging', *a-dābh-a-* 'not-deceiving', *a-ty-p-á-* 'dissatisfied', *a-vadh-á-* 'inviolable', *a-vṛdh-á-* 'not furthering', *an-āvrak-á-* (AV.) 'not falling off'; cp. WHITNEY 1283—88.

¹⁰ There are also several ordinary nouns which are accented as second member; e. g. *a-citrá-* 'colourless', *a-mitra-* 'enemy', *a-vīra-* 'unmanly'.

¹¹ But *a-ni-pādyamāna-* (AV.) 'not going to rest' where RV. has *á-ni-pādyamāna-*.

¹² But *an-ā-sastā-* (RV.) 'not praised', *a-pra-sastā-* beside *á-pra-sasta-* 'not praised'.

¹³ There are a few exceptions when derivation from a root is not clear, as in *śva-dhi-* 'plant'; otherwise *-dhi* from *dha-* 'put' is regularly accented; e. g. *iṣu-dhi-* 'quiver'.

¹⁴ This suffix being invariably accented in the simple word (86 B. 8).

syllable is regularly accented; e. g. *gotra-bh'd* 'opening the cowpens', *ghṛtā-vīdh* 'delighting in ghee', *divi-spīś* 'touching the sky', *patā-m-g-t* 'going by flight', 'flying', *varuṇa-dhrī-t* 'deceiving Varuṇa'; *agnim-in-ih-t* 'fire-kindling', *hasta-grābh-d* 'hand-grasping', *puram-dar-d* 'fort-destroying'; *uda-megh-t* 'shower of water', *go-saph-t* (VS.) 'cow's hoof', *jīva-lok-t* 'world of the living', *indra-senā* 'Indra's missile' (*senā*), *kṛṣṇājini-t* (AV. TS.) 'hide (*ajina*-) of the black antelope', *deva-koś-t*² (AV.) 'cask (*kośa*-) of the gods', *deva-mān-t*³ 'abode (*māna*-) of the gods'; *uktha-saṃs-in* 'uttering praise', *bhadrā-vīd-in* 'uttering auspicious cries'.

a. The word *pāti* 'lord' follows this rule in only a few compounds occurring in the later Samhitās; thus in the AV.: *apsarā-pati* 'lord of the Apsarases', *vāja-pati* 'lord of a troop' (*svā-pati*- RV.); in the VS.: *anikṣas-pati* 'lord of perplexity', *upa-pati* 'paramour', *edidhīśu-pati* 'husband of a younger sister', *nadī-pati* 'lord of rivers'; in the MS.: *ahar-pati* 'lord of day', *cit-pati* 'lord of thought', *vāk-pati* 'lord of speech'. In a few determinatives *pāti* retains its own accent as second member, as *ur-pāti* 'lord of men', *rayi-pāti* 'lord of wealth', *viś-pāti* 'lord of the tribe', also the f. in *vān-pātnī* 'mistress of wealth', *viś-pātnī*⁴ 'mistress of the tribe'; in the VS. *ahar-pān*, *cit-pāti*, *vāk-pāti*; in the AV. *ṛtu-pāti* 'lord of proper seasons', *pānu-pāti* 'lord of animals' (VS.), *puṣṭi-pāti* 'lord of welfare', *bhūta-pāti* 'lord of beings', *siha-pāti*⁵ 'governor'. In compounds with *pāti*, however, the first member is usually accented, there being 23 cases in the RV., besides 10 with *patnī*; e. g. *gṛh-pati* 'lord of the house', *gā-pati* 'lord of kine', *pānu-pati* 'lord of creatures', *medhā-pati*⁶ 'lord of animal sacrifice' (*mādhā*), *vāsu-pati* 'lord of wealth', *vāja-pati* 'lord of booty', *svār-pati*⁷ 'lord of light'; *gṛh-pātnī* 'mistress of the house', *devā-pātnī* 'wife of a god', *vāja-pātnī* 'queen of booty'. In the AV., of 15 new masculines ending in *-pāti* more than half accent the first member as do all the 8 new ones ending in *patnī*; e. g. *ātithi-pati* 'entertainer of a guest'. In the other Samhitās also occur: *kṣatrī-pati* (VS.) 'lord of dominions', *bhūva-pati* (VS.) 'lord of the atmosphere', *bhūvana-pati* (VS. TS.) 'lord of beings', *bhū-pati* (TS.) 'lord of the world', *saṃveśā-pati* (VS.) 'lord of rest', *viṣṇu-pātnī* (VS. TS.) 'Viṣṇu's wife'⁸.

b. Determinatives which have as their second member verbal nouns in *-ana*⁹, adjectives in *-i* and *-van*, as well as action nouns in *-ya*, regularly accent the radical syllable of the second member; e. g. *deva-mād-ana* 'exhilarating the gods', *keśa-vārdh-ana*¹⁰ 'causing the hair to grow'; *pathi-rākṣ-i* 'protecting the road'; *soma-pā-van* 'somadriking', *talpa-śi-van* 'lying on the couch', *prātar-t-t-van*¹¹ 'coming early'; *ali-hāt-ya* 'slaughter of the dragon', *deva-hū-ya* 'invocation of the gods', *mantra-śrī-t-ya* n. 'listening to counsel', *vṛtra-tūr-ya*¹² 'conquest of Vṛtra'.

2. Dependent determinatives, however, which have as their second member past passive participles in *-ta* and *-na* or action nouns in *-ti* accent

¹ *dūgha* retains its original accent, as *madhu-dūgha* 'yielding mead', *kīma-dūgha* (AV. VS.) 'yielding desires'. A few others have the original accent of the first member: *marūt-vy-dha* 'delighting in the Maruts', *divi-cara* (AV.) 'moving in the sky', *suti-kara* 'active at the Soma offering'. Cp. WHITNEY 1278.

² A few accent the penultimate syllable of the final member with shift of the original accent, as *go dhūma* (VS.) 'wheat', *śaka-dhūma* (AV.), *yama-rājya* (AV. VS.) 'Yama's sway' (*rājya*); cp. WACKERNAGEL 21, p. 268, top, note.

³ But *deva-yāna* 'going to the gods'.

⁴ Also the Karmadhāraya *sa-pātnī* 'cowife' and the Bahuvrīhi *su-pātnī* 'having a good husband'.

⁵ Cp. BLOOMFIELD, SBE. 42, 319.

⁶ In K. *medhā-pati*.

⁷ *svā-pati* 'one's own lord' is a Karma-dhāraya; as a Bahuvrīhi it is accented *sva-pati* (AV.) 'having an own consort'.

⁸ On doubly accented compounds with *-pāti* see below (3).

⁹ Just as when such nouns are compounded with prepositions.

¹⁰ The very few apparent exceptions to this rule are due to these words losing their verbal character; e. g. *yama-sādana* (AV.) 'Yama's realm'.

¹¹ In *mātari-śvan* and *mātari bhvan* the suffix is probably *-an*; here the original accent of the first member (if it is the loc. *mātūri*) has shifted, perhaps owing to the influence of words like *prātar-i-tvan*.

¹² An exception is *sadhā-stu-t-ya* 'joint praise'. A few feminines in *-yā*, which are closely allied to these neuters in *-ya*, retain their accent on the final syllable, as *deva-*

the first member (like a preposition); e. g. *indra-prasūta*- 'incited by Indra', *devā-hita*- 'ordained by the gods', *hāsta-yata*- 'guided by the hand'; *devā-hūti*-² 'invocation of the gods', *dhāna-sāti*-³ 'winning of wealth'.

3. Double accentuation. A certain number of determinative compounds, syntactical in origin, which have a genitive case-form in the first member, and nearly always *-pāti*- in the second, are doubly accented. Such are *bīhas-pāti*- and *brāhmaṇas-pāti*-⁴ 'lord of prayer', *gn̥s-pāti*- 'husband of a divine woman' (with the anomalous fem. *gn̥s-pātnī*- 'divine wife'), *jās-pāti*-⁵ 'head of a family'. The compound *sādas-pāti*- 'lord of the seat' (*sādas*-) probably stands by haplology for **sādasas-pāti*-, but *vāna-s-pāti*-⁶ 'lord of the wood' perhaps, and *rātha-s-pāti*- 'lord of the car' (*rātha*-) probably, owe their *s* to the analogy of *bīhas-pāti*-⁷. Though without case-ending in the first member, *śaci-pāti*- 'lord of might' follows the analogy of the above compounds. Other doubly accented compounds with case-form in the first member but not ending in *-pāti*- are *ślnaḥ-śēpa*- 'Dog's tail', N. of a man; *dāsyave-vṛka*- 'Wolf to the Dasyu', N. of a man; *apām-nāpāt*- 'son of waters', the analogy of which is followed by *tānū-nāpāt*- 'son of himself' (*tānū*-) though it is without case-ending in the first member; *nārā-śāmsa*-⁸ 'Praise of men' (for **nārāṃ-śāmsa*-), the analogy of which is followed by *nī-śāmsa*-. The name *nābhā-nēdiṣṭha*- seems to contain an old locative in the first member, while the uninflected stem appears in *ās-pātra*- (TS. II. 5. 9³) 'vessel for the mouth'.

92. 1. The regular class of copulatives, which have only one accent, places the acute on the final syllable⁹ irrespective of the accent of the uncompounded word. In the plural occur: *ajāvāyaḥ* m. 'goats and sheep', *ukthārka* n. 'praises and songs', *ahorātrāni* 'days and nights'; in the dual: *r̥k-sām* n. 'song and chant', *satyāntē* n. 'truth and untruth', *sāsanānaśan* n. 'what eats and does not eat'; in the singular: *nīlalahitīm* n. 'blue and red'¹⁰, *iṣṭa-pūrtām*¹¹ n. 'what is sacrificed and presented', *keśa-śmaśrī*- (AV.) n. 'hair and beard', *añjanābhyañjanām* (AV.) n. 'salve and ointment', *kaṣṭhu-barhaṇām* (AV.) n. 'mat and pillow', *kṛtākṛtām* (AV.) n. 'what is done and undone', *cittākūtām* (AV.) n. 'thought and desire', *bhadra-pāpām* (AV.) 'good and evil', *bhūta-bhavyām* (AV.) n. 'past and future', n. pl. *priyāpriyāni* (AV.) 'things

yaj-yā- 'worship of the gods', beside *deva-yaj-ya*-, *jāta-vid-yā*- 'knowledge of things', *muṣṭi-hat yā*- 'hand to hand fight'.

¹ There are, however, a good many exceptions in which the final syllable is accented (as in prepositional determinatives), e. g. *agni-taptā*- 'glowing with fire', *agni-dagāhā*- 'burnt by fire'.

² The original accent of the first member is shifted in *nemā-dhiti*- 'putting opposite' 'fight', *vanā-dhiti*- 'layer of wood', *medhā-sāti*- 'receiving of the oblation'.

³ When the verbal sense is lost in the second member, the general rule of final accentuation applies; e. g. *deva-sumati*- 'favour of the gods', *deva-heti*- (AV.) 'weapon of the gods'. This analogy is followed by *sarva-jyānī*- (AV.) 'loss of one's all'.

⁴ Though *brāhmaṇas-pāti*- is not treated as a compound in the Pāda text, it is so treated in the Dvandva *indrā-brāhmaṇas-pāti* (II. 24¹²).

⁵ Thus accented in Book VII, but *jās-pati*, in Book I. The latter is the only Tatpuruṣa in the RV. in which double accentuation does not take place when *-pāti*- is preceded

by *s*. The only other instance in the RV. of a Tatpuruṣa with case-ending in the first member and yet singly accented is *divo-dāsa*-, N. of a king. Elsewhere occur *apsu-yogā*- (AV.) 'connecting power in water', *amhasas-pati*- (VS.), perhaps *mātūr-bhrātrā*- (MS. I. 6¹²) 'mother's brother' (the Mss. read *mātūr-bhrātrā*-).

⁶ In *vānas-pāti*- the first member may be the gen. sing. of *van*- 'wood' (gen. pl. *vanām*); but in *rātha-s-pāti*- the *s* must be inorganic; cp. GARBE, KZ. 23, 490; RICHTER, IF. 19, 17; BARTHOLOMAE, BB. 15, 15 note¹; WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 247.

⁷ The only new instance of double accentuation of a compound with *-pāti*- after the RV. seems to be *n̥ms-pāti*- (MS.); cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 248 d.

⁸ Cp. FOY, JAOS. 16, CLXXII-IV.

⁹ The two or three exceptions which occur in the AV. and VS. are doubtless due to wrong readings.

¹⁰ The adjectives being used as substantives.

¹¹ In the VS. used in the dual also.

agreeable and disagreeable'; and as adjectives *tāmra-dhūmrā-* (AV.) 'tawny and dark', *dakṣiṇa-savyā-* (AV.) 'right and left', *saptamāṣṭamā-* (AV.) 'seventh and eighth'.

a. The very few adverbial copulatives which occur accent the first member: *dhar-divi* 'day by day', *sāyam-prātar* (AV.) 'at even and at morn'.

2. The class of *Devatā-dvandvas*, each member of which is dual in form, and which in the RV. is about thrice as frequent as the regular class, retains the accent of simple words in each member of the compound: thus *agnī-viśṇu* (AV.), *agnī-sīmā*, *Indrā-pāśānā*, *Indrā-bhīṣpītā*², *Indrā-vāruṇā*, *Indrā-viśṇu*, *Indrā-sīmā*, *usāsā-nikṭā* 'Dawn and Night', *dyāvā-ksīmā* 'heaven and earth', *dyāvā-prthivī*, *dyāvā-bhīmī*, *nikṭosāsā*, *parjanya-vātā*, *prthivī-dyāvā*, *mitrā-vāruṇā*, *sūryā-māsā*. A few others are formed in the same way from substantives which are not the names of deities: *krātū-dīkṣau* (VS.) 'understanding and will', *turvaśā-yādū* (iv. 30¹⁷) 'Turvasa and Yadu', *dhīmī-cūmuri* 'Dhuni and Cumuri', *mātṛā-pitṛā* (iv. 6⁷) 'mother and father'.

a. A certain number of these compounds have been assimilated to the regular class of copulatives by giving up the accent of the first member: *indrāgnī*, *indrā-pāśānā*, *somā-pāśānā*, *vātā-parjanya*, *sūryā-candramāsā*, *bhavarudrāu* (AV.), *bhavar-sarvāu* (AV.)³; one has been completely assimilated by giving up also the dual form in the first member: *indrā-vāyā*.

a. There occurs once a secondary adjective copulative accented on both members, being formed from an adverbial Dvandva: *dhar-divā-* (VS.) 'daily' (*dhar-divi* 'day by day').

3. Accent in Declension.

93. The vocative, when accented at all (§5, 2) invariably has the acute on the first syllable; e. g. *pitar*, N. *pitā* 'father'; *dīva*, N. *devāt-s* 'god'. The regularly accented vocative of *dya-* (*dyāv-*) 'heaven' is *dyaus-s*⁴, that is *diaus*, but the nominative form *dyaus* is also used in its stead.

a. Otherwise, in the *a*-declension (f. -ā) the accent always remains on the same syllable; e. g. N. *devāt-s*, G. *devāt-sya*, pl. *devānām*. This rule is also followed by monosyllabic pronominal stems in -a; e. g. from *ma-*: I. *māy-ā* 'by me', D. *mā-hyam*, L. *māy-i*; from *tī-* 'that', G. sing. *tī-sya*, pl. G. *tī-sām*, I. *tī-bhis*⁵.

a. An exception to this rule is formed by the plural cardinal stems ending in -a. They regularly accent that vowel before endings with initial consonant, and throw the acute on the ending of the genitive; e. g. *pāṇca* 'five': I. *pāṇcā-bhis*, G. *pāṇcānām*; *aṣṭā* 'eight', however, shifts the accent to the endings generally, thus I. *aṣṭā-bhis*, D. *aṣṭābhyās* (TS.).

94. When the final syllable of the stem is accented, the acute (except in the *ā*-declension) is liable to shift to the endings in the weak cases.

1. This is the rule in monosyllabic stems; e. g. *nāu-* 'ship': A. *nāv-am*, but I. *nāv-ā*, pl. I. *nau-bhis*, L. *nau-sū*; *dānt-* m. 'tooth': I. *dat-ā*, pl. A. *dat-ās*⁶, I. *dad-bhis*.

¹ The double accent is retained even in the derivatives *mitrā-vāruṇa-vant-* 'accompanied by Mitra and Varuna', and *dyāvā-prthivī-vant-* (AV.) 'accompanied by heaven and earth'.

² Retaining the double accent of the second member.

³ In the AV. the number of *Devatā-dvandvas* is only about half that in the RV. (though the total number of Dvandvas is more than double); about one-half of these,

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again, have only one accent, which as in the regular class is on the final syllable.

⁴ Retaining the nom. -s, instead of **diaus* (Gk. Ζεύς).

⁵ An exception is the pronoun *a-* 'this', which is treated like a monosyllabic stem, e. g. G. *a-syā*, pl. m. *a-sām*, f. *ā-sām*; a few times, however, the accentuation *ā-smai*, *ā-sya*, *ā-bhis* occurs; cp. WHITNEY 502 b.

⁶ The accusative plural is treated as a weak case and accented on the ending in

a. Exceptions to this rule are the rare monosyllabic stems in *-ā*, which retain the accent on the stem; e. g. *gnā*- 'woman': pl. I. *gnā-bhis*, L. *gnā-su*. Individual exceptions are *gō*- 'cow', *dyā*- 'sky'; e. g. I. *gāu-ā*, pl. G. *gāu-ām*, I. *gō-bhis*; L. *dyāv-i*, pl. I. *dyāv-bhis*. Similarly *nṛ*- 'man': D. *nār-e*, pl. I. *nṛ-bhis*, L. *nṛ-su*, but G. *nār-ām* and *nṛ-nām*; *kṣām*- 'earth': L. *kṣām-i*; *tán*- 'succession': I. *tán-ā* (and *tan-ā*), D. *tán-e*; *rān*- 'joy': *rān-e*, pl. L. *rām-su*; *vān*- 'wood': pl. L. *vām-su* (but G. *van-ām*); *vīṣ*- 'rod': G. *vīṣ-as*; *stṛ*- 'star': pl. I. *stṛ-bhis*; *śār*- 'light': G. *śār-as* (but D. *śār-é*); also the infinitives *bādh-e* 'to press', *vāh-e* 'to convey'. In some words the irregular accentuation is due to their having originally been dissyllables; such are *drū*- 'wood', *śnū*- 'summit', *śvān*- 'dog', *yūn*- weak stem of *yuvan*- 'young'; e. g. I. *drū-nā*; pl. L. *snū-su*; I. *śnū-ā*, pl. *śvā-bhis*; I. *yūn-ā*.

2. When the accented vowel of the final syllable in polysyllabic stems disappears either by syncope or by changing to a semivowel, the acute is thrown on endings with initial vowel in the weak cases; thus from *mahimān*- 'greatness', I. *mahimn-ā*; from *mūrdhān*- 'head', D. *mūrdhn-é*; from *agnī*- 'fire', G. du. *agny-ōs*; from *dhenū*- 'cow', I. sing. *dhenv-ā*; from *vadhū*- 'bride', D. *vadhv-ā* (AV.); from *pitr*- 'father', I. *pitr-ā*.

a. Polysyllabic stems in *-ī*, *-ū*, *-ṛ*, and in the RV. usually those in *-ṛ*, throw the acute on the ending of the G. pl. also, even though the vowel retains its syllabic character in this case; e. g. *agnī-nām*, *dhenū-nām*, *dātṛ-nām*; *bahvṛ-nām*².

3. Present participles in *-āt* and *-ānt* throw the acute on the endings with initial vowel in the weak cases; e. g. from *tud-ānt*- 'striking': I. sing. *tud-at-ā* (but *tud-ād-bhis*). This rule is also followed by the old participles *mah-āt*- 'great' and *bṛh-āt*- 'large', e. g. *mahat-ā* (but *mahād-bhis*)³.

4. In the RV. derivatives formed with accented *-āñc* throw the acute on endings with initial vowel in the weak cases when contraction to *ī* and *ū* appears in the final syllable; thus from *praty-āñc*- 'turned towards', I. sing. *pratic-ā* (but L. pl. *pratydk-su*); from *anv-āñc*- 'following'; G. *anñc-ds* (but from *prāñc*- L. sing. *prāc-i*). The other Samhitās, however, generally retain the accent on the stem⁴.

4. Verbal Accent.

95. As regards personal endings, those of the singular active in all tenses and moods are always unaccented except the 2. imperative *-dhi* or *-hi*. Others may be accented; if dissyllabic, they have the acute on the first syllable, as *-ānti*, *-māhi*.

When the tense stem ends in *-a* in the present, in the future, in the unaugmented imperfect and aorist, and throughout the subjunctive, the accent is never on the ending, as it remains on the same syllable of the stem throughout.

96. All tenses formed with the augment invariably accent the latter, if the verb is accented at all (85, 2β); e. g. impf. *ā-bhara-t*, plupf. *ā-jagan*, aor. *ā-bhū-t*, conditional *ā-bharisya-t*. If the augment is dropped, the accentuation is as follows. In the imperfect the acute is on the same syllable as in the present; e. g. *bhāra-t*, pres. *bhāra-ti*. The pluperfect, if regularly

hardly more than one third of the stems occurring; see WHITNEY 390 a; cp. LANMAN 494, 499, 504 top, 505.

¹ When a monosyllable becomes the final member of a compound, it loses its monosyllabic accent; e. g. *su-dhī*- 'wise', G. pl. *su-dhinām*. On the other hand *prēṣ*- 'pressing on' though a compound (*pra-iṣ*) is accented like monosyllables in the I. sing. *prēṣ-ā*.

² This regularly takes place in the G. of

the plural cardinals in *-a*: as *pāñca* 'five', *pāñcā-nām*, *dāśa* 'ten', *daśā-nām*.

³ The accent is, however, not shifted in the old participle *vāghāt*- m. 'worshipper'; nor in the two forms *a-codāte* 'not urging' (from *cōd-ant*-) and *rathirāyāt-ām* 'speeding'; cp. LANMAN p. 505-6 (top).

⁴ Thus the f. stem *pratic-ṛ* (AV.), but RV. *pratic-ī* (once in the A. *praticim*).

formed, accents the root, as 3. sing. *cākān* (|*kan*-), 3. sing. *vārān* (|*van*-), 1. sing. *cikītam* (|*cit*-); when formed with thematic *-a*, it accents that vowel, as 3. pl. *cakṛpā-nta*. The aorist if formed with *-sa*, accents that syllable, e. g. 3. pl. *dhuk-sā-n*, *dhuk-sā-nta* (from *duh*- 'milk'); if formed with *-s*, it accents the root, as may be inferred from 1. sing. *vāṃs-i* (from *van*- 'win'), the only accented example occurring; if formed with *-is*, it accents the root, e. g. 1. sing. *sāṃs-is-am*¹. If formed from the root, it accents the radical vowel in the singular active, but the endings elsewhere, as 3. sing. *vārk* (|*vṛj*-), but 2. sing. mid. *nut-thīs* (|*nud*-). If formed from the root with thematic *-a*, it usually follows the analogy of the present *ā*-class, e. g. *ruhā-m*, *bhujā-t*, *vidā-t*, *budhā-nta*; in several instances, however, it accents the root, as *āra-ntu* (*r*- 'go'); *sāra-t* (*ṣ*- 'flow'); *sāda-tam* (*sad*- 'sit'); *sāna-t* (*san*- 'gain') but opt. *sanēma*; *vāca-t* (*vac*- 'speak') but opt. *vocīyam*. The reduplicative aorist usually accents the reduplicative syllable, as 2. sing. *dīdharas*, *nīnasas*, 3. sing. *pīparat*, *śiṣvap*, *jījanat*, pl. *jījanan*; but sometimes the root, as 2. sing. *śiśrāthas*, 3. sing. *pīpārat*, *śiśnāthat*. Passive aorists accent the root, e. g. *dhā-y-i*, *brū-v-i*, *vād-i*, *jān-i*, *pād-i*, *sād-i*.

97. Present system.—1. Throughout the present system of the *a*-conjugation the accent remains on the same syllable of the stem in all moods; on the radical syllable in verbs of the first and fourth classes; e. g. *bhāva-ti* from *bhū*- 'be', *nāh-ya-ti* from *nah*- 'bind'; on the thematic *-a* in the sixth class; e. g. *tudā-ti* from *tud*- 'strike'.

2. In the second or graded conjugation, the singular indicative active, the whole of the subjunctive, and the 3. sing. imperative active² accent the stem, while all other forms accent the endings³. In the strong forms the radical syllable is accented in the second class; generally the reduplicative syllable, but sometimes the root, in the third class; the suffix in the fifth, eighth, seventh, and ninth; e. g. 3. sing. ind. *ās-ti*, subj. *ās-a-t*, impv. *ās-tu*, from *as*- 'be', 2nd cl.; 3. sing. ind. *bī-bhar-ti* from *bhṛ*- 'bear', 3rd cl.; 3. sing. ind. *kṛ-nī-ti*, subj. *kṛ-nīv-a-t*, 2. pl. impv. *kṛ-nī-ta*, and *kṛ-nī-tana* from *kṛ*- 'make', 5th cl.; 3. sing. subj. *man-dv-a-te* from *man*- 'think', 8th cl.; 1. sing. ind. *yu-nā-j-mi*, 3. sing. subj. *yu-nā-j-a-t* from *yuj*- 'join', 7th cl.; 3. sing. ind. *grbh-nā-ti*, 2. sing. subj. *grbh-nā-s* from *grabh*- 'seize', 9th cl.; but 2. sing. impv. *ad-dhī*, 3. pl. opt. *ad-yūr* from *ad*- 'eat', 2nd cl.; 1. pl. ind. *bī-bhṛ-māsi*; 1. sing. ind. mid. *kṛ-nṛ-ē*, 2. sing. impv. *kṛ-nṛ-hī*; 1. pl. opt. *van-u-yāma*, 3. pl. impv. *van-v-āntu* from *van*- 'win', 8th cl.; 3. sing. mid. *yuñk-tē*, 2. sing. impv. mid. *yuñk-svā*; 1. pl. ind. *gr-nṛ-māsi*, 2. sing. impv. *gr-nṛ-hī* from *gr*- 'praise', 9th cl.

a. Irregularities. In the second or root class, several verbs accent the radical syllable throughout: *ās*- 'lie' does so besides taking Guna; e. g. 1. sing. *sāy-e*, 2. sing. *śē-se* etc.⁴ Occasional accentuation of the root in weak forms appears in 2. sing. impv. *jān-i-svā*⁵ (|*jan*-), *māt-svā* (|*mad*-), *yāb-svā* (|*yaj*-), *sāk-svā* and *sāk-svā* (|*sah*-), *jīb-a-t*, subj. (*yāb*- 'thrive'), 3. pl. impv. *svāb-antu* (AV.) and *svās-antu* (AV.)⁷. A few roots of the third class accent the root instead of the reduplicative syllable in the strong forms. These are *ci*- 'note', *mad*- 'exhilarate', *yu*- 'separate', *hu*- 'sacrifice'; e. g. 2. sing. *ci-kē-si* (AV.); 3. sing. subj. *ma-mād-a-t*, 3. sing. impv. *ma-māt-tu*; 3. sing. subj. *yu-yāc-a-t*, 2. pl. impv. *yu-yō-tana*; 3. sing. *ju-hī-ti*. Occasional forms thus accented are 2. sing. *īy-ār-si* (RV.) from

¹ Of the *śiṣ*-aorist no accented forms occur.

² The 2. pl. impv. active often accents the stem, which is then strong, as *i-la*, *i-tana* from *i*- 'go'; this is sometimes also the case with the 2. du. in *-tam*.

³ The final syllable of the ending of the 3. pl. middle is regularly accented in several verbs, as *ri-hatē*, *duh-atē*; see WHITNEY 613, 685, 699; DELBRÜCK, Verbum 73.

+ These are *ās*- 'sit', *īḥ*- 'praise', *ir*- 'set in motion', *īṣ*- 'rule', *caks*- 'see', *taks*- 'fashion', *irā*- 'protect', *nims*- 'kiss', *vas*- 'clothe', *sū*- 'bring forth'.

⁵ See WHITNEY 628 and 629.

⁶ Op. cit. 631 a.

⁷ Op. cit. 630.

r- 'go', 2. sing. mid. *dhāt-se* from *dhā-* 'put', and *bi-bhār-ti* (RV¹. AV².) beside the usual *bi-bhar-ti*. Both types, when the ending begins with a vowel, throw the accent back on the reduplicative syllable; e. g. 3. pl. *jūhvu-ati* and *bibhr-ati*, but 2. pl. *jūhu-thā* and *bibhr-thā*. The subjunctive here, as usual, follows the accentuation of the strong indicative; its stem from the same two roots would be *jūhāv-a-* and *bibhar-a-*. In the optative middle the accent is thrown back on the reduplicative syllable because the modal affix begins with a vowel; e. g. 1. sing. *dādhi-ya* etc. beside 1. sing. act. *dadh-yām* etc.³ The RV., however, once has *dadhī-tā* beside *dādhi-tā* (3 times). In the imperative, endings with initial consonant are accented in the weak forms, otherwise the reduplicative syllable; e. g. 2. sing. *de-hi*, 2. du. *dat-tām*, but 3. mid. pl. *jīhatām*. The strong 3. sing. impv. act. follows the strong ind., e. g. *dādhatu*, *pīpartu*; the 2. pl. is often strong; e. g. *jūhūta*, *dādhihūta*. The participle regularly accents the reduplicative syllable; e. g. *jūhvu-at*, *jūhvu-āna*, except only *pīpānā-* (*pā-* 'drink'). — In the seventh class the root *hims-* 'injure' (originally perhaps a desiderative of *han-* 'strike') accents the radical syllable in weak forms, as 3. sing. *hims-te*, pl. *hims-anti*, part. *hims-āna-*. — In the fifth and eighth classes the RV. has several instances of irregular accentuation of the final syllable in the 3. pl. mid.: *kr-ṇu-até*, *vṛ-ṇu-até*, *spr-ṇu-até*; *tan-v-até*, *man-v-até*. — In the ninth class the irregular accentuation of the 3. pl. mid. occurs in *pu-n-a-té* and *ri-ṇ-a-té* (*ri-* 'flow'). The ending *-āna*, which is here added in the 2. sing. impv. act. to a few roots with final consonant, is accented on the last syllable: *grh-ānā*, *dadh-ānā* (AV.), *siabh-ānā* (AV.).

98. The perfect. — The singular indicative active and the whole subjunctive² accent the radical syllable; all other forms of the indicative, as well as the whole imperative and optative accent the endings; e. g. ind. 3. sing. *cakār-a*, pl. *cakr-ir*, 1. pl. mid. *cakr-māhe*; subj. sing. 2. *paprāth-a-s*, *pīprāy-a-s*; 3. *jabhūr-a-t*, *pīprāy-a-t*, *mumūc-a-t*; *dadhārṣ-a-ti*, *vavārt-a-ti*; pl. 1. *cākān-āma*, *sūśvān-āma*, 3. *paprāth-a-n*; opt. sing. 1. *vavṛt-yām*, 2. *sūsrū-yās*, 3. *tutuj-yāt*, du. 2. *sūsrū-yātam*; pl. 3. *vavṛt-yūr*; mid. sing. 2. *vāvṛdh-i-thās*, 3. *śīsrī-tā* (*śrī-* 'resort'); impv. sing. 2. *pīprī-hi*, *mumug-dhi* (*√muc-*), du. 2. *jajas-tām*; mid. sing. 2. *dadhī-ṣvā*³. The participle, both active and middle, accents the suffix; e. g. *cakr-vāms-*; *cakr-ānā-*.

99. The aorist. — The accentuation of the unaugmented forms of the indicative has already been stated (96). With regard to that of the moods, the following notes may be added.

1. The root aorist accents the radical syllable in the subjunctive; e. g. sing. 2. *kār-a-s*, 3. *kār-a-t*, du. 3. *śrāv-a-tas*, pl. 3. *gām-a-nti*, mid. sing. 3. *bhōj-a-té*; in the injunctive, the radical syllable in the singular, but the ending elsewhere; e. g. sing. 1. *nāṇ-s-i*, pl. 3. *dabh-ir*, mid. sing. 2. *mṛ-thās*; in the optative, the endings throughout; e. g. act. sing. 1. *aś-yām*, 2. *bhū-yās*, mid. pl. 1. *aś-imāhi*; in the imperative, the root in the 3. sing. act., but the ending elsewhere; e. g. sing. 3. *śrō-tu*, but 2. *kr-dhi*, du. 2. *ga-tām*, pl. 2. *bhū-tā*⁴, mid. sing. 2. *kr-ṣvā*; in the participle, the suffix is accented in the active, e. g. *bhid-ānt-*, and generally in the middle, e. g. *budh-ānā-*, but in several instances the root; e. g. *dyūt-āna-*.

2. In the *a*-aorist the accentuation follows that of the unaugmented indicative; thus the subjunctive sing. 3. *vidāt*; the injunctive sing. 1. *dārśa-m ruhā-m*, 3. *rūha-t*, *vidāt*, *sāna-t*, pl. 3. *vidā-nta*; optative, sing. 1. *vidēyam*, *sanēyam*, pl. 1. *śakēma*, *sanēma* and *sānema*; the imperative, sing. 2. *sāna*, *sāra*, du. 2. *ruhā-tam*, *sāda-tam*, pl. 2. *khyā-ta*. The participle usually accents the thematic *-a*, but sometimes the root; e. g. *trpā-nt-*, but *sāda-nt-*; *guhā-māna-*, but *dāsa-māna-*.

¹ Cp. WHITNEY 645 a, 668 a, 669.

² When the primary endings are added, the reduplicative syllable is almost always accented; e. g. *jūjyāsā*; some others, which take secondary endings, but do not strengthen the root, also accent the reduplicative syllable, as *dādhranta*; see below 490.

³ A few forms accent and strengthen the radical syllable, du. 2. *mumūc-a-tam*, pl. 2. *mumūc-a-ta*, mid. sing. 2. *pīprāy-a-svā*.

⁴ But the root is strong and accented in several forms, *kār-ta* etc., of the 2. pl. imperative.

3. In the **reduplicated aorist** the only accented form in the subjunctive seems to be *vócati*; in the injunctive, either the reduplicative syllable or the root is accented; e. g. sing. 2. *nínas-as*, *sísráthas*, 3. *píparat* and *pípírat*; in the optative, the thematic vowel or the ending; e. g. pl. 1. *vócma*, *cucyur-t-máhi*; in the imperative, the thematic vowel or the ending; e. g. du. 2. *jigr-tám*, pl. *jigr-tá*, *susúdt-ta* (AV.).

4. The **s-aorist** accents the root in the subjunctive; e. g. *dír-s-a-t* (*dír* 'split'), *yák-s-a-t* (*yaj* 'sacrifice'), du. 2. *pír-s-a-thas* (*pí* 'take across'); the root in the injunctive as far as can be judged from the extremely few accented forms, as mid. sing. 1. *váñ-s-i* (*van* 'win'); the ending¹ in the optative, as mid. sing. 1. *bhak-s-i-yá* (*bhaj*-), pl. *dhuk-s-i-máhi* (*duh* 'inilk'); in the imperative no accented forms occur; the participle accents the root in the active, as *dák-s-ant-* (*dah* 'burn'), but in the irregularly formed middle² nearly always the suffix, as *arc-a-s-ānt-*, but *dh-a-s-āna-* (527).

5. The **is-aorist** accents the root in the subjunctive; e. g. sing. 3. *bádā-is-a-t*; the root in the injunctive, e. g. sing. 2. *múth-is*, but once the ending in pl. 3. *tār-is-ír* (AV.); the ending in the optative; e. g. sing. 1. *edh-is-tyá* (AV.); the ending in the imperative; e. g. sing. 2. *av-ít-dhí*, du. 2. *av-is-tám*.

6. In the **sis-aorist** no accented forms occur except one in the imperative, where the ending has the acute, du. 2. *yā-sis-tám*.

7. The **sa-aorist** accents that syllable in the injunctive, as pl. 3. *dhuk-sá-nta* (but once sing. 3. *dhuk-sa-ta*), and in the imperative, as sing. 2. *dhuk-sá-sa* (*√duh*-). No subjunctive or optative forms occur.

roc. The future.—The accent in all forms of this tense remains on the suffix *-syá-* or *-i-syá-*; e. g. sing. 3. *e-syá-ti* (AV.) 'he will go' (*√i-*); sing. 1. *stav-i-syámi* 'I shall praise' (*√stu-*), 3. *kar-i-syáti* 'he will do' (*√kr-*); participle *kar-i-syánt-* 'about to do'.

ior. Secondary conjugations.—All these, except the active form of the intensive, accent the same syllable of the stem throughout. They are the causative, the denominative, the passive, the secondary form of the intensive, and the desiderative, the stem of all of which ends in *-a*. The **causative** accents the penultimate syllable of the stem; e. g. *krodh-áya-* 'enrage'.—The **passive**, the **secondary form of the intensive**, and the **denominative**, accent the suffix *-yá-*; e. g. *pan-yá-te* 'is admired'; *verih-yá-te* 'licks repeatedly'; *gopā-yáti* 'they protect'. A certain number of unmistakable denominatives, however, have the causative accent; e. g. *mantrá-ya-te* 'takes counsel'.—The **desiderative** accents the reduplicative syllable; e. g. *píprí-sa-ti*.—The **primary form of the intensive** agrees in accentuation with the third or reduplicating class of verbs, that is, it accents the reduplicative syllable in the strong forms, but the endings with initial consonant in the weak forms of the indicative active; e. g. sing. 3. *jáhav-ti*, du. 3. *jar-bh-tís*, pl. 3. *vár-vrt-ati*. In the middle indicative, however, the reduplicative syllable is more often accented than not; e. g. *té-tik-te* and *nenik-té*. In the subjunctive the reduplicative syllable is regularly accented; e. g. sing. 3. *jáñghan-a-t*, but once the root in sing. 1. *jañghán-āni*; mid. pl. 3. *jáñghan-anta*, but once the ending in du. 3. *tantas-áite*. No accented form of the optative occurs. In the imperative the ending is accented; e. g. sing. 2. *jāgr-hí*, *car-ky-tát*. In the participle, both active and middle, the reduplicative syllable is regularly accented; e. g. *cékit-at*, *cékit-āna-*; there are, however, two exceptions in the middle: *bādbādh-ānd-* and *marmry-ānd-* (548a).

¹ Once the root is accented in the irregular form du. 2. *trā-s-i-thām*.

² The root is accented in two middle

participles irregularly formed with *-māna*. *hā-s-a-māna-* and *dhi-s-a-māna-*.

5. Accent of nominal verb forms.

102. The accentuation of **participles** formed from tense and conjugation stems has already been stated. When these are **compounded with prepositions**, they retain their accents; thus the present and perfect participles of *apa-gám-* 'go away' would be *apa-gácchant-*, *apa-gácchamāna-*; *apa-jaganvāms-*, *apa-jagmāná-*. The preposition is, however, not infrequently found separated from the participle by another word or is placed after it, when it is treated as independent and accented, e. g. *prá śmāśru dādhuvat* (x. 23¹) 'shaking his beard'; *āpa dyáhiṇi dīrdrat* (vi. 17⁵) 'bursting strongholds asunder'; *ā ca pára ca pathibhiś cārantam* (i. 164¹²) 'wandering hither and thither on (his) paths'; *mādhū bibhrata ūpa* (i. 166²) 'bringing sweetness near'; *tanvānta ā rājāḥ* (iv. 45²) 'extending through the air'. The preposition is occasionally found independently accented immediately before the participle, as *abhi dīkṣat* (ii. 47) 'burning around'; *vi vidvān* (i. 189⁷) 'distinguishing' (probably in distinction from *vividvān*, perfect participle of *vid-* 'find').

a. When there are **two prepositions**, either both are compounded and unaccented, as *vi-pra-yāntāḥ* (ix. 22⁵) 'advancing', *pary-ā-vīrṣan* (vii. 63²) 'turning round'; or one is compounded and the other independent and accented, as *abhi ā-cārantīḥ* (viii. 96¹⁵) 'approaching'; *ava-srjānu ūpa tmānā* (i. 142¹¹) 'bestowing indeed'; *prá vayān uj-jihānāḥ* (v. 1¹) 'flying up to a branch'.

b. Participles in **-tar** generally accent the root, as *kār-tar* 'making', but when compounded the suffix. But *ni-cetar-* 'observing' occurs beside *ni-cetār-* 'observer'.

103. The **past passive participle** regularly accents the suffix; e. g. *ga-tā-* 'gone', *pat-i-tā-* (AV.) 'fallen', *chin-nā-* 'cut off' (*√chid-*). But when this participle is **compounded with prepositions**, the latter are as a rule accented. In several instances, however, the accent of the simple participle is retained, as *apa-kṛt-tā-* (AV.) 'bought', *ni-ci-tā-* 'seen', *niṣ-kr-tā-* 'prepared', *ni-ṣat-tā-* 'seated', *ni-vā-tā-* (AV.) 'uninjured', *pra-jah-i-tā-* 'given up' (from *jah-*, a secondary form of *hā-* 'leave'), *pra-śas-tā-* 'celebrated', *saṃ-skr-tā-* 'prepared' (beside *saṃ-skr-ta-*), *saṃ-hi-tā-* (VS.) 'variegated'¹. The preposition may be separated from the participle by another word, as *pāri soma siktāḥ* (ix. 97¹⁵) 'poured, O Soma, around'. When there are **two prepositions**, the first remains unaccented, as *apā-vṛktāḥ* (viii. 80⁸) 'removed' (*apa-ā-*), *sam-ā-kr-tam* (x. 84⁷) 'accumulated'; or it may be separated and independently accented, as *prá yāt samudrā ā-hitāḥ* (ix. 64¹⁹) 'when despatched forth to the ocean'; *vāri gōbhīr ā-vṛtam* (ix. 86²⁷) 'encompassed round by streams of milk'.

104. Of the **gerundives**, those in *-ya* (or *-t-ya*) and *-tva* accent the root; e. g. *cákṣ-ya-* 'to be seen', *śrūt-t-ya-* 'to be heard', *car-kī-t-ya-* 'to be praised', *vāk-tva-* 'to be said'; those in *-āyya*, *-enya*, *-anīya* (AV.) accent the penultimate; e. g. *pan-āyya-* 'to be admired', *īkṣ-ēnya-* 'worthy to be seen', while those in *-tavya* accent the final syllable, as *jan-i-tavyā-* (AV.) 'to be born'². When compounded with prepositions³, gerundives nearly always leave the accent unchanged; e. g. *pari-cákṣ-ya-* 'to be despised'; with Svarita on the final syllable in the RV. only *ā-kāry-ya-* 'desirable' and *upa-vāk-ya-*

¹ Such compounds are also thus accented when turned into substantives, as *niṣ-kr-tā-* n. 'rendezvous', *upa-stutā-*, N. of a man.

² The gerundives in *-anīya* and *-tavya*

only begin to appear in the AV., where two examples of each occur (581 a, b).

³ The preposition is here always inseparable.

'to be addressed'; *ābhy-ī-yāms-īya-* 'allowing oneself to be drawn near'; *ā-mantr-ayīya-* (AV.) 'to be addressed'.

105. Infinitives are as a rule accented like ordinary nominal cases formed from the same stems.

a. The dative infinitive from root stems accents the ending; e. g. *dr̥ś-ī-* 'to see', but when compounded, the root; e. g. *sam-īdh-e* 'to kindle', *abhi-pr-ī-cāks-e* (I. 113⁶) 'to see'. Those formed from stems in *-as* generally accent that suffix, but sometimes the radical syllable; e. g. *car-ās-e* 'to fare', but *cāks-as-e* 'to see'. Those formed from stems in *-i* and *-ti* accent the suffix; e. g. *dr̥ś-īy-e* 'to see', *pi-tīy-e* 'to drink'. Those from stems in *-tu* accent the root, as *bhīr-tar-e*; also those from stems in *-tū*, but with a secondary accent on the final syllable, as *gūn-tar-ī*. When these two forms are compounded with prepositions, the latter are accented; e. g. *prī-vantare*¹ 'to win', *āpa-bhartar-ī* 'to be taken away', the latter retaining its final accent as well. When there are two prepositions, the first may be independent and accented as well; e. g. *vī prī-sartave* (VIII. 67¹²) 'to spread'. Infinitives formed with *-dhyai* generally accent the preceding *a* of the verbal stem, but sometimes the root; e. g. *iyā-dhyai* 'to go', but *gūma-dhyai* 'to go'. Those formed from stems in *-man* accent the root; e. g. *dā-man-e* 'to give', except *vid-mān-e* 'to know'; from stems in *-van* there are *dā-vān-e* 'to give', *tur-vāp-e* 'to excel', but *dhūr-vāp-e* 'to injure' (I¹ *dhy-*)².

b. The accusative infinitive if formed from a radical stem accents the root even when compounded with a preposition; e. g. *śībh-am* 'to shine', *ā-sād-am* 'to sit down'; if formed from a stem in *-tu*, it accents the root in a simple stem, but the preposition in a compounded stem; e. g. *dī-tum* 'to give', *prā-bhar-tum* 'to present', *anu prā-volthum* 'to advance'³.

c. The ablative-genitive infinitive, if formed from radical stems, which here occur only in combination with prepositions, accents the root; e. g. *ava-pīd-as* '(from) falling down'; if formed from a stem in *-tu*, the root in a simple stem, but the preposition in a compound stem; e. g. *gūn-tos* 'going', *nī-dhā-tos* 'putting down'.

d. The locative infinitive if formed from radical stems accents the ending in the simple form, but the root in the compounded form; e. g. *budh-ī* 'at the waking', but *sam-dr̥ś-ī* 'on seeing'. The one locative infinitive formed from a stem in *-tar*, and those from stems in *-san* accent the suffix; e. g. *dhar-tār-ī* 'to bestow', *ne-śān-ī* 'to lead'.

106. Uncompounded gerunds formed with *-tvā*, *-tvā*, *tvāya* accent the suffix, while the compounded gerunds⁴ formed with *-yā* or *-tyā* accent the root; e. g. *ga-tvā* 'having gone', *bhū-tvā* 'having become', *ga-tvāya* 'having gone'; *sam-gṛbh-yā* 'gathering', *upa-śrī-tya* (AV.) 'having overheard'.

107. Case-forms used as adverbs frequently show a shift of accent. This appears oftenest in the accusative neuter. Thus *drav-āt* 'quickly', but *drav-ant-* 'running', probably also *drah-yāt*⁵ 'stoutly'; *aparām* 'later', but *āparam* as neuter adjective; *ā-ryuṣ-ām* (AV.) 'till dawn'⁶; and the adverbs in *-vāt*, as *āṅgiras-vāt* 'like Aṅgiras', *manuṣ-vāt* 'as Manus did', *purāṇa-vāt*,

¹ The infinitive from stems in *-tu* in all its cases accents the preposition; e. g. *sām-hartum* 'to collect', *āpi-dhātave* 'to cover up', *dva-gantos* 'of descending'.

² A preposition is occasionally uncompounded with or separated from the infinitive, when both are accented, as *prā dāvāne* (IV. 32⁹; V. 653); *prā dāśiṣe dātave* (IV. 20¹¹).

³ When there are two prepositions, the

first is independent and therefore also accented.

⁴ The preposition is here always inseparable.

⁵ Which seems to be formed from an irregular present participle of *dr̥h-* 'be firm'.

⁶ The ordinary A. of *ryuṣ-ās-* 'dawn' would be *ryuṣ-am*.

pūrva-vāt, *pratna-vāt* 'as of old', which are accusative neuters of the adjective suffix *-vant*¹ (unaccented); and some adverbs from the comparative in *-tara*, *ut-tarām* (AV.) 'higher', but *lit-tara-* as adjective; similarly *ava-tarām*, *paras-tarām* and *parā-tarām* 'farther away', *vi-tarām* 'more widely'² *saṃ-tarām* (AV.) 'still farther'. Similarly the instrumental *divā* 'by day', but *divā* 'through heaven'; and the dative *aparāya* 'for the future', but *āparāya* 'to the later'; and the ablatives *apākāt* 'from afar' (*āpāka-* 'far'), *amāt* 'from near' (*dma-* AV. 'this'), *sanāt* 'from of old' (*sāna-* 'old')³.

6. Accent in Sandhi.

108. 1. When two vowels combine so as to form a long vowel or diphthong, the latter has the Udātta if either or both of the original vowels had it⁴; e. g. *nudasvātha* for *nudasva ātha*; *tāvāt* for *tāva it*; *kvāt* for *kvā it*⁵; *āgāt* for *ā agāt*; *pitva* for *pitā iva*, *satā* for *satā u*; *nāntaras* (VI. 63²) for *nā āntaras*.

The contraction of *i + i* is, however, accented *ī*,⁶ the (dependent) Svarita having here (in *ī*) ousted the preceding Udātta⁷; e. g. *divīva* (RV. AV.) for *divi iva*. This is the *prasliṣṭa*, 'contracted', Svarita of the Prātiśākyas⁸.

2. When *ī* and *ī* with Udātta are changed to *y* and *v*, a following unaccented vowel receives the Svarita; e. g. *vy ānaṭ* for *vī ānaṭ*.

The uncontracted form with Udātta must, however, almost invariably be read in the RV. This is the *ṛsaipra*⁹ Svarita of the Prātiśākyas⁸. Here the enclitic Svarita assumes the appearance of an independent accent.

3. When *ā* is elided, it throws back its Udātta on unaccented *e* or *o*; e. g. *sūndvā* 'gne for *sūndve dgne*; *vā* 'vasaḥ for *vo dvasaḥ*. But when unaccented *a* is elided, it changes a preceding Udātta to Svarita; e. g. *sā* 'dhamāḥ for *sā adhamāḥ*. This is the *abhinihita* Svarita of the Prātiśākyas⁸. Here also the enclitic Svarita (in *ā*) has ousted the preceding Udātta (as in *divīva*)¹⁰.

7. The Sentence Accent.

HASKELL, Votive-Accent in the Veda, JAOS. 11, 57. — BÖHTLINGK, ein erster Versuch über den Accent im Sanskrit (Mémoires de l'Académie imp. de St. Pétersbourg 1843) p. 38 ff. — WHITNEY, JAOS. 5, 193 ff., 387 ff. — AUREL MAYR, Beiträge aus dem Rigveda zur Accentuirung des verbum finitum (Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien 1871, p. 219 ff.). — WEBER, IS. 13, 70 ff. — BÖHTLINGK, Sanskrit-Chrestomathie² p. 356. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 591 ff. — DELBRÜCK, Altindische Syntax (Halle 1888) 21—29. — OLDENBERG, Die Verbalenklisis im Rgveda, ZDMG. 60, 707—740.

109. The vocative.—a. The vocative, which whether it consist of a single word or a compound expression, is invariably accented on the first syllable, retains its accent only at the beginning of a sentence or Pāda¹¹;

¹ Cp. WHITNEY 1107 a.

² See op. cit. 1119.

³ Cp. op. cit. 1114 a.

⁴ Cp. BENFEY, Vollständige Grammatik 64.

⁵ But when a Svarita is followed by an unaccented syllable, it of course remains; e. g. *kvāyatha* for *kvā iyatha* (VIII. 17).

⁶ Except in the Taittiriya texts which follow the general rule (*divīva*).

⁷ This also takes place in *sūdgātā* (TS.) for *sū-udgātā* 'a good Udgātṛ' (TS. VII. 1. 81: B.).

⁸ Cp. HAUG 75.

⁹ So called because 'uttered with a quick' (*ṛsaipra*) pronunciation, the semivowel replacing the vowel.

¹⁰ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 251, b a; BRUGMANN, KG. 45, 2.

¹¹ This applies to the second as well as the first Pāda of a hemistich (as some of the above examples show), thus indicating the independent character of these Pādas, which is obscured by the way in which the redactors of the Samhitās apply the rules of Sandhi and mark the dependent Svarita.

that is to say, when, having the full force of the case, it occupies the most emphatic position; e. g. *āgne sūpāyanī bhava* (I. 19^b) 'O Agni, be easy of access'; *ūrjo napāt sahasāvan* (X. 115^{3a}) 'O mighty son of strength'; *hōtar yaviṣṭha sukrato* (IV. 4^{1d}) 'O most youthful, skilful priest'. This rule also applies to doubly accented dual compounds, as *mitravaruṇa* (I. 15^{6b}) 'O Mitra and Varuṇa' (N. *mitrā-varuṇā*).

a. Two or more vocatives at the beginning of a Pāda are all accented; e. g. *dāte, mitra, varuṇa* (II. 27^{14a}); *ūrjo napāt, bhādraśoce* (VIII. 71^{3b}) 'O son of strength, O propitiously bright one'¹.

b. The vocative, when it does not begin the sentence, loses its accent, being unemphatic as referring only incidentally to a person already invoked; e. g. *ṛtēna mitravaruṇāv ṛtāvyaḥ ṛtasprśā* (I. 2⁸) 'through Law, O Mitra and Varuṇa, lovers and cherishers of Law'; *ipa tvāgne divā-dive, dīśa-vastar dhiyā vayām* | ... *śmasi* (I. 17) 'to thee, O Agni, day by day, O Illuminer of darkness, with prayer we come'; *ā rājānā² māha ṛtasya goṇā* (VII. 64²) 'hither (come), O ye two sovereign guardians of great order'; *yād, indra brahmaṇas-pate, abhidrohān cārāmāsi* (X. 164¹)³ 'if, O Indra, O Brahmanaspati, we commit an offence'⁴.

a. The vocative, whether at the beginning of or within a sentence, not being regarded as part of it, does not interfere with the normal accentuation of the sentence. Hence a verb at the beginning of a sentence, following a vocative, is accented as the first word of the sentence; while a verb within a sentence, following a vocative, remains unaccented; e. g. *devā, jīvatu* (AV. XIX. 70¹) 'O gods, live'; *asmē ū gū, vṛsaṇā, mādayethām* (I. 184²) 'beside us, ye two heroes, enjoy yourselves'.

110. The verb.—A. The finite verb in a principal sentence is unaccented except when it is the first word; e. g. *agnīm ize puruṣhitam* (I. 1¹) 'I praise Agni, the domestic priest'; but *ize agnīm vipaścitam* (III. 27²) 'I praise Agni the wise'. This rule and its exception must, however, be understood with the following restrictions:

1. A sentence is regarded as capable of having only one verb. Hence all other verbs syntactically connected with the subject of the first, are accented as beginning new sentences (a subject or object coming between two such verbs being generally counted to the first); e. g. *tēṣām pāhi, śrudhī hūvam* (I. 2¹) 'drink of them, hear our call'; *asmābhyam jeṣi ytsi ca* (I. 132⁴) 'conquer and fight for us'; *tarāṇir ij jayati, kṣēti, pūsyati* (VII. 32⁹) 'the energetic man conquers, rules, thrives'; *jahl prajāṃ nāyasva ca* (AV. I. 8⁵) 'slay the progeny and bring (it) hither'.

2. The verb, though not beginning a sentence, receives the accent if it coincides with the beginning of a Pāda (which is treated as the beginning of a new sentence); e. g. *ātha te āntamānām | vidyāma sumatinām* (I. 4⁵).

3. Since a vocative (or vocatives) at the beginning of a sentence is treated as extraneous to it, the verb which immediately follows it becomes the first word of the sentence and is accordingly accented; e. g. *āgne, juṣāsva*

¹ Here *bhādraśoce* is treated as an independent vocative; it would lose its accent if intended to form a compound expression with *ūrjo napāt* = 'O propitiously bright son of strength', as is the case in *hōtar yaviṣṭha sukrato*.

² When the first word of a compound vocative is an adjective (not a genitive), it retains its accent within a Pāda; thus *vīśve devāsaḥ* 'O All-gods', would appear within a Pāda as well as at the beginning.

³ This is an example of two distinct

vocatives. The preceding example may contain two also, as the accent of two as well as of one vocative would be lost within a Pāda; but if *rājānā* stood at the beginning of a Pāda, the accentuation would be *rājānā māha ṛtasya goṇā*, supposing two vocatives were intended.

⁴ The very rare exceptions to the rules given above (a, b) are doubtless due to errors on the part of the editors or of tradition.

no haviṣ (III. 28¹) 'O Agni, enjoy our sacrifice'. Thus the following sentence of six words contains three accented verbs as well as three accented vocatives: *indra, jīva, sūrya, jīva, devā, jīvata* (AV. XIX. 70¹) 'O Indra, live; O Sūrya, live; O gods, live'.

4. There are some instances in the RV. of the verb when emphatic, even though not placed at the beginning of the sentence, being accented before the particle *id*, and even before *canā*²; e. g. *ādha smā no maghavañ carkṛtād id* (I. 104⁵) 'then be mindful of us, bounteous one'; *nā, devā, bhasdthas canā* (VI. 59⁴) '(him) O gods, ye two never consume'².

B. The accent always rests on the verb of a subordinate clause (which is almost invariably introduced by the relative *ya-* and its derivatives, or contains the particles *ca* and *cid* 'if', *nā* 'lest', *hi* 'for', *kuviḍ* 'whether'); e. g. *yān yajñām paribhīr dsi* (I. 1⁴) 'what offering thou protectest'; *grhān gaccha grhapātñ yāthāśasaḥ* (X. 85²³) 'go to the house, that thou be lady of the house'; *Indras ca mṛdāyāti no, nā naḥ paścād aghān naśat* (II. 41¹¹) 'if Indra be gracious to us, no hurt will thereafter reach us'; *vī cid ucchānty, āśvinā, usāsaḥ, prā vām brāhmāni kārṇvo bharante* (VII. 72⁴) 'when the dawns shine forth, O Āśvins, the singers offer their prayers to you'; *mā cidm tanuṭhā āpaḥ, nēt tvā . . tīpāti sūro arcīṣā* (V. 79⁹) 'do not long delay thy work, lest the sun burn thee with his beam'; *tvām hi baladā dsi* (III. 53¹⁸) 'for thou art a giver of strength'; *tām, indra, mādām ā gahi, kuvin³ no āsya tṛpṇdvaḥ* (III. 42²) 'come to this gladdening drink, O Indra, (to see) whether thou mayst enjoy it'.

I. When the first of two clauses, though in form a principal one, is virtually subordinate in sense (being equivalent to one introduced by 'if' or 'when'), its verb is occasionally accented; e. g. *sām āśvaparnās cāranti no nāro, smākam, indra, rathino jayantu* (VI. 47³¹) 'when our men winged with steeds come together, may the car-fighters of our side, O Indra, win the victory'.

2. Similarly, but much more frequently, the verb of the first of two clauses which are antithetical in sense, is accented⁴. The occurrence of correlative words like *anyā-anyā, ēka-ēka, vā-vā, ca-ca*, often makes the antithesis obvious; e. g. *prā pra anyē yānti, pūry anyā āsate* (III. 9³) '(while) some go on and on, others sit about'; *sām ca jidhāsva agne, prā ca bodhaya enam* (VS. XXVII. 2) 'both be kindled, O Agni, and waken this man's knowledge': *id vā siñcādhvam āpa vā pṛṇadhvam* (VII. 16¹¹) 'either pour out or fill up'. If the verb of both clauses is the same, it usually appears (as is natural in the circumstances) in the first only; e. g. *dvīpāc ca sārvañ no rākṣa, cātuspād yāc ca naḥ svām* (AV. VI. 107¹) 'protect both every biped of ours and whatever quadruped is our own'.

3. The second clause, on the other hand, accents the verb if it contains an imperative (with a final sense), and follows a clause with an imperative of *i-*, *gam-* or *yā-* 'go'; e. g. *ēta, dhīyañ kṛndvāma* (V. 45⁵) 'come, let us (= that we may) make prayer'; *tāyañ ā gahi, kaṇveṣu sāca pība* (VIII. 4³) 'come quickly, beside the Kaṇvas drink thy fill'.

III. Verbal prepositions.—A. The preposition, which generally precedes, but sometimes follows the verb, being often separated from it by other words,

¹ Cp. DELBRÜCK 23, 3, 4; 26, 2; WHITNEY 598a. In the ŚB. *hanta* regularly accents the verb.

² Cp. GRASSMANN, Wb. under *id* and *canā*.

³ There are only two passages in the RV. (V. 3¹⁰, 36³) in which *kuviḍ* does not accent

the verb; cp. GRASSMANN, sub verbo; DELBRÜCK 550, end.

⁴ This accentuation is more strictly applied in B. than in V., and among the Sāmhitās least strictly in the RV.; cp. WHITNEY 597a.

is regularly accented in principal sentences; e. g. *ā gamat* (I. 15) 'may he come'; *jāyema śam yudhī spīdhaḥ* (I. 83) 'may we conquer our foes in fight'; *gāvām āpa vrajām vrdhī* (I. 107) 'unclose the stable of the kine'; *gīmat vājebhir ā śi naḥ* (I. 53) 'may he come to us with booty'.

a. When there are two prepositions, both are accented in the RV., being treated as separate words; e. g. *āpa prā yāhi* (I. 823) 'come forth'; *pīri spāso nī śedire* (I. 2513) 'the spies have sat down around'; *āpa priyobhir ā gatam* (I. 21) 'come hither with refreshments'; *āgne, vī paśya bhātā abhi nāyā* (III. 232) 'O Agni, look forth towards (us) with ample wealth'.

a. When *ā* immediately follows another preposition (unless it ends in *i*), it alone is accented, both being compounded with the verb; e. g. *upā, gāhi* (I. 910) 'come hither'; *samākhyāsi jīvāse* (X. 257) 'thou fittest (them) for living'. The general rule, however, is followed if the preposition preceding *ā* ends in *i*; e. g. *prā ā canusa* (IV. 47) 'draw (thy bow) against (them)'². In the only passage in which it has been noted in combination with another preposition preceding it, *ā* is treated like *ā*: *upā, gāhi* (X. 1100) 'pour out'³.

B. The preposition in subordinate clauses is generally compounded with the verb, when it is regularly unaccented; e. g. *vād . . niṣdathaḥ* (VIII. 921) 'when ye two sit down'. It is, however, often separated from the verb, and is then accented as well as the verb. In this case it is commonly the first word of a Pāda, but occasionally comes after the verb; e. g. *vī yā namā rājast* (I. 1604) 'who measured out the two regions'; *yās tastāmbha sāhasā vī jnō āntān* (IV. 501) 'who with might propped earth's ends asunder'. Occasionally the preposition is separate and accented even when immediately preceding the verb; e. g. *yā āhutim pīri vādā nīmohiḥ* (VI. 10) 'who fully knows the offering with devotion'.

a. When there are two prepositions, either both are unaccented and compounded with the verb, or the first only is separate and accented; e. g. *yūyām hi, devir, rtayigbhir āsvaiḥ pariprayāthi* (IV. 515) 'for ye, O goddesses, proceed around with steeds yoked by eternal order'; *śam yīm āyanti dhendrah* (V. 62) 'to whom the cows come together'; *yātva abhi saṁnāvāmahe* (VIII. 695) 'where we to (him) together shout'. A very rare example of two independent prepositions in a dependent sentence is *prā yāt stotā . . āpa gūrbhir iḥi* (III. 525) 'when the praiser pours forth laudation to (him) with songs'.

IV. NOMINAL STEM FORMATION.

GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch zum Rig-veda 1687—1738 (list of nominal stems according to alphabetical order of the final letter). — LINDNER, Altindische Nominalbildung. Nach den Samhitās dargestellt. Jena 1878. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 1136—1245; Roots, Verb-forms, and Primary Derivatives, 1885.

112. The bare root, both verbal and pronominal, is often used as a declinable stem. But much more generally the stem in declension is formed by means of suffixes. These are of two kinds: primary, or

¹ There seems to be an exception in *āstā cid, indra, na āpā yāhi* (VIII. 9210) 'thence, O Indra, come to us', but *āpa* here coming at the end of a Pāda, is used adnominally with *naḥ*.

² The treatment of two prepositions is on the whole the same in the AV. (cp. WHITNEY, APr. 185 ff.) and the TS. (cp. WEBER, IS. 13, 62 ff.); but the TS. treats some other prepositions like *ā*, and the MS.

goes much further, apparently making accentuation of the second preposition the rule; cp. DELBRÜCK p. 48.

³ Cp. DELBRÜCK p. 47, end.

⁴ It is not clear why the Pāda text analyses forms like *ny āsīdat* (I. 1431), *ny āstah* (VII. 1811), *vy āsthāt* (II. 47) as *ni āsīdat*, *nī āstah*, *vī āsthāt*. There are about thirty instances of this; cp. WHITNEY 1084 a.

those that are added directly to roots; **secondary**, or those that are added to stems already derivative (pronominal stems being also accounted as such). The distinction between these two kinds is, however, not absolute. Suffixes containing a secondary element sometimes have the appearance and application of primary suffixes (as *-anīya* = *-an-īya*). Less frequently primary suffixes come to be used as secondary ones; thus the participial suffixes are added not only to the root, but also to primary and secondary conjugation stems as well as to tense stems. These nominal suffixes are sometimes added by means of what looks like and may conveniently be called a connecting vowel, though it may not be so in origin. Primary suffixes are also added to roots compounded with verbal prefixes¹.

I. Primary Nominal Derivation.

113. As regards form, the root when used without suffix usually remains unchanged in respect to its vowel²; it is then, however, liable to modification in two ways: always adding the determinative *-t* if it ends in *-i*, *u*, or *-r*, and occasionally appearing in a reduplicated form. But before primary suffixes the root usually appears in a strong form: either with Guṇa of medial or final vowels, as *véd-a* 'knowledge' from *√vid*, *sár-ana* 'running' from *√sy*; or with Vṛddhi of final *-i*, *-u*, *-r* and lengthening of medial *a*, as *kār-ā* 'making' from *√kr*, *grābh-ā* 'seizer', from *√grabh*.

a. As regards meaning, there are two classes of **primary derivatives**: the one expressing abstract action nouns (with an infinitival character), the other concrete **agent nouns** (with a participial character) used as adjectives or substantives. Other senses are only modifications of these two; as that of the passive participle, which expresses an agent who becomes the recipient of an action. The primary suffixes forming action nouns can also nearly all be used to form agent nouns; and many of those properly forming agent nouns may also form action nouns. Those which properly form **action nouns** are: *-a*, *-an*, *-ana*, *-anā*, *-ani*, *-anī*, *-as*, *-ā*, *-i*, *-is*, *-ī*, *-īka*, *-us*, *-tas*, *-ti*, *-tu*, *-tma*, *-tha*, *-thu*, *-nas*, *-ni*, *-nu*, *-pa*, *-ma*, *-man*, *-mi*, *-yu*, *-van*, *-sas*. Those which properly form **agent nouns** are: *-aka*, *-at* or *-ant*, *-ata*, *-anīya*, *-asi*, *-aku*, *-āna*, *-in*, *-iṣṭha*, *-īyāms*, *-u*, *-uka*, *-ū*, *-ūka*, *-ka*, *-ta*, *-tar*, *-tmu*, *-tra*, *-tri*, *-tva*, *-thi*, *-na*, *-māna*, *-min*, *-ya*, *-ra*, *-ri*, *-ru*, *-la*, *-li*, *-lu*, *-va*, *-vana*, *-vani*, *-vanu*, *-vara*, *-vas*, *-vāms*, *-vī*, *-sa*, *-sani*, *-saru*, *-sna*, *-snu*.

Root stems.

114. These stems are used both as action nouns (often in the function of infinitives) and as agent nouns, either substantives or adjectives.

1. Examples of the simple root form are: *dylt* f. 'splendour', *ñft* (AV.) f. 'gesticulation', *būdḥ* f. 'awaking'; *dā* 'giver', *bhid* f. 'destroyer', *yīj* m. 'companion', *spās* m. 'spy'; *māh* 'great', *vīdh* 'strengthening'.—2. With root determinative *-t*: *mī-t* f. 'pillar', *stī-t* f. 'praise'.—3. With reduplicated root: *cikī-t* 'wise' (*cit* 'observe'), *juhū* f. 'sacrificial spoon' (*hu* 'offer'), *juhū* 'tongue' (*hū* 'call'), *dadḥ*³ 'hearty' (*dṛh* 'be firm'), *didyū* m. 'missile', *didyū-t* f. 'missile', 'lightning', *sasyād* f. 'running stream' (*syand* 'run')⁴ and with intensive

¹ Those chiefly thus used are approximately in the order of their frequency: *-a*, *-ana*, *-ti*, *-tar* and *-tra*, *-in*, *-ja*, *-van* and *-man*, *-i*, *-u*, *-as*; cp. WHITNEY 1141 c.

² That is, the root appears in the weak form, in which it is usually stated.

³ In *dadḥk* adv. 'heartily'.

⁴ Perhaps also *gāṅgā* f. 'Ganges' if

reduplication: *jāgā-* 'singing aloud' (*gu-* 'sound'), *pra-nenī-* 'guiding constantly' (*nī-* 'lead'), *yaviyūdh-* 'warlike' (*yūdh-* 'fight'), *vānīvan-* 'desiring', *a-sāsā-* (AV.) 'barren' ('not bringing forth'). *dūridra-* (VS.) 'roving' (*drā-* 'run') is a transfer to the radical *a*-stems¹.

-a : action and agent.

115. A vast number of derivatives is formed with this suffix, before which the root is generally strengthened, but sometimes remains unchanged or is reduplicated. Those formed with Guṇa are more than twice as numerous as all the rest taken together. Medial *a* generally remains unchanged.

1. Examples of derivatives with Guṇa are the following action nouns: *dy-a-* m. 'course' (*i-* 'go') *hī-a-* m. 'invocation' (*hī-* 'call'), *tār-a-* m. 'crossing' (*tī-* 'cross'); *vīd-a-* 'knowledge' (*vid-* 'know'), *jās-a-* 'enjoyment' (*jas-* 'enjoy'), *sārg-a-* 'emission' (*sṛj-* 'send forth'); agent nouns: *plav-ā-* m. 'boat' (*plu-* 'float'), *māgh-ā-* m. 'cloud' (*mih-* 'discharge water'), *cod-ā-* 'instigator' (*cod-* 'incite'). With medial *a*: *grābh-a-* m. 'seizure' (*grabh-* 'seize'), *śram-a-* m. 'weariness' (*śram-* 'be weary').

a. In several words thus formed the meaning varies according as the root is accented or the suffix, the word in the former case being nearly always an abstract substantive, in the latter regularly an adjective or an agent noun; thus *ārḥ-ā-* m. 'side', *ārḥ-ā-* 'half'; *ś-ā-* m. 'speed', *ś-ā-* 'speeding'; *cā-ā-* m. 'goad', *cā-ā-* m. 'instigator'; *vā-ā-* m. 'choice', *vā-ā-* m. ('chooser') 'suitor', *sā-ā-* m. 'command', *sā-ā-* m. 'commander', *śik-ā-* m. 'glow', *śik-ā-* (AV.) 'glowing'.

2. Vrddhi of final vowels and lengthening of *a*: action nouns are *dāv-ā-* (AV.) 'fire' (*du-* 'burn'), *tār-ā-* (VS.) 'crossing' (*tī-* 'cross'), *bhāg-ā-* 'share' (*bhāj-* 'divide'); agent nouns are *nāy-ā-* 'leader' (*nī-* 'lead'), *jār-ā-* 'lover', *grābh-ā-* 'seizer'.

3. Several derivatives are formed from the weak form of the root, the suffix being accented³; thus *priy-ā-* 'dear' (*prī-* 'please'), *sruc-ā-* m. 'spoon' (*srū-* 'flow'), *vr-ā-*⁴ m. 'troop' (*vṛ-* 'surround'), *tur-ā-* 'rapid' (*tī-* 'cross'); *jug-ā-* n. 'yoke', *śuc-ā-* 'bright', *kṛś-ā-* 'lean'.

a. Several derivatives of this type, which occur almost exclusively at the end of compounds, are made from various tense stems; e.g. *ā-say-ā-* 'stopping', *āt-ā-* (AV.) 'impelling', *paś-ya-* 'seeing', *inc-ā-* 'urging', *pr-nā-* 'bestowing', *indh-ā-* 'kindling', *bruc-ā-* (AV.) 'saying', *pib-ā-* (AV.) 'drinking', *ej-ayā-* 'exciting'⁵; *je-ā-* m. 'attainment' (aor. stem of *ji-* 'conquer'), *neśā-* m. 'guidance' (aor. stem of *nī-* 'lead').

4. A considerable number of derivatives are formed from the reduplicated root; thus *cacar-ā-* 'movable', *dadhṛś-ā-* 'bold', *vavṛ-ā-* m. 'hiding' (*vṛ-* 'cover'), *śīśay-ā-* 'strengthening' (*śi-* 'sharpen'), *śīśnāth-a-* 'perforation' (*śnath-* 'pierce'), *sasṛ-ā-* 'flowing' (√*śj-*). They are more usually formed directly from the intensive stem or from stems analogously reduplicated; e.g. *cākṣm-ā-* 'gracious' (*kṣam-* 'forbear'), *rerih-ā-* (AV.) 'continually licking' (*rih-* 'lick'), *rorud-ā-* (AV.) 'shedding tears' (*rud-* 'weep'), *vavij-ā-* 'quick' (*vij-* 'dart'); *carā-car-ā-* 'far-extending', *calā-cal-ā-* 'unsteady', *pani-spād-ā-* (AV.) 'palpitating' (√*spand-*), *marī-mṛś-ā-* (AV.) 'groping' (*mṛś-* 'feel'), *malī-mluc-ā-* (AV.) 'moving about in

from *gā-* 'go'; *śīśu-* m. 'child', if from *śī-* 'grow'.

¹ *jāgat-* 'going', 'living', is an old participle present of the reduplicated stem of *gā-* 'go'; WHITNEY, however, thinks (1147 e) that it is made from the reduplicated form *īga-* (= *ja-gam-*) with the root determinative -*t*.

² In these words the suffix is almost invariably accented; *kām-a-* 'desire' is accented

on the root as differentiated from *kām-ā-* 'desiring'; similarly *śāk-a-* 'help' and *śāk-ā-* 'helpful'.

³ See LINDNER p. 33.

⁴ According to GRASSMANN, f. *vā-*.

⁵ Some of the derivatives of this type are transitions from the root stems to the *a*-declension, especially at the end of compounds.

⁶ See below, Determinative Compounds,

the dark', a kind of demon (*mluc*- 'set', of the sun), *varī-vrt-ā*- (AV.) 'rolling' (*vrt*- 'turn'), *sani-syad-ā*- (AV.) 'running' (*√syand*-), *sani-sras-ā*- (AV.) 'decrepit' (*sraṇs*- 'fall'), *sarī-sṛp-ā*- 'crawling' (*√sṛp*-).

a. The suffix *-a* is by far the most frequent one used in forming derivatives from the root with a verbal prefix, being nearly always accented whether the noun expresses an action or an agent; e. g. *am-kar-ā*- (AV.) 'assistance', *abhi-droh-ā*- 'enmity', *ud-ān-ā*- (VS.) m. 'breathing upwards', *ni-mes-ā*- (VS.) 'wink', *pratī-ā-śrāv-ā*- 'response', *saṃ-gam-ā*- 'assembly'; *ati-yāj-ā*- 'sacrificing excessively', 'over-pious', *adhi-cāṅkram-ā*- (AV.) 'climbing over', *ā-dardir-ā*- 'crushing', *ut-tud-ā*- (AV.) 'rousing', *pari-car-ā*- (AV. VS.) 'wandering', *vi-bodh-ā*- 'wakeful', *saṃ-gir-ā*- (AV.) 'swallowing', *saṃ-jay-ā*- 'victorious'¹.

b. There are many words which have the appearance of ending in this suffix, though the root cannot be found elsewhere. They include several nouns of plants and animals. Examples are *ukhā*-² (AV.) 'caldron', *kroṣā*- (VS. AV.) 'breast', *khilā*- (AV.) 'waste land', *nakhā*- 'nail', *pakṣā*- 'wing', *vaṃśā*- 'reed'³.

-a-ka : agent.

116. This suffix, which consists of the primary *-a* with the secondary *-ka* added, is in a few words used as a primary suffix forming agent nouns only: *abhi-kroś-aka*- (VS.) 'reviler', *pīy-aka*- (AV.) 'abuser', a class of demon, *vādḥ-aka*- (AV.), a kind of reed ('destructive'), *śāy-aka*- n. 'missile' (*√śi*-); also *pāv-akā*- 'purifying', 'bright', which though always written thus is invariably to be pronounced *pavākā*-⁴.

-ata : agent.

117. In a few adjectives the primary suffix *-a* with *-tā* added is attached to the strong form of the root, chiefly with the sense of the gerundive: *dars-ātā*- 'visible', *pac-ātā*- 'cooked', *bhar-ātā*- 'to be tended', *yaj-ātā*- 'to be adored', *raj-ātā*-⁵ 'silvery', *hary-ātā*-⁶ 'desirable'.

-at and *-ant* : agent.

118. The suffixes *-at* and *-ant* are almost restricted to the formation of active participles. The former appears chiefly in the formation of present participles of the reduplicating class, as *dād-at*- 'giving'; also in *dās-at*- 'worshipping', *śās-at*- 'instructing', and the aorist participle *dīks-at*- and *dīhks-at*- from *dah*- 'burn'. There are besides a few substantives originally participles, which have shifted their accent, formed with *-at*: *vah-āt*- f. 'stream', *vegh-āt*- (AV. VS.) f. 'barren cow', *vāgh-āt*- m. 'sacrificer', *śrav-āt*- f. 'stream', *śaśc-āt*- m. 'pursuer'⁷. The suffix *-ant* is used to form the active participle of present stems (excepting those of the reduplicating class), of future stems, and aorist stems. Some of these have become independent adjectives: *ṛh-ānt*- 'weak', *pīś-ant*- 'spotted', *bṛh-ānt*- 'great', *mah-ānt*-⁸ 'great', *riś-ant*- 'brilliant'; also the substantive *d-ānt*- m. 'tooth'⁹. *dvay-ant*- in *d-dvay-ant*- (RV⁺) 'not double-tongued' has the appearance of a participle of a denominative stem from *dvī*- 'two'. With the same suffix are formed the two pronominal stems *i-y-ant*- 'so great' ('making this', *i-*) and *kī-y-ant*- 'how great?' ('making what?' *kī-*).

an- : action and agent.

119. Few words are formed with this suffix, and in some of them the root is doubtful.

¹ Cp. LINDNER p. 35.

² Also in *ukha-cchid*- (RV⁺) 'fragile as a pot', f. *ukhā*-.

³ Cp. LINDNER p. 33, bottom.

⁴ *-āka*- also appears in the Proper Name *nabh-āka*-.

⁵ Probably from the root *raj*- 'colour'.

⁶ Formed from the denominative stem of *hārī*- 'bright'.

⁷ See below, Participial stems in *-at*, 311 A.

⁸ With lengthened vowel in the strong cases.

⁹ See below, Participles in *-ant*, 313.

The only action nouns are the following neuters: *mañ-án*-¹ 'greatness', *rāj-án*- (RV¹) 'guidance', *gūmbh-án*- (VS¹) 'depth'. The infinitives in *-āp-* (588c) are, however, probably locatives of action nouns formed with *-an* from aorist stems.

Agent nouns are: *ukṣ-án*- m. 'ox', *akṣ-án*- (AV.) n. 'eye', *lakṣ-án*- m. 'carpenter', *pūṣ-án*- m., N. of a god, *plih-án*- (VS. AV.) m. 'spleen', *majj-án*- m. 'marrow', *mūrdh-án*- m. 'head', *rāj-án*- m. 'king', *vyś-án*- adj. 'virile', m. 'bull', *sāgh-án*- (TS. III. 2. 1¹) 'vulture'.

a. There are also several words formed with *-an* the root and original meaning of which are mostly doubtful: 1. *yūṣ-án*- m. 'youth', *yūṣ-án*- f. 'maiden', *śe-án*- m. 'dog'; 2. defective neuter nouns; *akṣ-án*- 'eye', *as-án*- 'blood', *asth-án*- 'bone', *dh-án*- 'day', *ās-án*- 'face', *ud-án*-² 'water', *ūdh-án*- 'udder', *daṭh-án*- 'sour milk', *loṣ-án*- (AV.) 'arm', *paś-án*- 'liver', *sāk-án*- (AV. VS.) 'dung', *sakth-án*- 'thigh'; 3. stems occurring at the end of compounds only: *-gm-án*- and *-jm-án*- (also used independently) 'course', *-dṛ-án*-³ 'playing'; *-bhv-án*-⁴ 'being', *-śv-án*-⁵ 'growing' (?)⁶.

-ana: action and agent.

120. With the suffix *-ana* are formed a large number of derivatives with both types of meaning. The root generally shows Guṇa, sometimes Vṛddhi, occasionally no change, rarely a weakened vowel. These derivatives very often appear with a preposition, such verbal compounds coming next in frequency to those formed with the suffix *-a*.

1. With Guṇa are formed neuter action nouns; e. g. *kṛt-ana*- 'deed', *cāy-ana*- (AV.) 'piling', *dāv-ana*- 'play', *bhūj-ana*- 'enjoyment', *vārdh-ana*- 'increase', *vād-ana*- 'possession', *hāv-ana*- 'invocation', *adhī-vi-kārt-ana*- 'cutting off'; also agent nouns; e. g. the adjectives *kar-ant-* 'active', *cāt-ana*- 'visible', *cāt-ana*- (AV.)⁷ 'impelling', *vi-mūt-ana*- 'releasing'; from a duplicated (intensive) stem: *iāgar-ant-* (VS.) 'waking' (*√gr-*).

2. With Vṛddhi⁸ or lengthened medial *a* are formed neuter action nouns, sometimes with a concrete sense; e. g. *ut-pār-ana*- (AV.) 'transporting', *upa-vās-ana*- (AV.) 'clothing', 'dress', *pra-vāc-ana*- 'proclamation', *sād-ana*- 'seat'; also agent nouns; e. g. *saṃ-srāv-ana*- (AV.) 'flowing together'; *cāt-ana*- 'driving away', *mād-ana*- 'gladdening', *vāh-ana*- 'conveying', *-spāś-ana*-⁹ (AV.) 'spying'; *svād-ana*- m. 'sweetener'.

3. With unchanged vowel (final *-ā* and medial *a*) are formed neuter action nouns; e. g. *dāna*- 'giving', *ud-yāna*- (AV.) 'going out', *nī-dhāna*- 'receptacle', *rīks-ana*- 'protection', *sād-ana*- 'seat', *ava-pra-bhṛāṇs-ana*-¹⁰ (AV. XIX. 39⁸) 'slipping down', *prāṇ-ana*- 'breathing' (*√an-*); anomalously formed directly from a preposition, *sām-ana*- 'meeting'; also agent nouns; e. g. *tīp-ana*- 'burning', *ā-kṛm-ana*- (VS.) 'stepping upon', *saṃ-gām-ana*- 'assembling'.

4. With weak vowel are formed very few derivatives: either neuter action nouns partly with concrete meaning: *kṛp-āna*- 'misery', *pśś-ana*- 'tenderness', *bhūc-ana*- 'being', *vṛj-āna*- and (once) *vṛj-ana*- 'enclosure', *-siv-ana*- (AV.) 'procreation'; or agent nouns: *kṛp-ant-* (AV.) 'miserable', *tur-āna*-

¹ Used in the instrumental only.

² From *ud-* 'be wet'.

³ From *dṛ-* 'play' in *prati-dṛ-ant-* 'adversary at play'.

⁴ From *bhū-* 'be' in *vī-bhūcan-* and *vī-bhūcān-* 'far-reaching'.

⁵ In the Proper Names *mātariśv-ant-* and *rjīśv-ant-*, cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 125, bottom, and above, p. 95, n. 11.

⁶ *-kāman-* in *nī-kāman-* 'desirous' is a transition form for the *a*-stem *nī-kāma-*.

⁷ In the RV. only as final member of compounds, *ṛṣi-cāna-* etc.

⁸ In this type the only vowel appearing in the radical syllable is *ā*.

⁹ In *prati-spāśana-* (AV. VIII. 5¹¹).

¹⁰ See WHITNEY's note on *nāvaprahāṇin-śana-* in his translation of AV. XIX. 39⁸ and WEBER's erroneous interpretation of this as 'descent of the ship'.

'speeding'; m. *úr-āna-* 'ram' (*ur-* 'cover'), *kir-āna-* m. 'dust' ('scattering'), *vṛṣ-āna-* (VS.) 'testicle'.

-anā : action and agent.

121. With this suffix (accented on the first or the last syllable) are formed some feminine **action nouns** (like the neuters in *-ana*) which sometimes have a concrete meaning: *as-anā* 'missile', *jar-anā* 'old age', *dyot-anā* 'brilliance', *man-anā* 'devotion', *rodh-anā* ('obstruction') 'dam', *svet-anā* 'daybreak', *has-anā* 'laughter'. *kap-anā* 'caterpillar' and *ras-anā* 'rein' have the appearance of being formed with this suffix, though the radical parts are not found in independent use. Accented on the penultimate syllable: *arh-ānā* 'merit', *jar-ānā* 'dry wood'(?), *barh-ānā* 'might', *bhand-ānā* 'brilliance', *manh-ānā* 'readiness', *meh-ānā* 'abundance', *vaks-ānā* 'belly', *vadh-ānā* 'slaughter', *van-ānā* 'desire'. The formation of *yos-ānā* (RV¹), usually *yós-ānā*, 'woman' is obscure². With the suffix *-anā* is also formed (though irregularly accented on the radical syllable) *pṛt-anā*³ 'fight' from a root not found in independent use³. The suffix *-anā* also forms feminine **agent nouns** (adjectives) corresponding to masculines in accented *-ana*; thus *tur-ānā*⁴ 'speeding', *tvar-ānā* (AV.) 'hasting', *spand-anā* (AV.) 'kicking'.

a. Derivatives in *-ana* with verbal prefixes, if compounded with other words, form their f. in *-anā*; thus *an-apa-vāc-anā* (AV.) 'not to be ordered away', *sūpa-vāñc-anā* and *sūpa-sarp-ānā*⁵ (AV.) 'easy of approach', *śat-vi-dhānā* 'forming an order (*vi-dhāna*) of six'.

-ani : action and agent.

122. This suffix, accented either on the first or the last syllable, is added to either the strong or the weak form of the root.

1. It forms feminine **action nouns**, sometimes with concrete sense; thus *as-āni* 'missile', *is-āni* 'impulse', *ksip-āni* 'blow', *dyot-āni* 'brilliance', *dham-āni* 'piping', *vart-āni* 'track', *śar-āni* 'injury'; also *jara-āni* 'noise' (?) in the compound *jara-āni-prā-* 'moving with noise'(?).

2. It forms **agent nouns**, both m. f. substantives and adjectives; thus *ar-āni* f. 'fire-stick', *caks-āni* m. 'enlightener', *car-āni* 'movable', 'active', *tar-āni* 'swift', *dhvas-āni* 'sprinkling', *vaks-āni* m. 'strengthener'; also in the compounds *ān-ars-āni*, N. of a demon, *āj-āni* (AV.) f. 'stick for driving' (*ā-aj-*) and *udani-māt-* 'abounding in waves' (*ud-āni* 'undulating' from *ud-* 'be wet').

a. From the reduplicated root: *papt-āni* (*pat-* 'fly') in *su-papt-āni* f. 'swift flight'. From aorist stems: *cars-āni* 'active' (*car-* 'move'), f. pl. 'men', *parś-āni* 'crossing' (*pr-* 'cross'), *saks-āni* 'overcoming' (*√sah-*). From desiderative stems: *ruruks-āni* 'willing to destroy' (*ruj-* 'break'), *sisās-āni* 'eager to win' (*√sā-*), *ā-sūsuks-āni* 'gleaming forth' (*śuc-* 'shine').

-anī : action and agent.

123. This suffix is the feminine form corresponding to the action and agent nouns formed with *-ana* from the strengthened or unreduced root⁶, with or without verbal prefix; thus *-cōd-anī*⁷ 'urging' (*cōd-ana-*), *pēs-anī* (AV.) 'well-formed' (*pēs-ana-*), *prōks-ānī* (VS. AV.) f. 'sprinkling water', *pra-jñānī*

¹ Other stems with the same meaning are: *yós-an-*, *yós-ā-*, *yós-it-*. The root is probably *yun-* 'unite'.

² The suffix *-anā* never otherwise occurs when the root is accented.

³ Only as a nominal stem *pṛt-* 'fight'.

⁴ This is the only example of such accentuation.

⁵ That is, *su-upa-vāñc-anā* and *su-upa-sarp-ānā*.

⁶ See *-ana*, 120, I—3.

⁷ In *brahma-cōdanī* 'stimulating devotion'.

(AV.) 'easily known', *spār-aṇī-* (AV.) 'preserving'; *abhi-sāv-aṇī-* (AV.) 'pressing impiment', *vi-dhār-aṇī-* (AV.) 'preserving'.

a. In some (partly obscure) words the accent here shifts from the radical vowel to the final of the suffix: *ars-aṇī-* (AV.) 'piercing pain', *cet-aṇī-* (AV.) 'visible' (*cet-ana-*, *īat-aṇī-* 'heat' (*tīp-ana-* 'burning'), *teḍ-aṇī-* (AV. VS.) 'blood', *prī-aṇī-* 'tender' (*prī-ana-* 'tenderness'), *vyj-aṇī-* 'enclosure' (*vyj-ana-* and *vyj-ana-*).

-an-īya : gerundive.

124. This is a new compositive suffix beginning to be attached directly to the root in the formation of the gerundive. It is based on the primary suffix *-ana* of neuter action nouns extended with the secondary adjective suffix *-īya*. There are two examples in the AV.: *upa-jīva-aṇīya-* 'to be subsisted on', and *ā-mantr-aṇīya-* 'to be addressed'.

-ar : agent.

125. This suffix is found in a very few words: *us-ār-* f. 'dawn', *dev-ār-* m. 'husband's brother', *nī-nīnd-ār-* f. 'husband's sister'.

-as : action and agent.

126. This suffix forms a large class of neuter action nouns (which sometimes acquire a concrete sense) accented on the root, and a small class of agent nouns (mostly adjectives) accented on the suffix. Some words belong to one class or the other according to the accent. The root generally takes Guṇa, and medial *a* is sometimes lengthened, while the vowel is reduced in a few instances.

1. Examples of action nouns are: with Guṇa, *prīy-as-* 'pleasure' (1 *prī-*), *śrūt-as-* 'fame' (*√śru-*), *kār-as-* 'deed' (*√kr-*), *cīt-as-* 'brilliance' (*√cit-*), *tīj-as-* 'splendour' (1 *tij-*), *dāh-as-* 'milking' (1 *dūh-*)². With medial *a* unchanged: *dv-as-* 'aid', *tīp-as-* 'heat', *prāth-as-* 'breadth', *vāc-as-* 'speech'; and with partially or wholly concrete meaning, *cikr-as-* 'lustre', 'eye', *mān-as-* 'thought', 'mind', *sār-as-* 'lake'. With lengthened *a*: *-vāc-as-*³, *vās-as-* 'covering', 'garment', *vāh-as-* 'offering', *-svād-as-* 'flavour' in *prī-svādas-* 'agreeable'; and from roots not in independent use: *pāj-as-* 'brilliance' and *pāth-as-*⁴ 'path'. With reduced vowel: *śīr-as-* 'breast', *jīv-as-* 'speed' (beside *jīva-as-*), *mīdh-as-* 'contempt', *śīr-as-* 'head'; also *vīp-as-* 'inspiration' in the compounds *vīpaś-cit-* 'inspired' and *vīpō-dhā-* 'bestowing inspiration'; *iras-* 'anger' in the denominative *iras-yā-* 'be angry'; *hur-as-* 'deceit' in *huraś-cit-* 'plotting mischief'. Perhaps also the adverbs (with shift of accent) *tir-ās* 'across' and *mith-ās* 'mutually'.

a. To roots ending in *-ā* the suffix is added direct in *bhās-s* n. 'light' (*bhā-* 'shine') and *-dās-s* 'giving' (1 *dā-*), *pāś-s* 'kinsman' and *mās-* 'moon' are probably also formed with the suffix *-as*, but being masculines were most likely agent nouns in origin: *mā-ds* = 'measurer' (*mā-* 'measure'). The suffix seems to be added with an intervening *y* in *-hāy-as* 'agility' if it is derived from *hā-* 'leave'⁵, while in *dhāy-as* n. 'enjoyment' and *-gāy-as-* 'song'⁶ the *y* probably belongs to the root⁷.

¹ *svāsa-* 'sister' is probably an old compound in which *-sar* represents a root; cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 8, note.

² The word *hēs-as-* 'missile' is perhaps formed from the aorist stem of *hi-* 'impel'.

³ In *vī-vācas-* (AV.) 'speaking variously' and *sā-vācas-* (AV.) 'speaking similarly'.

⁴ According to OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 54, 607 this word means 'home' and is perhaps formed with a suffix *-thas* from *pā-* 'protect'; according to SIEG, Gurupūjakaumudī 97, it means 'food', and is derived from *pā-* 'drink'.

⁵ Often to be read as dissyllables, *bhaas-* and *daas-*.

⁶ In *-dās-* 'giving' and *-dhas-* 'placing' an *-as* has been formed probably by a misunderstanding of the N. sing. *-dās-s* and *-dhās-s*.

⁷ In *vī-hāyas-* 'vigorous' and *sārva-hāyas-* (AV.) 'having all strength'.

⁸ But it may be a derivative of *hi-* 'impel'.

⁹ From *dhe-* 'suck' and *gai-* 'sing'; cp. above 27 a.

¹⁰ In *pī-v-as-* n. 'fat' (*pī-* 'swell') the *v* may

2. **Agent nouns** in *-ds*, mostly adjectives, correspond in several instances to action nouns accented on the root. These are *ap-ds* 'active' (*áp-as* 'work'), *tar-ds* (VS¹) 'quick' (*tír-as* 'quickness'), *tyaj-ds* m. 'descendant' (*tyáj-as* 'abandonment'), *duv-ds* 'stirring' (*dív-as* 'worship'), *mah-ds* 'great' (*máh-as* 'greatness'). The derivative *tav-ds* occurs both as an adjective 'strong' and without change of accent¹ as a m. substantive 'strength'. A few others have no corresponding action noun: *toś-ds* 'bestowing', *dhvar-ds* 'deceiving', *yaj-ds* 'offering', *vedh-ds* 'worshipper', *ves-ds* (AV.) 'neighbour'; and from a denominative stem *mrgay-ds* (AV²) 'wild animal'².

a. There are a few substantives accented on the suffix and seemingly never neuter, which are allied to the neuter action nouns in meaning, some being abstract, others concrete in sense. The change of accent may be due to change of gender³. Thus *rakṣ-ds* m. occurs beside *rákṣ-as* n. both meaning 'demon'. There also occur *jar-ds* m. 'old age', *bhiy-ds* m. 'fear', *tveṣ-ds*⁴ 'impulse', *hav-ds* 'invocation'; *uś-ds* f. 'dawn' may have been an agent noun originally; *doś-ds* (AV¹) f.(?) beside *doś-ā* 'night' may be due to parallelism with *uś-ds*. The stem *upás-* 'lap' (the gender of which is uncertain, as it occurs only in the locative singular) may have been formed under the influence of *upá-stha*⁵ m. 'lap'.

a. A few Proper Names are formed with the suffix *-as*; thus *nodh-ds*; *arcanānas* is a compound of *ānas-* 'wain', possibly also *bhātānās-*. *ap-sarás*⁶ f. 'nymph' is perhaps a compound ('moving in the waters'). *āṅśiras-*, a name of Agni, has the appearance of being formed with this suffix, but the *-s* is perhaps secondary⁷.

-as/ : action and agent.

127. This suffix, which is an extension of *-as* with *-i*, forms a couple of action nouns with concrete sense, and a few agent nouns: *dhāsi-* m. 'drink' (*dhe-* 'suck') and *dhāsi-* f. 'abode'; *at-as-* m. 'beggar', *dharm-as-* 'strong', *sān-as-* 'victorious'.

-ā : action.

128. By far the greatest proportion of words in *-ā* consists of secondary feminine adjectives corresponding to masculines and neuters in *-a*.

There is, however, also a considerable number of feminine action nouns of an independent character, formed by adding *-ā* sometimes to the root, but usually to secondary conjugation stems (desiderative, causative, denominative). Thus *īś-ā* (AV.) 'dominion', *nind-ā* (AV.) 'blame'; *jigīṣ-ā* 'desire to win', *bhikṣ-ā* (AV.) 'begging', *vīrts-ā*⁸ 'desire to frustrate'; *gamay-ā*⁹ (AV¹) 'causing to go'; *asvay-ā* 'desire for horses', *apasy-ā* 'activity', *urusy-ā* 'readiness to help', *jīvanasy-ā* (TS. II. 3. 10^{2.3}) 'desire of life', *sukratūy-ā* 'skill'.

a. This suffix has the appearance of being added to a reduplicated stem in *jāngh-ā*¹⁰ 'leg' and *jihv-ā* 'tongue'; it may also be contained in the very obscure word *sūśā*¹¹ (AV¹).

have been inserted owing to the influence of *pī-van-* adj. 'fat'.

¹ WHITNEY 1152, 2 e, erroneously, *tāvas-* 'strength'.

² The suffix is probably contained in *ā-han-ds* 'wanton', but the derivation is obscure, Cp. FRÖHDE, BB. 21, 321—330.

³ The dative infinitives from stems in *-as* are sometimes accented on the root, but usually on the suffix (105 a). This may indicate a difference of gender, the former being neuter, the latter masculine.

⁴ As *tveṣ-ds* and *hav-ds* occur in the I. sing. only, the gender is uncertain,

but owing to the accent it is probably masc.

⁵ According to GRASSMANN, however, *upā-stha* probably = *upās-stha*; cp. 81, 2 a.

⁶ See MACDONELL, Vedic Mythology 47, note 3; but cp. PISCHEL, VS. 3, 197.

⁷ Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 188.

⁸ From *vi-īrtsa-* desiderative of *ṛdh-* 'prosper'.

⁹ The causative stem used in the formation of the periphrastic perfect.

¹⁰ Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 106, top.

¹¹ See WHITNEY's note on AV. I, 113.

-āku : agent.

129. This very rare suffix seems to have been limited to the formation of agent nouns. It appears in *mṛḍay-āku* 'gracious' (formed from a causative stem), *pṛd-āku* (AV. VS.)¹ 'adder', *kṣ-āku*, N. of a man.

-āna : agent.

130. This suffix forms a middle participle² from the present (455, 461, 467, 473, 479), the perfect (493) and (in the form of *-s-āna*) from the aorist tense stem³ (527). It also appears in the formation of a few adjectives and substantives, a preceding *u* always taking Guṇa. Such adjectives are: *tīkhar-āna* 'speeding' (beside *tīk-u*- and *tīk-va*-), *bhīḡar-āna* 'beaming' (beside *bhīḡu*- m.), *vāsav-āna* 'possessing wealth' (*vāsu*-), *ūrdhva-s-āni*- 'being erect' (formed like an aorist participle from *ūrdhva*- 'upright').

There are also the Proper Names *āpnava-āna*, *cyāva-āna*, *pīthava-āna*; also *cyāvat-āna* which looks as if formed by adding *-āna* to the active present participle stem of *cyu*- 'fall'. Of doubtful derivation are the substantives *pārs-āna*- m. 'abyss' and *rujānā*-⁴ f. 'river' (l. 32⁶).

-ī : action and agent.

131. With this suffix are formed numerous feminine action nouns, agent nouns (adjectives and masculine substantives), and a few neuters of obscure etymology⁵.

The root appears in various forms: sometimes with Guṇa, Vrddhi or lengthened *a*, generally with unchanged or weak vowel, often reduplicated. Before the suffix a final radical palatal regularly appears (not the original guttural). In many of these derivatives the root is not traceable elsewhere. The accent is so fluctuating that no general rule can be stated. The meaning is often greatly specialised.

1. Examples of action nouns are: with Guṇa, *rīp-i* (AV.) 'pain', *śoc-i* (AV.) 'heat'; with lengthened *a*: *āj-i*- m. f. 'race', *grāh-i*- 'seizure', *dhrāj-i*- 'course'; with unchanged vowel: *san-i*- 'gain'; with weak vowel: *tvīṣ-i*- 'brilliance', *kṛṣ-i*- 'tillage', *rūc-i*- (AV.) 'brightness'.

2. Examples of agent nouns are: with Guṇa, *ar-i*- 'devout', *arc-i*- m. 'beam'; with Vrddhi, *kāry-i* (VS.) 'drawing'; with lengthened vowel *-jāni*-⁶ f. 'wife', *śār-i*- f. 'arrow' (RV¹), a kind of bird (VS. TS.), *dūṣ-i*- (AV.) 'poisonous matter'; also in a few words of obscure etymology, *drāp-i*- m. 'mantle', *nābh-i*- f. 'navel', *pāṇ-i*- m. 'hand', *rās-i*- m. 'heap'; with unchanged vowel: *kṛīḍ-i*- 'playing', *granth-i*- m. 'knot', *māh-i*- 'great'; with weak vowel: *śūc-i*- 'bright', *gṛbh-i*- (AV.) 'container', *bhīm-i*- 'lively' (beside *bhīm-i*- f. 'lively motion'). From the reduplicated root, which nearly always has a weak or reduced radical vowel, are formed with ordinary reduplicative vowel: *cikīṭ-i*-⁷ (SV.) 'understanding', *cākr-i*- 'active', *jīghr-i*- 'sprinkling about' (*ghr*-), *pāp-r-i*- 'bestowing abundantly', *babhr-i*- 'carrying', *vavr-i*- m. 'covering', *sīsr-i*- 'speeding', *śiṣv-i*- 'pressing'; *yīyudh-i*- 'warlike', *vīvic-i*- 'appropriating' (1st *vyac*-);

¹ It occurs in the RV. only as the first member of a compound in *pṛdāku-sānu*- 'having a surface like that of a snake'.

² See LINDNER p. 53-55.

³ *āpnāna*- seems to be an irregular present participle of *āp*- 'obtain' formed from the stem *āf-nā*- instead of *āp-nu*-.

⁴ For this word occurring in the form of *rujānās* see p. 59, note 2.

⁵ See GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch 1718f.; LINDNER p. 55-58.

⁶ At the end of compounds beside the independent *jāni*-.

⁷ Various reading for the *cikīṭ-i*- of the RV.

jāgm-i 'hastening' (*gam*- 'go'), *jāghn-i* 'striking' (*√han*-), *sāsn-i* 'winning'; *jāgur-i* 'conducting' (*√gṛ*-), *tātūr-i* 'victorious' (*√tṛ*-), *pāpur-i* and *pīpur-i* (SV.) 'bestowing abundantly' (*√pṛ*-) beside *pāpr-i*; with lengthened or **strong reduplicative vowel**: *tātp-i* 'gladdening', *dādhr̥s-i* 'bold', *vāvah-i* 'driving swiftly', *sāsah-l* 'victorious'; *tātuj-i* 'speeding', *tūtuj-l* m. 'stimulator', *yāyuv-i* 'driving away', *yāyudh-i* 'warlike'; *jarbhār-i* 'nourishing' (*√bhr̥*)¹. The **weak reduplicated** present stem appears in *dad-i* 'giving' and *dādḥ-i* 'bestowing'; from similar stems (appearing in the perfect) are formed *pap-i* 'drinking' (*√pā*-) and *yay-i* 'speeding' (*√yṛ*-).

a. There are only about half a dozen neuters formed with the suffix *-i*, nearly all being obscure in origin. They are *ākṣ-i* 'eye', *dsth-i* (AV. VS.) 'bone', *dādḥ-i* 'sour milk', *sām-i* 'toil' (*sam*- 'work'); and with Vrddhi *hārd-i* 'heart'.

b. The root is sometimes compounded with **verbal prefixes** in these derivatives, the suffix being then usually accented; thus *ā-jān-i* f. 'birth', *vi-vaur-i* m. 'opening', *saṃ-tan-l* f. 'harmony', 'music', *ā-yaj-l* 'bringing near by offerings', *ā-mūr-i* m. 'destroyer', *ni-jāghn-l* 'striking down', *parā-dad-l* 'delivering over', *vi-sāsah-l* 'victorious', *vy-ānaś-l*² 'pervading'.

c. From *dhā*- 'put' is derived the stem **-dhi-** which is used in forming many m. compounds; e. g. *antar-dhi-* (AV.) 'concealment', *ud-dhi-* (AV.), part of a car, *ni-dhi-* 'treasure', *pari-dhi-* 'fence'. From *sthā*- 'stand' is similarly formed **-sthi-** in *prati-sthi-* f. 'resistance'. There is here some doubt as to whether we have a reduced form of the root (as in *dhi-ta*-) or displacement of the radical vowel by the very frequent suffix *-i*. The latter alternative is perhaps the more probable owing to the almost invariable accentuation of the *i* and the occurrence of a stem like *prati-sthi-* 'resistance' beside *prati-sthā*- 'standpoint'.

-in : agent.

132. The very frequent secondary suffix **-in** seems sometimes to have the value of a primary suffix, exclusively, however, at the end of compounds; thus *-ād-in* 'eating', *-eś-in* (AV.) 'seeking', *-tod-in* 'piercing', *-ā-nām-in* 'unbending', *-vyādḥ-in* (AV.) 'piercing'; from a present stem *-aś-nuv-in* (VS.) 'reaching'; from an aorist stem *-sakṣ-in*³ overpowering (*√saḥ*-); from a reduplicated stem *-yay-in* 'going'⁴.

-iṣṭha : agent.

133. With this suffix attached to the root is formed the superlative with an adjectival sense. The root is regularly accented⁵, *ī* and *ū* taking Guṇa, while *a* remains unchanged, though in two or three instances it is strengthened with a nasal. Roots in *-ā* combine that vowel with the initial *-i* of the suffix to *e*, which, however, is usually to be read as two syllables. About fifty superlatives formed with this suffix occur in the Saṃhitās. Examples are: *nāy-iṣṭha* 'leading in the best manner' (*nā*- 'lead'), *jāv-iṣṭha* 'quickest' (*jā*- 'speed'), *véd-iṣṭha* 'procuring most' (*vid*- 'find'), *śoc-iṣṭha* 'most brilliant' (*śuc*- 'shine'); *yāj-iṣṭha* 'sacrificing best'; *bāṃh-iṣṭha* 'most abundant' (*bāṃh*-

¹ The words *bāmbhār-i* (VS.) m., a soma-guarding genius, *karkar-i* f. 'lute', *duṇḍubh-i* m. 'drum' may be onomatopoetic in origin.

² From the perfect stem *ān-aś*- of *aś*- 'attain'.

³ In *pra-sakṣ-in* 'victorious'.

⁴ In *ni-yay-in* 'passing over'. Cp. LINDNER p. 59; WHITNEY 1183 a.

⁵ Except two or three times *jyēṣṭhā*- and *kan-iṣṭhā*- (see above p. 83, 14); and when the superlative is compounded with a prefix, which then has the accent.

'make firm'), *māmh-iṣṭha* 'most liberal' (*mah* 'be great'); *jyēṣṭha* 'greatest' and *jyēṣṭhā* 'eldest' (*jyā* 'overpower'), *dāṣṭha* 'bestowing the most' (| *dāṣ*), *yēṣṭha* 'going fastest' (*√yā*).

a. In many instances these superlatives attach themselves in meaning to derivative adjectives, being formed from the root which the latter contain; thus *as-iṣṭha*¹ (TS. I. 6. 123) beside *āsa-m* 'quickly', *bārḥ-iṣṭha* 'greatest' beside *bṛh-ant* 'great', *vār-iṣṭha* 'choicest' (*vṛ* 'choose') beside *vār-a* 'choice', *sādh-iṣṭha* 'straightest' beside *sādh-ā* 'straight'. In a few cases the suffix is added to the derivative form of the root which appears in the adjective; thus *ās-iṣṭha* (AV¹) 'swiftest' beside *āś-ā* (from *as* 'reach'); and in *nāv-iṣṭha* 'newest' the suffix is attached to the radical element in *nāv-a*² 'new' (and not directly to the root from which that word may be derived).

b. In some cases the root is compounded with a verbal prefix or other indeclinable; thus *āgam-iṣṭha* 'coming best', *āśram-iṣṭha* 'never tiring', *sām-bhāv-iṣṭha*³ 'most beneficial'.

a. There are some irregularities in the formation of this superlative. Thus *āṣṭha* retains its vowel unchanged, adding the suffix with an intervening *y*: *āṣṭh-y-iṣṭha* 'greatest'; the roots *pr* and *śr* are treated as if they ended in *ā*: *prēṣṭha* 'dearest', *śrēṣṭha* 'most glorious'; *pār-s-iṣṭha* 'taking across best' is made from an aorist stem of *pr* 'cross'. The abnormal accentuation of *jyēṣṭhā* 'eldest' is doubtless intended to differentiate its meaning from *jyēṣṭha* 'greatest'. The use of *kān-iṣṭhā* 'youngest' is parallel to that of the former⁵.

-is : action.

134. This suffix forms a dozen neuter action nouns, mostly used in a concrete sense. Though the root takes *Guṇa*, the suffix is accented except in three instances. The words thus formed are: *arc-is* 'flame', *ām-is*⁶ 'raw flesh', *krav-is* 'raw flesh', *chad-is* 'cover', *chard-is* 'protection', *jyāt-is* 'light', *barh-is* 'straw', *roc-is* 'light', *vart-is* 'track', *vyāth-is* 'course'(?), *śoc-is* 'flame', *sarp-is* 'melted butter', *hav-is* 'oblation'.

a. Besides these *av-is* appears for *av-as* 'aid' and *mah-is* for *māh-as* 'greatness' in a few derivatives: *aviṣ-yānt* 'helping readily', *aviṣ-yā* 'desire', *aviṣ-yū* 'desirous'; *māhiṣ-vant* 'great'; and with inorganic *-s* *thiṣ-s* 'might', *śuci-s* 'flame', *su-rabhi-s* 'fragrant' for *tuv-i*, *śuci*, *surabhi* in a few derivatives: *thiṣ-mant* 'mighty', *śuciṣ-mant* (only voc.) 'brilliant', *surabhiṣ-ṭama* 'very fragrant'.

-ī : action and agent.

135. This suffix, besides its secondary use in the formation of feminines, chiefly adjectives, from m. and n. stems in *-a*, *-i*, *-u*, *-ṛ*, as well as various consonant stems (201), seems to be primary in forming a few independent feminine action and agent nouns. Such are *deh-ī* 'rampart', *nad-ī* 'stream', *nānd-ī* 'joy', *pṛṣ-ī* (RV¹) 'swaddling clothes'(?), *veś-ī* 'needle', *śac-ī* 'power', *śām-ī* and *śim-ī* 'work'; seemingly from an aorist stem (*√vāh*) *vakṣ-ī* (RV¹) 'flame'. There are also about a dozen masculines: *ah-ī* 'serpent', *upāv-ī* (VS.) 'encouraging', *dakṣ-ī* (RV¹)⁷ 'flaming', *prāv-ī* 'attentive', *duṣ-prāv-ī*

¹ In the compound *osiṣṭha-dāvan* 'giving immediately'.

² Probably from a demonstrative root *nu* which appears in *nū* 'now', *nū-tana* 'present'.

³ This superlative is formed under the influence of the positive *sam-bhū* as the independent superlative of *bhū* is *bhū-y-iṣṭha*.

⁴ The regular form *bhāv-iṣṭha* occurs in combination with *sam*.

⁵ *kān-iṣṭha* 'smallest' appears in books v and vi of the TS.

⁶ This word, which occurs in the L. sing. form *āmiṣ-i* only, is given as m. in BR., pw., and GRASSMANN, but why it should not be like all the rest a neuter, is not clear.

⁷ Only voc. *dakṣi*, Pada *dhaṣi*, I. 1418. Cp. p. 119, note 5.

'unfriendly', *su-prāv-ī* 'very attentive', *rath-ī* 'charioteer', *ā-rath-ī* 'not a charioteer'; and the Proper Names *nām-ī* and *pīth-ī*¹.

-īka : action and agent.

136. This suffix forms a few neuter substantives and some adjectives: thus *ān-īka* n. 'face', *dīś-īka* n. 'aspect', *mṛd-īkā* n. 'grace', *ā-sar-īka* (AV.) n. 'rheumatic pains'; *ṛj-īka*² 'beaming', *dībh-īka* m., N. of a demon, *vydh-īkā* m. 'increaser', *vi-sar-īka* (AV.) m., a kind of disease; from a reduplicated stem: *par-phar-īka* m. 'filler'.

-iyāms : agent.

137. This suffix is used in forming comparatives, being added to the root in the same way as the superlative suffix *-iṣṭha* (133). At least 40 of these derivatives³ occur in the Samhitās. Examples are: *jāv-iyāms-* 'quicker', *māṃh-iyāms-* 'more liberal', *yāj-iyāms-* 'sacrificing better', *tīḥ-iyāms-* 'sharper', *vāḍ-iyāms-* 'procuring more', *yōdh-iyāms-* 'fighting better', *pr-iyāms-*⁴ 'dearer' (*Vprī-*), *śr-iyāms-*⁵ (*Vśrī-*) 'more splendid', *-stheyāms-* 'lasting' (*Vsthā-*). Connected in sense with the corresponding positive are *ān-iyāms-* (AV.) 'smaller', beside *ānu-* 'minute', *sās-iyāms-* 'more frequent', beside *sās-vant-* 'constant'; and from a derivative form of the root *tīkṣṇ-iyāms-* (AV.)⁵ 'sharper', beside *tīkṣṇā-* 'sharp' (*tij-* 'be sharp').

a. Beside the usual form in *-iyāms-* there appear some half dozen comparatives made with a shorter form of the suffix **-yāms**: *tāv-yāms-* beside *tāv-iyāms-* 'stronger', *nāv-yāms-* beside *nāv-iyāms-* 'new', *pān-yāms-* beside *pān-iyāms-* 'more wonderful', *bhū-yāms-*⁶ '(becoming) more', 'greater', beside *bhāv-iyāms-* 'more plentiful', *rābh-yāms-* beside *rābh-iyāms-* (VS.) 'more violent', *sāh-yāms-* beside *sāh-iyāms-* 'stronger'; *jyā-yāms-* 'greater', 'older', and *sān-yāms-* 'older' (*sāna-* 'old') appear without an alternative form beside them.

b. With verbal prefixes or particles: *vi-kled-iyāms-* (AV.) 'moistening more', *pāri-ṣvaj-iyāms-* (AV.) 'clasping more firmly', *prāti-cyav-iyāms-* 'pressing closer against'; *ā-stheyāms-* 'not enduring'.

-u : agent.

138. This suffix forms a considerable number of agent nouns, both adjectives and substantives. The latter are chiefly masculines, but there are also several feminines and neuters. The suffix is usually accented. The root is generally weak, but sometimes shows Vṛddhi, least often Guṇa; it also occasionally appears in a reduplicated form. Medial *a* usually remains unchanged, but is sometimes lengthened; occasionally it is nasalized or appears as *e*. Final *-ā* adds an intervening *y*, but is occasionally dropped. Gutturals only (not palatals) appear before this suffix.

i. Examples of adjectives are: *ur-ū-* 'wide', *ṛj-ū-* 'straight', *prth-ū-* 'broad', *mṛd-ū-* (VS.) 'soft', *vidh-ū-* 'solitary', *jāy-ū-* 'conquering' (*Vjī-*), *dār-ū-* 'splitting' (*Vār-*); *śay-ū-* 'lying' (*Vśī-*), *cikīṭ-ū-* 'shining' (*Vcit-*), *jigy-ū-* 'victorious', *siṣṇ-u-* 'ready to give' (*Vsan-*)⁷; *tak-ū-* 'swift', *tan-ū-* 'thin',

¹ See below 375 B; LINDNER p. 80; WHITNEY 355 b.

² As final member of a few compounds, as *bhā-ṛjika-* 'light shedding'.

³ See LINDNER p. 155; WHITNEY 466—470.

⁴ The roots *prī-* and *śrī-* being treated as ending in *-ā*: *prā-iyāms-* and *śrā-iyāms-* as in the superlative.

⁵ In the TS. *pāp-iyāms-* is formed directly

from the adjective stem *pāpā-*, the radical element of which is uncertain.

⁶ With the radical vowel unchanged as in the superlative.

⁷ Some other words have the appearance of being reduplicated: *babhr-ū-* 'brown', *a-rār-u-* 'hostile' (*rā-* 'give'); *malimlu-* (VS.) seems to be a mutilated form of *malimlucā-* (AV.) 'robber'.

tāp-u- 'hot', *ās-ī-* 'swift' (*as-* 'reach'); *apṛh-ī-* 'narrow'; *āp-u-* 'active' (*car-* 'move'); *dhāt-y-ī-*¹ 'thirsty', *pā-y-ī-* 'protecting'; *y-ī-* 'going' (*√yā-*)²; *nīku-* 'empty' (*√ric-*).

2. Examples of substantives are: m. *gṛh-ī-* 'beggar', *rip-ī-* 'cheat'; *pīp-u-*, N. of a demon; *ās-u-* 'life', *mān-u-* 'man', *pād-ī-* 'foot', *bāh-ī-* 'arm', *amṣ-ī-* 'filament', *vā-y-ī-* 'wind'; f. *īs-u-* (also m.) 'arrow', *śindh-u-* (also m.) 'river', *dhān-u-* 'sandbank', *pārs-u-* 'rib', *hīn-u-* 'jaw'; n. *īy-u-* 'life', *jīn-u-* 'knee', *tāl-u-* (VS.) 'palate', *trip-u-* (AV. VS.) 'tin', *dār-u-* (also m.) 'wood', *sān-u-* (also m.) 'summit'; with syncope, *ks-ī-* 'food' (*ghas-* 'eat'); with reduplication, *tī-ta-ū-* 'sieve'.

a. In a few of these derivatives the root appears with a prefix: *upā-y-ī-* (TS. I. I. 1¹) 'approaching', *nī-zer-ī-* 'gliding', *pra-may-ī-* (AV.) 'liable to destruction', *pari-tatn-ī-* (AV.) 'surrounding', *śān-ras-u-* 'dwelling together'; *abhīś-ī-*³ m. 'rein', *viklīnd-u-* (AV.) m. a kind of disease.

139. There is besides a large class of agent nouns formed with *-u* not directly from the root but from tense or secondary conjugation stems.

1. From present stems are formed: *tany-ī-* 'thundering' (*tanya-* 'roars'), *bhīnd-ī-* m. 'destroyer' (*bhīnd-īnti* 'they split'), *vinā-ī-*⁴ 'finding' (*vinānti* 'finds'); from an aorist stem *dīks-u-*⁵ and *dhāks-u-* 'burning'.

2. From desiderative stems are formed *i-yaks-ī-* 'desirous of sacrificing' (*√yaj-*), *cikits-ī-* (AV.) 'cunning' (*√cit-*), *jigīs-ī-* 'desirous of winning' (*√jī-*), *jighats-ī-* (AV.) 'greedy' (*ghas-* 'eat'), *titiks-ī-* (AV.) 'patient', *dīs-ī-* 'ready to give' (*√dā-*), *didṛks-u-*⁶ (VII. 863) 'eager to see' (*√dṛs-*), *diāhīs-ī-* 'wishing to obtain' (*√dhā-*), *dīps-ī-* 'wishing to harm' (*√dabh-*), *ninits-ī-* 'wishing to revile', *bībhats-ī-* 'feeling disgust' (*√bīdh-*), *mimīks-ī-* 'mingling' (*√mī-*), *mumuks-ī-* 'desiring release' (*√muc-*), *rirīks-ī-* 'wishing to damage' (*√ris-*), *vivaks-ī-* (AV.) 'calling aloud' (*√vac-*), *śiśās-ī-* (AV.) 'eager to win' (*√śā-*).

3. From causative stems are formed: *dhāray-ī-* 'streaming', *bhājay-ī-* 'liberal', *bhāvay-ī-* 'cherishing', *manhay-ī-* 'liberal', *manday-ī-* 'joyous', *śramay-ī-* 'exhausting oneself'; from a causative denominative *mygay-ī-* (AV.VS.) m. 'hunter'.

4. By far the commonest are the derivatives from regular denominatives, of which nearly 80 occur in the RV., and at least half a dozen additional cases in the AV. About 35 of these words are formed from denominative stems in actual use⁷; thus *aghāy-ī-* 'malignant', *arātīy-ī-* (AV.) 'hostile', *vasūy-ī-* 'desiring wealth', *carany-ī-* 'mobile', *manasy-ī-* 'desirous'. A few are formed from pronouns, as *ahany-ī-* 'selfish', *asmay-ī-* 'favouring us', *kīny-ī-* 'desiring what?', *tṛāy-ī-* 'loving thee', *yuvay-ī-* and *yuvāy-ī-* 'desiring you two', *svay-ī-* 'left to oneself'. In the absence of an accompanying denominative, there is the appearance of a secondary suffix *-yu* (with the sense of 'desiring' or some more general adjectival meaning) attached directly to nouns. Thus there are derivatives in the RV. in which the *-as* of noun stems is changed to *-o*, as if the suffix were actually *-yu*: *apṛho-yū-* 'threatening', *duvo-yū-* 'honouring' beside *duvas-yū-*, and *ā-skṛdho-yu-* 'not niggardly'.

-uka : agent.

140. This suffix probably consists of the primary *-u* extended with the secondary *-ka*. It is very rare in the Samhitās. There is no certain example

¹ Here the *y* really belongs to the root *dhā-* 'suck'.

² Also in the reduplicated form *yāy-u-* (VS.) 'swift'; the final *-ā* seems also to be dropped in *ā-kh-ī-* 'mole' (*kṛhā-* 'dig') and in *su-gh-ī-* 'standing well' (*sthā-* 'stand').

³ Probably from *abhi-ī-* 'rule'.

⁴ In *go-vindū-* 'searching for milk'.

⁵ The Pāda text has *dhāks-u-*. Cp. p. 117, note 7.

⁶ With irregular accent.

⁷ See the list in LINDNER p. 63.

in the RV., but *sān-uká-* (RV¹) 'desirous of prey' (*√san-*) and the Proper Name *per-uká-* (RV¹) may be instances. In the AV. occur *ghāt-uka-* 'killing', *vī-kaś-uka-* 'bursting', *sān-kaś-uka-* 'crumbling up', *d-pra-māy-uka-* 'not dying suddenly'. In the TS. occurs *vas-uká-*, but the meaning and derivation are doubtful.

-us : action and agent.

141. This suffix forms **neuter action nouns** which have mostly a concrete sense, and **masculine agent nouns**, altogether less than 20 in number. All the substantives except one are accented on the root, which generally takes Guṇa, but in one instance Vṛddhi. Those adjectives which also appear as substantives have the same accentuation; but those stems which are used solely as adjectives accent the suffix.

1. The neuter substantives are: *dr-us-* (AV.) 'wound', *āy-us-* 'life', *cākṣ-us-* 'light', *tāp-us-* 'heat', *tār-us-* 'battle', *dhān-us-* 'bow', *pār-us-* 'knot', *yāj-us-* 'worship', *vāp-us-* 'marvel', *śās-us-* 'command'; with accent on the suffix: *jan-ús-* 'birth' (also m.).

2. The masculine substantives are: *nāh-us-* 'neighbour', *mān-us-* 'man'; adjectives identical in form with neuter substantives are: *cākṣ-us-* 'seeing', *tāp-us-* 'glowing', *vāp-us-* 'wondrous'; adjectives without corresponding substantives are: *jay-ús-* 'victorious', *van-ús-* 'eager', *vid-ús-*¹ 'heedful'; also *daś-ús-* 'flaming' from the aorist stem.

-ū : feminine substantives.

142. This rare suffix chiefly forms feminines corresponding to masculines and neuters in *-u*². Independent feminine substantives are: *cam-ū-* 'dish', *tan-ū-* 'body', *vadh-ū-* 'bride'; perhaps *pan-ū-*³ 'admiration'. There are also the compounds *pumś-cal-ū-* (VS.) 'courtesan', *pra-jan-ū-* (AV.) 'organ of generation'.

-ūka : intensive adjectives.

143. This suffix is merely the lengthened form of *-uka* used in forming a few derivatives from the reduplicated intensive stem. It appears in *jāgar-ūka-* 'wakeful', *dandaś-ūka-* (VS.) 'mordacious', *salal-ūka-* (RV¹) 'wandering aimlessly'.

-ka : agent.

144. This is a very common secondary suffix, but very rarely appears in a primary character. It is thus used in *āt-ka-* m. 'garment', *su-mé-ka-* 'firmly fixed' (*mi-* 'fix'), *śūś-ka-* 'dry', *ślō-ka-* m. 'call' (*śru-* 'hear'), *sto-ká-* m. 'drop'. In *vīś-ś-i-ka-* m. 'scorpion' the suffix is added with connecting *-i-*. The feminine form of the suffix appears in *stīl-kā-* 'flake', *rā-kā-*, N. of a goddess.

-ta : agent.

145. This suffix is employed almost exclusively to form past participles⁴, chiefly with passive, sometimes with intransitive meaning. Its more general and original sense is, however, preserved in some words used as adjectives or as substantives with concrete meaning; thus *īṣ-ś-tá-* 'rough', *ārḍhā-* 'firm', *śī-tá-* 'cold', *vāvā-ta-*⁵ 'dear'; m. *dū-tá-* 'messenger', *sū-tá-* (AV. VS.) 'charioteer',

¹ With weak root; the only instance of medial vowel other than *ā* in the radical syllable.

² See below, derivative *-ñ* stems, 384.

³ The stem may be *pan-ū-*, as the only

form occurring is the I. sing. *panvā*.

⁴ See below, Past passive participles, 572, and the lists in LINDNER p. 70f.

⁵ From a reduplicated form of *vā-* 'win', and with unusual accent.

*kṛtā-tā*¹ 'singer', *baṣṭā-tā*¹ 'he-goat'; n. *r-tā* 'right', *ghṛ-tā* 'ghee', *jā-tā* 'kind', *dyū-tā* (AV.) 'gambling', *nṛ-tā* (AV.) 'dance', *pūr-tā* 'reward', *vra-tā*² 'ordinance'; with accented and strong radical syllable: *ḍ-tā* 'variegated'; m. *gār-ta* 'car-seat', *mār-ta* 'mortal', *vā-ta* 'wind', *hās-ta* 'hand'; n. *ās-ta* 'home', *nāk-ta* 'night'.

a. In many past participles the suffix is added with connecting *-i-*, as *raks-i-tā* 'protected'. Some of these are used as n. substantives; thus *jiv-i-tā* 'life', *ca-i-tā* 'behaviour'. Several words thus formed appear as adjectives only; thus *tig-i-tā*³ 'sharp', *pal-i-tā* 'grey'; also some other names of colours with strong and accented radical syllable: *ḍ-i-ta* 'black', *rōh-i-ta* 'red', *lōh-i-ta* (AV.) 'red', *hār-i-ta* 'yellow'; *śye-tā* 'white' is perhaps anomalously formed with *-ita-* from *śyā*⁴ 'freeze'⁵.

-tar : agent.

146. The agent nouns formed with this very frequent suffix⁶ are often used participially, governing an accusative. The root is generally accented when they have this verbal force, but the suffix, when they are purely nominal (86A 22). The root regularly has Guṇa, *a* and *ā* remaining unchanged; thus *nē-tar* 'leader' (√*nī*), *hō-tar* 'priest' (√*hu*), *kar-tār* 'doer' (√*kr*), *bhet-tār* 'breaker' (√*bhid*), *yok-tār* 'yoker' (√*yuj*); *yaṣ-tār* 'sacrificer' (√*yaj*), *dā-tār* 'giver'. With weak root: *uṣ-tār* m. 'ploughing bull'⁸.

a. Less commonly the suffix is added to the root with connecting *-i-*: regularly when the root ends in more than one consonant⁹, as *vand-i-tār* 'praiser', but also often when it ends in a single consonant and sometimes when it ends in a vowel, as *cod-i-tār* 'instigator', *sav-i-tār* 'stimulator' (√*sū*).

b. The suffix is combined with *-ī-* instead of *-i-* in *grābh-ī-tar* (AV.) 'seizer', *prati-grah-ī-tār* (AV.) 'receiver', *saṃ-grah-ī-tār* (VS.) 'charioteer', *pratar-ī-tār* 'prolonger', *ā-mar-ī-tār* 'destroyer'; with *-u-* in *tār-u-tar* 'winning' and *tar-u-tār* 'conqueror', *dhān-u-tar* 'running swiftly', *sān-u-tar* 'winning'; with *-ū-* in *var-ū-tār* 'protector'; with *-o-* in *man-ō-tar*¹⁰ and *man-o-tār* 'inventor'.

c. These derivatives are very frequently compounded with prepositions¹¹; e. g. *pura-e-tār* 'leader', *apa-bhar-tār* 'taking away', *prāv-i-tār* 'protector' (av. 'favour'), *pra-sav-ī-tār* 'vivifier'.

d. They are very rarely formed from secondary conjugation or from tense stems, as *coday-i-tār* 'stimulator'¹², *bodhay-i-tār* 'awakener', *nē-ṣ-tār*¹³, a kind of priest. From the reduplicated root is formed *vāvā-tar* 'adherent'.

e. Several names of relationship appear to be formed with this suffix. Being all very old words, the radical syllable is obscure in meaning or irregular in form. They are *jā-mā-tar* 'son-in-law', *duh-i-tār* 'daughter', *nāp-tar* 'grandson', *pi-tār* 'father', *bhrā-tar* 'brother', *mā-tār* 'mother'.

¹ These two words are of doubtful origin.

² If derived from *vr-* 'choose' with anomalous form of radical syllable; but according to WHITNEY (1176 b) it is to be explained as *vrat-ā* formed from *vrt-* 'turn' like *vraj-ā* from *vrj-*.

³ With anomalous guttural before *-i-*.

⁴ Originally perhaps 'rimy', cp. *ṣṭ-tā* 'cold'.

⁵ The f. of these adjectives of colour is formed from other stems: *ēni-*, *āsiknī-*, *pāliknī-*, *rōhinī-*, *lōhinī-* (AV.), *śyēni-*, *hārinī-*.

⁶ See the lists in LINDNER p. 72—75.

⁷ *-tur* appear, instead of *-tar* in *yan-tur* beside *yan-tār* 'guide' and in *sthā-tur* beside *sthā-tār* 'stationary'.

⁸ The f. of these words is formed with *-ī-* from the weak stem, i. e. in *-tī-*.

⁹ Except *damṣ-tār* (AV.) 'biter'.

¹⁰ Connected with the present stem *manu-* etc. of *man-* 'think'.

¹¹ See LINDNER p. 73 f.

¹² In the f. *coday-i-tr-ī-*.

¹³ From the aorist stem of *nī-* 'lead'.

-tas : action.

147. This suffix is identical in meaning with *-as*, being used to form neuter action nouns which have acquired a concrete meaning. It is very rare, occurring only in *ri-tas* 'semen' (*ri* 'flow') and *sro-tas* 'stream', 'current' (*sru* 'flow').

-ti : action and agent.

148. This suffix is used to form a large number of feminine action nouns; it also appears in a few agent nouns employed either as adjectives or masculine substantives¹. The root generally has the same weak form as appears before the *-tu* of the past passive participle²; it is, however, more often accented than the suffix. In a few words the suffix is added with the connecting vowels *-a-*, *-i-* or *-ī-*.

1. **Action nouns.** With accent on the suffix are formed e. g. *iṣ-ti-* 'desire' (*iṣ-* 'seek'), *ñ-ti-* 'aid' (*ñav-*), *kīr-ti-* 'praise' (*kīr-* 'commemorate'), *dḥau-ti-* 'stream' (*dḥāu-* 'flow'), *pī-ti-* 'draught' (*pā-* 'drink'), *pūr-ti-* 'reward' (*pūr-* 'fill'), *bhā-ti-* 'distribution' (*bhāj-* 'divide'), *ma-ti-* 'thought' (*man-* 'think'), *rā-ti-* 'gift' (*rā-* 'give'), *ri-ti-* 'flow' (*ri-* 'flow'), *viś-ti-* 'work' (*viś-* 'be active'), *stu-ti-* 'praise'; from the reduplicated root: *car-ri-ti-* 'praise' (*kr-* 'commemorate'); with connecting *-a-*³: *aṇh-a-ti-* 'distress', *dṛś-a-ti-* 'appearance', *mīh-a-ti-* 'conflict', *vas-a-ti-* 'abode'. With accent on the root are formed e. g. *iṣ-ti-* 'offering' (*ṽyaj-*), *gā-ti-* 'motion' (*ṽgam-*), *dā-ti-* 'liberality' (*dā-* 'give'), *ṽd-dhi-* 'increase' (*ṽrdh-*), *sān-ti-* (AV. VS.) 'repose' (*ṽsam-*); from the reduplicated root *dīdhi-ti-* 'devotion' (*dḥī-* 'think')⁴; with connecting *-a-*: *ām-a-ti-*⁵ 'indigence' (*am-* 'be afflicted').

a. The derivative *dī-ti-* 'giving' when used as the final member of a compound is reduced to *-tti-*: *bhāga-tti-*, *maṅgha-tti-*, *vāsu-tti-*; above 26 a 2.

2. **Agent nouns.** These are rare, amounting to hardly 20 in number. **Accented on the suffix:** *jñā-ti-* m. 'relative', *pat-ti-* m. (AV. VS.) 'pedestrian', *rī-ti-* 'willing to give'; with connecting *-a-*: *ar-a-ti-* m. 'servant', *khal-a-ti-* (VS.) 'bald', and with accent on the connecting vowel *vrk-ā-ti-* m. 'murderer'. **Accented on the root:** m. *dḥū-ti-* 'shaker', *pā-ti-* 'master', *mīś-ti-* 'fist', *sāp-ti-* 'steed'; adjectives: *dḥīś-ti-* (VS.) 'bold', *pūt-ti-* (AV.) 'putrid', *vās-ti-* 'eager'; and from the reduplicated root *jīgar-ti-* m. 'swallower'; with connecting vowels: *ām-a-ti-* 'poor', *rām-a-ti-* (AV. TS.) 'liking to stay', *īj-ti-* 'glowing', *turv-ī-ti-*, N. of a man (*turv-* = *tur-*, *ty-* 'overcome'), *dabh-ti-*⁶, N. of a man⁷, *snh-a-ti-* 'carnage' and *snh-i-ti-* (SV.).

a. These derivatives are often compounded with prepositions⁸, which are almost always accented; thus *ānu-ma-ti-* 'assent', *abhī-ti-* 'attack' (*abhī-ti-*), *ā-hu-ti-* 'offering', *nir-r-ti-* 'dissolution', *vy-āp-ti-* (AV.) 'attainment', *sām-ga-ti-* 'coming together', *abhī-mā-ti-* 'insidious' (*man-* 'think')⁹; with suffix accented, only *ā-sak-ti-* 'pursuit', *ā-su-ti-* 'brew' (*ṽsu-*) and 'enlivening' (*ṽsū-*); also *abhi-s-ti-* m. 'helper' beside *abhi-s-ti-* f. 'help'.

¹ See the list in GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch 1719—21; LINDNER p. 76—79.

² The roots *tan-* 'stretch', *ram-* 'rest', *han-* 'strike' may retain the nasal: *tān-ti-* f. 'cord', *rān-ti-* 'enjoyment' (AV. VS. TS.) beside *rā-ti-* (VS.), *ā-han-ti-* (VS.) beside *ā-ha-ti-* 'uninjured condition'.

³ The *-a-* here often, if not always, belongs to a verbal stem.

⁴ Roots which have the connecting *-i-* in the past participle, do not take it here: *gūp-ti-* (AV.) 'protection' beside *gūp-tā-*, *prā-dṛp-ti-* 'arrogance' beside *ā-dṛp-tā-* 'not in-

fatuated' (also *ā-dṛp-tā-*). These are, however, the only two examples.

⁵ But with the connecting *-a-* accented: *am-ā-ti-* 'lustre', *ram-ā-ti-* (AV.) 'haunt', *vrat-ā-ti-* 'creep'.

⁶ This word may be a compound (**dabhi-ti-*).

⁷ *yayātī*, N. of a man, is according to BR. and GRASSMANN derived from *yat-* 'stretch'.

⁸ See LINDNER p. 77 f.

⁹ Compounded with a noun: *kāma-kā-ti-* 'requiring the fulfilment of a wish'.

b. The suffix is added to a secondary stem in *jān-aya-ti* (VS.) f. 'generation'; it seems to have a secondary character in *yīva-ti* f. 'maiden', adj. 'young'. It is secondary in *pakṣa-ti* (VS.) 'root of the wing'; in the numerals *vimśa-ti* '20', *ṣaṣṭi* '60', and others; in *pañc-ti* f. 'set of five'; in the pronominal words *kā-ti* 'how many?', *id-ti* (AV.) 'so many', *ya-ti* 'as many as'; and in *addhā-ti* m. 'sage', formed from the adverb *ad-dhā* 'truly'.

-tu : action and agent.

149. The great majority of the words derived with this suffix are infinitives appearing in the form of the dative, ablative-genitive, and accusative cases. Besides these, there are a few action nouns used independently, and still fewer agent nouns. The root is usually accented¹ and takes Guṇa; but the suffix is accented in some half dozen instances, in two or three of which the radical syllable is weakened. The gender is usually masculine, but a few feminines and neuters also occur.

1. Accented on the root: m. *ṛ-tu* 'weft' (*vā* 'weave'), *krā-tu* 'capacity' (*kr* 'make'), *tān-tu* 'thread', *dhāt-tu*² 'element', *sāk-tu* 'groats' (*√sañj*), *sāt-tu* 'bond' (*si* 'bind'), *sāt-tu* 'libation' (*su* 'press'), *dhāt-tu* adj. 'drinkable' (*dhe* 'suck'); m. *mān-tu* 'adviser'; f. *vās-tu* 'morning' (*vas* 'shine'), *sīt-tu*³ (AV.) 'birth'; n. *dāt-tu* 'division' (*dā* 'divide'), *vās-tu*⁴ 'abode' (*vas* 'dwell').

2. Accented on the suffix: m. *ak-ti* 'ray' (*añj* 'anoint'), *gā-ti* 'way' (*gā* 'go') and 'song' (*gā* 'sing'), *jan-ti* 'creature', *he-ti* 'cause' (*hi* 'impel'); with weak radical vowel: *r-ti* 'season', *pi-ti* 'drink' (*pī* 'swell')⁵.

a. The suffix is attached in a few instances (as in some infinitives) with connecting *-ī-*: *dur-dhār-ī-tu* 'irresistible', *su-hār-ī-tu* 'to be successfully invoked', *tur-phār-ī-tu*⁶.

b. The suffix appears in a few instances to be attached to a present or a secondary conjugational stem: *edha-ti* m. 'welfare' (*idha-te* 'thrives'), *tapya-ti* adj. 'glowing' (*tapya-te* 'is heated'), *vāha-ti* m. 'wedding' (*vāha-ti* 'conveys'), *siṣāsā-tu*⁷ 'desirous of obtaining'; *jīvā-ti* f. 'life' (*jīva-ti* 'lives').

c. Derivatives formed with *-tu* are in several instances compounded with the particles *duṣ-* and *su-*: *dur-dhār-ī-tu* and *dur-dhār-tu* 'irresistible', *dur-vār-tu* 'difficult to ward off', *duṣ-ṭār-ī-tu* 'unconquerable', *su-yān-tu* 'guiding well', *su-śrō-tu* 'hearing willingly', *su-hān-tu* 'easy to slay'; also with a pronoun in *svaditu* 'going one's own' (*sva-* 'gait' (*etu*)).

-tna : action and agent.

150. This suffix is very rare, occurring only in *cyau-tnā* n. 'concussion', adj. 'animating' (*cyu-* 'stir') and in *rā-tna* n. 'gift' (*rā-* 'give').

-tnu : agent.

151. This suffix, which is always accented, forms more than a dozen adjectives and a few substantives. It is added to the root either directly or more commonly with the connecting vowel *-a-* (which probably belongs to the present stem) or *-i-* (which is almost exclusively used with causative stems).

1. Attached directly to the root: *kr-tnū* 'active', *dar-tnū* m. 'breaker', *ha-tnū* 'deadly' (*√han*); with reduplication: *jiga-tnū* 'hastening' (*gam-* 'go'), *jigha-tnū* 'harming' (*han-* 'strike').

2. With connecting *-a-*: *kav-a-tnū*⁸ 'miserly', *pīya-tnū* 'reviling' (*pīya-ti*

¹ The infinitives always accent the root (105).
² Only in the compounds *tri-dhātū* 'three-fold' and *saptā-dhātū* 'sevenfold'.

³ Without Guṇa.

⁴ With lengthened *a*.

⁵ *kīte-as* 'times' is probably an acc. pl. of a stem *kṛ-tu* 'making'. Cp. BB. 25, 294.

⁶ The derivation of this word is uncertain and its meaning is obscure. [Cp. Mahābhāṣya Vol. I, p. 363, l. 25.]

⁷ From the desiderative stem of *sā-* 'obtain'.

⁸ Cp. WHITNEY, Roots, under *kū-* 'design'.

'abuses'), *meh-a-tñl-*, N. of a river (*mēha-ti*), *ā-ruj-a-tñl-* 'breaking' (*ruj-ti* 'breaks').

3. With connecting *-i-*: *drav-i-tñl-* 'running' (*dru-* 'run'); from causative stems: *tanay-i-tñl-* 'thundering', *drāvay-i-tñl-* 'hasting' (*dru-* 'run'), *poṣay-i-tñl-* 'causing to thrive' (*√pus-*), *māday-i-tñl-* 'intoxicating' (*√mad-*), *sūday-i-tñl-* 'causing sweetness to flow' (*√sūd-*), *stanay-i-tñl-* m. 'thunder' (*√stan-*); *an-āmay-i-tñl-* 'not making ill', 'curative' (*√am-*).

-tra : agent.

152. This suffix was doubtless originally formed by a secondary *-a* added to *-tr* (the weak form of *tar-*). But having early attained an independent character, it came to be largely employed as a primary suffix. It is used to form some half dozen adjectives¹ and about 60 substantives, the latter being neuters except about a dozen (partly masc. and partly fem.)². The substantives generally express the means or instrument by which the action of the verb is performed, sometimes the place where it is performed. The root is generally accented and has Guṇa; but it is sometimes unaccented and has a weak vowel. The suffix is generally added directly to the root, but in about a dozen instances with a connecting vowel.

1. Attached directly to the root: adjectives: *jāi-tra*³ 'victorious', *śvā-trā*⁴ 'invigorating'; with reduplication: *johā-tra* 'calling aloud' (*√hū-*).

m. *a-trā*⁵ 'eater', *hṣ-tra*⁶ 'buffalo', *dāms-tra* 'tusk' (*dāms-* 'bite'), *mān-tra* 'prayer'; with weak (etymologically doubtful) root: *pu-trā* 'son', *mī-trā*⁷ 'friend', *ṛṣ-tra*⁸ 'foe'.

f. *āṣ-tra* 'goad' (*as-* 'reach'), *nāṣ-tra* (AV. VS.) 'destroyer' (*√naś-*), *mā-tra* 'measure', *hó-tra* 'sacrifice'.

n. With accent on the root: *ā-tra*⁹ 'food', *kār-tra* (AV.) 'spell', *ksī-tra* 'field', *ksṇó-tra* 'whetstone', *gā-tra* 'limb', *jñā-tra* (VS.) 'intellectual faculty', *tān-tra* 'warp', *dā-tra*¹⁰ 'gift', *dā-tra* 'knife', *dhār-tra* 'support' (VS. TS.), *pāt-tra* (VS.)¹¹ 'wing', *pā-tra* 'cup', (*pā-* 'drink'), *pēs-tra* (AV.) 'bone', *mū-tra* (AV.) 'urine', *māhtra* (AV.) 'penis', *yók-tra* 'rope', *vār-tra* (AV.) 'dam', *vās-tra* 'garment', *śrō-tra* 'ear', *sū-tra* (AV.) 'thread' (*sū-* 'sew').

With accent on the suffix and often with an abstract meaning: *as-trā* (AV.) 'missile', *ṣa-trā*¹² 'dominion', *dā-trā* 'share', *deṣ-trā* 'indication' (*√dis-*), *ne-trā* (AV.) 'guidance', *rāṣ-trā* 'dominion', *śas-trā* (VS.) 'invocation', *śās-trā* 'command', *sat-trā* 'sacrificial session', *sto-trā* 'praise', *sthā-trā* 'station', *ho-trā* 'sacrifice'.

2. With connecting vowel *-a-*: *ām-a-tra* 'violent', *yāj-a-tra* 'adorable'; *kynt-ā-tra* 'shred', *gāy-a-trā* 'song', *pāt-a-tra* 'wing', *vādh-a-tra* 'deadly weapon', f. *var-a-trā* 'strap'; with *-i-*: *khan-i-tra* 'shovel', *car-i-tra* 'foot', *jan-i-tra* 'birth-place', *pav-i-tra* 'sieve', *bhar-i-tra* 'arm', *bhav-i-tra* 'world', *san-i-tra* 'gift'; with *-u-*: *tír-u-tra*¹³ 'overcoming'.

¹ These have mostly masc. forms, some neuter; the only one which has fem. forms is *yājatra* 'deserving adoration'.

² Six or seven masculines and five feminines.

³ With exceptional Vṛddhi of the radical syllable.

⁴ From *śvā-* = *śū-* 'swell'.

⁵ For *at-trā* from *ad-* 'eat'. Cp. p. 125, note ¹.

⁶ With weak root though accented.

⁷ Occurs in the RV. as a n. when it means 'friendship'.

⁸ Occurs also as a n. in the RV. when plural.

⁹ For *āt-tra* from *ad-* 'eat'.

¹⁰ Probably for *dāt-tra* from the present-stem of *dā-* 'give'.

¹¹ Only at the end of a compound in the RV.

¹² *nakṣatra* 'asterism' is perhaps a compound. Cp. above 81, 2 a.

¹³ Cp. *tar-u-tár-* 'victor'.

-tri : agent.

153. This very rare suffix occurs in only three or four derivatives: *ā-tri*¹ 'devouring', *śā-tri*-m., N. of a man²; with connecting *-a* in *arc-ā-tri* 'roaring'; also in the f. form with *ī* in *rā-trī*³ 'night'.

-tru : agent.

154. This suffix is found only in *śātru* 'enemy' for **śāt-tru*-, perhaps from *śad*- 'prevail'.

-tva : agent.

155. This suffix probably arose by the addition of the secondary suffix *-a* to action nouns in *-tu*, which turned them into adjectives used in a gerundive sense. It occurs in about a dozen such derivatives which are almost restricted to the RV.; e. g. *kār-tva*- 'to be made'⁴.

-tha : action.

156. This suffix is almost exclusively used to form action nouns (some of which have acquired a concrete meaning) in all genders⁵. The root generally appears in a weak form, as the suffix is mostly accented. The suffix is attached to the root either directly or more commonly with a connecting vowel⁶.

1. Attached directly to the root: m. *ār-tha*⁷ 'goal', *gā-thā* 'song', *pak-thā*, N. of a man, *bhṛ-thā* 'offering', *rā-tha*⁸ 'car', *hā-tha*⁹ 'slaughter'; in composition with prepositions: *sam-i-thā* 'conflict', *nir-y-thā* 'destruction', *saṃ-ga-thā* 'union' (*gam*- 'go'), *ud-gī-thā*¹⁰ (AV.) 'singing of chants'; in composition with nouns: *putra-ky-thā* 'procreation of sons', *dirgha-yā-thā* 'long course', *go-pī-thā*¹¹ 'protection' (*pā*- 'protect') and 'draught' (*pā*- 'drink') of milk'.—f. *kāṣ-thā* 'course', *gā-thā* 'song', *nī-thā* 'trick'.—n. *uk-thā* 'saying' (√*vac*-), *tīr-thā* 'ford' (*tī*- 'cross'), *nī-thā* 'song', *yū-thā*¹² 'herd', *rik-thā* 'inheritance'¹³.

2. With connecting vowel *-ā*: *ay-ā-tha*-n. 'foot', *uc-ā-tha*-n. 'praise' (√*vac*-), *car-ā-tha*-n. 'mobility', *tveṣ-ā-tha*-m. 'fury', *proth-ā-tha*-n. 'snorting', *yaj-ā-tha*¹⁴ 'worship', *rav-ā-tha*-m. 'roar', *vakṣ-ā-tha*-m. 'growth', *vid-ā-tha*¹⁵ n. 'assembly', *śap-ā-tha*-m. 'curse', *śay-ā-tha*-n. 'lair', *śvas-ā-tha*-m. 'snorting', *sac-ā-tha*-m. 'aid', *stan-ā-tha*-m. 'thunder', *stav-ā-tha*-m. 'praise', *sraṇ-ā-tha*-m. or n. 'flow'; with prefix: *ā-vas-a-thā* (AV.) 'abode', *pra-vas-a-thā*-n. 'absence', *prāṇ-ā-tha*¹⁶ (VS.) 'respiration'.

a. With *-ū*: *jār-ū-tha*-, m. a kind of demon ('wearing out', *jṛ*-), *vār-ū-tha*-n. 'protection'; with *-u*: *mat-ū-tha*¹⁷ m. 'sage'.

¹ For *āt-tri*- from *ad*- 'eat'. Cp. p. 124, note 5.

² For *śāt-tri*- from *śat*- 'cut in pieces'.

³ In AV. *rā-tri*- also.

⁴ See below, Future Passive Participles, 581.

⁵ The fem. form of the suffix is *-thā*.

⁶ This vowel for the most part belongs in reality to a present stem.

⁷ With accented strong root.

⁸ The root is uncertain.

⁹ With root accented though weakened by loss of nasal (*han*- 'slay').

¹⁰ With *gā*- 'sing' weakened to *gī*-.

¹¹ Both *pā*- 'protect' and *pā*- 'drink' are weakened to *pī*-. Cp. above 27.

¹² The root in this word is uncertain.

¹³ *prsthā*- 'back' probably contains the root *sthā*- 'stand', = **pra-sthā*- 'prominent'.

¹⁴ The gender is uncertain, as the word occurs in the dat. sing. only.

¹⁵ Probably from *vidh*- 'worship': OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 54, 608—611; cp. above p. 23, note 10.

¹⁶ When there is a prefix the accent is thrown on the suffix; but *prāṇ*- (= *pra-an*-) is treated like a root.

¹⁷ Perhaps from *man*- with double suffix (*-tu*, *-tha*).

-thi : agent.

157. As far as can be judged from the very few examples occurring, this suffix was used to form agent nouns. It is attached with or without a connecting vowel. The derivation of all the words which seem to be formed with this suffix is doubtful: *át-i-thi-* m. 'guest' (if from *at-* 'wander'); *ud-ár-a-thi-* adj. 'rising'; *me-thi-* (AV.) m. 'pillar' (*mi-* 'fix'). The neuters *ásthi-* (AV. VS., beside *asth-án-*) 'bone' and *sákthi-* (beside *sakth-án-*) may be formed with the suffix *-i*.

-thu : action.

158. This very rare suffix, which is not found in the RV., appears only with the connecting vowel *-a-* (which in reality belongs to a present stem), forming masculine action nouns: *ef-á-thu-* (AV.) 'trembling', *vep-á-thu-* 'quivering', *stan-á-thu-* (AV.) 'roar'.

-na : action and agent.

159. This suffix is in the first place used, like *-ta*, to form past passive participles¹; e. g. *bhin-ná-* from *bhid-* 'split'; but, unlike *-ta*, it is never added to the root with a connecting vowel or to a secondary conjugation stem.

It is further employed to form a number of adjectives and masculine substantives, mostly accented on the suffix. It also forms a few feminine (*-nā*) and neuter substantives, all but one of the latter being accented on the root. The substantives have partly an abstract and partly a concrete meaning. A medial vowel never takes Guṇa, but a final vowel nearly always does.

1. The adjectives (f. *-ā*) are: *ás-ná-* 'voracious', *us-ná-* 'hot', *ū-ná-* 'deficient', *r-ná-* 'guilty', *kṛṣ-ná-* 'black', *kṣo-ná-* 'immovable' (?), *nag-ná-* 'naked', *bradh-ná-* 'pale red', *śb-ṇa-* 'red', *śro-ná-* and *ślo-ná-* (AV.) 'lame', *ślaks-ná-* (AV.) 'slippery', *śvit-na-* 'white', *syu-ná-* 'agreeable'; compounded: *an-āmr-ná-* 'invincible', *á-rnikṣ-ṇa-* (AV.) 'tender', *sadā-pr-ná-* 'always munificent'.

2. Substantives are: m. *ghṛ-ná-* 'heat', *budh-ná-* 'bottom', *bhrū-ná-* 'embryo', *yaj-ná-* 'sacrifice', *śye-ná-* 'eagle', *ste-ná-* 'thief'; *sam-práś-ná-* 'question'; accented on root: *ás-na-* 'stone', *kár-ṇa-* 'ear', *vár-ṇa-* 'colour', *śís-ṇa-*, N. of a demon, *sváp-na-* 'sleep'. — n. *tí-ṇa-* 'grass', *dhd-na-*² 'booty', *par-ná-* 'wing', *vas-ná-* 'price', *śís-na-* 'penis', *śu-ná-* 'welfare', *śū-na-* 'want', *śi-na-* 'property'. — f. *tíṣ-ṇā-* 'thirst', *dhd-ṇā-* 'milk cow', *śé-ṇā-* 'missile', *sthū-ṇā-* 'post'.

-nas : action.

160. This suffix, which has the same meaning as *-as* and *-tus*, is used in forming a few action nouns which have mostly acquired a concrete sense. These are *áp-nas-* n. 'possession', *ár-nas-* n. 'flood', *bhar-nas-*³ 'bearing' (?), *rík-nas-* n. 'property left by bequest' (*ric-* 'leave'). With connecting vowel: *dráv-i-nas-* n. 'movable property' (*dru-* 'run'), *pár-i-nas-* m. 'abundance' (*pṛ-* 'fill'). It also appears in the agent noun *dām-ū-nas-* adj. 'domestic', m. 'friend of the house' (*dam-*).

-ni : action and agent.

161. This not very frequent suffix is employed to form m. and f. action nouns as well as agent nouns (adjectives and substantives). Either the radical vowel or the suffix may be accented; and the root in several instances takes Guṇa. The feminines have rarely an abstract sense, having generally acquired a concrete meaning.

¹ For a list of these see below 576.

² Probably from *dhd-* 'place'.

³ In *sahásra-bharyas-* 'thousandfold'.

1. The feminines are: *jūr-ni-* 'heat', *jyā-ni-*¹ (AV.) 'injury', *me-ni-* 'missile', *śrī-ni-* 'line', *śrī-ni-* 'hip', *śī-ni-* and *sy-ni-* 'sickle'; masculines are: *ghṛ-ni-*² 'heat', *yó-ni-* 'receptacle'.

2. Agent nouns, adjectives and m. substantives, are: *ag-ni-* m. 'fire', *jūr-ni-* 'singeing', *tūr-ni-* 'speeding', *dhar-ni-* m. 'supporter', *pś-ni-* 'speckled', *pre-ni-* 'loving' (√ *pṛt*-), *bhār-ni-* 'excited', *vāh-ni-* m. 'draught animal', *vṛṣ-ni-* and *vṛṣ-ni-* 'virile', m. 'ram'.

a. The suffix occurs with a connecting *-u-* in *hrād-ī-ni-* f.(?) 'hail'³.

-nu : action and agent.

162. With this suffix is formed a small number of action and agent nouns of all genders, but mostly masculine. The action nouns often have a concrete meaning. As the suffix is almost invariably accented, the radical vowel, with one exception, never shows Guṇa. This suffix, like *-tu*, is sometimes preceded by *-a* (which really belongs to present stems).

1. The substantives occurring are: *kṣep-ni-* m. 'jerk' (x. 51⁶), *dā-nu-*⁴ m. f. 'demon', f. 'dew', n. 'drop', *dhe-ni-* f. 'cow', *bhā-ni-* m. 'light', *vag-ni-* m. 'sound', *viś-nu-*⁵ m., N. of a god, *sū-ni-* m. 'son', *sthā-ni-*⁶ m. 'pillar'; with connecting *-a-*: *krand-a-ni-* m. 'roaring', *kṣip-a-ni-* m. 'missile', *nad-a-ni-* m. 'roaring', *nabh-a-ni-*⁷ m. 'fountain'⁸.

2. Adjectives are: *grdh-ni-* 'hasty', *dhrṣ-ni-* 'bold'; with connecting *-a-*: the compound *vi-bhañj-a-ni-* 'breaking to pieces'.

-pa : concrete substantives.

163. A few words are formed with this suffix, but the origin of all of them is more or less obscure⁹. These are: *pīś-pa-* n. 'flower', *stu-pā-*¹⁰ (VS.) m. 'tuft', *stū-pa-*¹⁰ m. 'top-knot'; perhaps also *tāl-pa-* m. 'couch', *sās-pa-* (VS.) n. 'blade of grass', *śil-pa* (VS.) n. 'ornament', *śūr-pa-* (AV.) 'winnowing basket'; possibly *apū-pā-* m. 'cake', *ūla-pa-* m. 'shrub', *kīṇa-pa-* (AV.) n. 'corpse'¹¹.

-ma : action and agent.

164. This suffix forms a considerable number of action nouns (almost exclusively masculine) as well as agent nouns, both adjectives and substantives. Only a single neuter and one or two feminine substantives occur. The suffix is accented more than twice as often as the root. The vowel *r* always takes Guṇa in the radical syllable; on the other hand, initial or medial *i* and *u* never take Guṇa; when final they only do so if the root is accented. Several of these derivatives in *-ma* appear beside others in *-man*; some at least are transfers from the latter; thus *dhār-man-* 'ordinance' alone is found in the RV., while *dhār-ma-* appears beside it in the later Saṃhitās.

1. Accented on the suffix: adjectives: e.g. *jih-mā-* 'oblique', *tig-mā-* 'sharp', *das-mā-* 'wondrous', *bhī-mā-* 'terrible', *śag-mā-* 'mighty'; with reduplication,

¹ In *sarva-jyāni-* (AV.) 'complete loss of property'.

² Beside *ghṛ-nā-* m. and *ghṛ-nā-* f.

³ This suffix is in several words preceded by *-a-*, much in the same way as *-ti*; but as *-ani* has assumed a more independent character it is treated above (122) as a separate suffix.

⁴ With irregular accent.

⁵ Perhaps originally an adjective **viś-ni-*, with shift of accent on becoming a Proper Name. But cp. p. 85, note 1.

⁶ The origin of the cerebral *ṇ* here is obscure.

⁷ Also *nabh-anī-* f.

⁸ The Proper Name *kṛś-ānu-* is perhaps similarly formed, but with long *-ā-*.

⁹ Cp. LINDNER p. 69; LIDEN, IF. 18, 496.

¹⁰ Probably from a root *stu-* 'drip'; see WHITNEY, Roots.

¹¹ *yūṣ-pa-* m. 'sacrificial post' is probably derived from *yup-* 'obstruct'.

tātu-mā- 'powerful'; substantives: *m. aj-mā*- 'course', *idh-mā*- 'fuel', *ghar-mā*- 'heat', *dar-mā*- 'breaker', *dhū-mā*- 'smoke', *nar-mā*- (VS.) 'jest', *ruk-mā*- 'ornament', *hi-mā*- 'cold'.

2. Accented on the root: substantives: *m. e. g. ū-ma*- 'friend' (*av*- 'favour'), *ē-ma*- (VS.) 'course', *dhār-ma*- (AV. VS. TS.) 'ordinance', *bhā-ma*- 'brightness', *sār-ma*- 'flow', *sō-ma*- 'Soma' (*√su*-), *stō-ma*- 'praise' (*√stu*-), *hō-ma*- 'offering'; *f. hi-mā*- 'winter'; *n. bī-ma*- 'chip'.

a. The suffix seems to be added once with connecting *-a*- (which really belongs to a present stem) in the *f. sar ā-mā*- 'the fleet one', *N. of a goddess*.

-man : action and agent.

165. This suffix forms a large number of derivatives¹, which are almost exclusively action nouns. The great majority of these are neuters accented on the root, but there are also a good many masculines accented on the suffix. Besides these occur a few agent nouns, mostly accented on the suffix, both adjectives and masculine substantives, all of them, except *brah-mān*- 'priest', of rare occurrence. The same word in several instances varies in meaning according to the accent and gender²; e. g. *dhār-man*- *n.* ordinance', *m. dhar-mān*- 'ordainer'. The root in these derivatives usually takes *Guna*; in a few instances it has *Vṛddhi* or lengthens *a*; sometimes it is weak. The suffix is often added with the connecting vowels *-i*- or *-ī*-. The derivatives are occasionally compounded with prepositions, which are then nearly always accented.

1. Examples of action nouns are: *n. ād-man*- 'food', *ē-man*- 'course', *kār-man*- 'action', *kārṣ-man*- 'goal', *jān-man*- 'birth', *trā-man*- 'protection', *dā-man*- 'gift' (*dā*- 'give') and 'bond' (*dā*- 'tie'), *nā-man*- 'name', *pāt-man*- 'flight', *brāh-man*- 'devotion', *bhār-man*- 'table', *bhūt-man*- 'world', *vāk-man*- 'invocation', *vārt-man*- 'course', *vās-man*- 'dwelling', *sāk-man*- 'power', *sās-man*- 'praise', *sāk-man*- 'power', *hī-man*- 'sacrifice' (*√hu*-) and 'invocation' (*√hū*-); with connecting *-i*-: *jān-i-man*- 'birth', *vār-i-man*- 'expanse' (beside *var-i-mān*- *m.*); with connecting *-ī*-: *dār-ī-man*- 'destruction', *dhār-ī-man*- 'ordinance', *pār-ī-man*-³ 'abundance', *bhār-ī-man*- 'maintenance', *vār-ī-man*- 'expanse', *sūr-ī-man*- 'course', *siv-ī-man*- 'impulse'⁴, *hiv-ī-man*- 'invocation'. — *m. ās-mān*- (AV. VS.) 'heat', *o-mān*- 'favour', *je-mān*- (VS. TS.) 'superiority', *drāgh-mān*- (VS.) 'length' (beside *drāgh-i-mān*-), *pāp-mān*- (AV.) 'wickedness', *bhū-mān*- 'abundance', *vid-mān*- 'knowledge', *svād-mān*- 'sweetness', *he-mān*- 'impulse'; with connecting *-i*-: *jar-i-mān*- 'old age', *prath-i-mān*- 'breath', *mah-i-mān*- 'greatness', *var-i-mān*, *varṣ-i-mān*- (VS.) 'height' (beside *vārṣ-man*- and *varṣ-mān*-), *har-i-mān*- 'yellowness'.

2. Agent nouns accented on the suffix are: *dar-mān*- 'breaker', *dā-mān*- 'giver', *dhar-mān*- 'supporter', *brah-mān*- 'one who prays', *bhuj-mān*- 'fertile', *vad-mān*- 'speaker', *sad-mān*- 'sitter', *so-mān*- 'Somapresser'; accented on the root: *ās-man*- 'stone', *ē-man*- 'friend', *jē-man*- 'superior', *bhās-man*- 'chewing'⁵.

a. The following words are according to difference of accent neuter action nouns or masculine agent nouns *dā-man*- 'gift' and *dā-mān*- 'giver'; *dhār-man*- 'ordinance' and *dhar-mān*- 'ordainer'; *brāh-man*- 'worship' and *brah-mān*- 'priest'; *sād-man*- 'seat' and *sad-mān*- 'sitter'.

¹ For lists of these see GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch 1730 f.; LINDNER p. 91—93.

² Somewhat in the same way as the derivatives in *-as* (126).

³ Also with anomalous *-e*-: *pār-e-man*- (SV1.).

⁴ Also *stār-ī-man*- 'spreading' used in the loc. as an infinitive.

⁵ In a compound also *svādu-kṣād-man*- 'having sweet food'.

b. In a few words difference of gender and accent is not accompanied by difference of meaning: *vārs-man-* n. and *varṣ-mān-* m. both mean 'height'; *svād-man-* n. and *svā-mān-* m. 'sweetness'; *vār-i-man-* n. and *var-i-mān-* m. 'expanse'.

c. In a few instances difference of accent is accompanied by a reversal of the usual distinction of meaning: *jē-man-* 'victorious', *jē-mān-* (VS. TS.) 'superiority'; *ō-man-* m. 'friend', *o-mān-* m. 'favour'.

d. A few derivatives in *-man* both action and agent nouns are compounded with prepositions: *vi-gā-man-* n. 'step', *prā-bhar-man-* n. 'presentation', *prā-yā-man-* n. 'departure', *vi-dhar-man-* m. 'maintainer', *vi-pat-man-*¹ 'flying through', *ānu-vart-man-* (AV.) 'following after', *vi-sar-mān-*² m. 'flowing asunder'.

-māna : agent.

r66. This suffix is used to form the present³, future, and aorist middle participle and the present passive participle⁴. It is always preceded by *a* except in the anomalous perfect participle *sasṛ-mānā-* (= *sasṛ-ānā-*) 'speeding'.

-mi and *-mī* : action and agent.

r67. The suffix *-mi* is used to form a few adjectives and masculine substantives; it also forms (generally in the form of *-mī*) a few feminine substantives with a concrete meaning: *ūr-mī-* m. 'wave' (*√ur-*), *-kūr-mi-* 'action' in *tuvi-kūr-mī-* 'working mightily', *jā-mī-* 'related', 'kinsman'; *bhū-mi-* and *bhū-mī-* f. 'earth', *lakṣ-mī-* f. 'sign', *sūr-mī-* f. 'tube'; probably also *raś-mi-* m. 'ray' and the adj. *krudh-mī-*⁵ (RV¹) 'irascible'.

-min : agent.

r68. A few adjectives have the appearance of being formed with a suffix *-min*. They are *iṣ-min-* 'impetuous', *bhā-min-* 'shining', *śus-min-* 'roaring'. They may, however, be explained as secondary derivatives made with the suffix *-in*, like *dhūm-in-* from *dhūmā-* 'smoke'.

-ya : gerundive.

r69. This suffix is used to form a large number of future participles passive⁶. It probably has a primary character in other derivatives besides these; but it is so difficult to distinguish them from those which are secondary, that it is preferable to treat all but gerundives under secondary *-ya* (228).

-yu : action and agent.

170. This suffix forms a few action and agent nouns. The root remains unchanged, while the accent varies. Action nouns are: *man-yū-* m. 'anger', *mṛt-yū-* m. 'death'. Agent nouns are: *dās-yu-* m. 'enemy', *druh-yū-* N. of a man ('hostile'), *śim-yu-* 'enemy'; *dhuf-yū-* both adj. 'wealthy' and m. as N. of a man. Adjectives only are: *yāj-yu-* 'pious', *śundh-yū-* 'pure', *sāh-yu-* 'strong'.

-ra : agent.

171. A large number of derivatives are formed with this suffix⁷, which is usually accented, the root consequently almost always appearing with a weak vowel. These words are mostly adjectives, but a few substantives occur in all genders. The suffix is frequently added with the connecting vowels *-a-*, *-i-*, *-ī-*, *-u-*.

¹ Or as a Bahuvrihi 'having the flight of a bird' (*vi-*).

² With unusual accent on the suffix instead of on the preposition.

³ In the *a*-conjugation.

⁴ See below under those tenses, 427, 435, 442, 447; 512, 538; and cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum 226; LINDNER 72.

Indo-aryische Philologie, I. 4.

⁵ The only form occurring *krudhmī*, N. pl. n. might, however, come from *krudh-min-*.

⁶ See below, Future participles passive, 578; cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum 230; LINDNER 76, p. 96—99.

⁷ See LINDNER 78, p. 100—102; WHITNEY 1188.

1. Of derivatives accented on the suffix there are more than 60 adjectives; e. g. *ak-rá* 'swift', *ug-rá* 'mighty', *cit-rá* 'bright', *tu-rá* 'strong', *mū-rá* 'stupid', *śak-rá* 'mighty', *śuk-rá* 'bright', *hims-rá* 'injurious', Substantives are: m. *us-rá* 'bull', *ksu-rá* 'razor', *mrđh-rá* 'foe', *rud-rá*, N. of a god, *vam-rá* 'ant', *vī-rá* 'man', *śūd-rá* 'man of the fourth caste'; n. *abh-rá* 'cloud', *kṛcch-rá* 'distress', *krū-rá* (AV. VS.) 'wound', *kṣī-rá* 'milk', *khid-rá* 'weight', *rip-rá* 'defilement', *stī-rá* 'plough'; f. *hi-rā* (AV. VS.) 'vein'.

a. With connecting vowel -a-: *drav-a-rá* 'running', *pat-a-rá* 'flying', *ny-oc-a-rá* (AV.) 'suiting'¹; n. *gambh-a-rá* 'depth', *tas-a-rá* 'shuttle'²; with i: *aj-i-rá* 'swift', *iṣ-i-rá* 'lively', *dhuvas-i-rá* 'stirring up', *badh-i-rá* 'deaf', *mad-i-rá* 'pleasing', *rudh-i-rá* (AV.) 'red', *sphī-rá* 'fat'; m. *khad-i-rá*, a kind of tree; n. *sar-i-rá* (VS.) 'wave'; with ī: *gabh-ī-rá* and *gambh-ī-rá* 'deep'; with u: *amh-u-rá* 'narrow', *vith-u-rá* 'tottering'.

2. Of stems accented on the root the only adjectives are: *gṛdh-ra* 'greedy', *tūm-ra* 'stout', *dhē-ra* 'wise', *vīp-ra* 'inspired'; substantives are: m. *āj-ra* 'field', *Ind-ra*, N. of a god, *vāj-ra* 'thunderbolt', *vārdh-ra* (AV.) 'girth', *śū-ra* 'hero'; n. *āg-ra* 'point', *rāndh-ra* 'hollow', *śvābh-ra* 'pit'; f. *dhā-rā* 'stream', *śīp-rā* 'jaw', *śī-rā* 'intoxicating liquor'.

a. With connecting vowel -i-: *sthāv-i-ra* 'firm'; m. *āṅg-i-ra*, N. of a seer, *ās-i-ra* 'missile'; with -ī-: *śāv-ī-ra* 'mighty'; n. *śār-ī-ra* 'body'; with -u-: m. *ās-u-ra* 'spirit', *bāk-u-ra* 'trumpet'.

a. A few of these derivatives are compounded with prepositions: *nī-ci-rá* 'attentive', *nī-mrg-ra* 'attached'; m. *ā-kha-rá* 'lair', *sam-ud-rá* 'sea'.

-ri : agent.

172. This suffix forms adjectives as well as m. and f. substantives. It is sometimes added with connecting -u-. The root is more frequently accented than the suffix.

1. Adjectives are: *bhū-ri* 'abundant', *vādhi-ri* 'emasculated', *subh-ri* 'beautiful'; with connecting -u-: *jās-u-ri* 'exhausted', *dās-u-ri* 'pious', *sāh-u-ri* 'mighty'.

2. Substantives are: m. *āṅgh-ri* (VS.) 'foot', *jī-ri* 'flowing water', *sū-ri* 'patron'; f. *ābh-ri* (AV. VS.) 'hoe', *ās-ri* 'edge', *ūs-ri* 'dawn', *vānk-ri* 'rib'; with connecting -u-: *āṅg-ū-ri* 'finger'; -rī occurs in *tand-rī* (AV.) 'weariness'.

-ru : agent.

173. This rare suffix forms adjectives and a very few neuter substantives. It is added either directly to the root or with a preceding -a-, -ā-, or -e-. Either the root or the suffix may be accented.

1. Adjectives are: *cā-ru* 'dear', *dhā-rū* (AV.) 'sucking', *pē-ru* 'causing to swell' (*pē-*), *bhī-rū* 'timid'; *ar-ā-ru* 'hostile', *pat-ā-ru* 'flying'; *jāb-ā-ru*³ (RV¹) 'speeding', *piy-ā-ru* 'reviling', *vand-ā-ru* 'praising', *śar-ā-ru* 'injurious'; *mad-e-rū* 'intoxicating', *san-ē-ru*⁴ 'obtaining'.

2. Substantives are: n. *ās-ru* 'tear', *śmās-ru* 'beard'.

-la : agent.

174. This rare suffix, a later form of -ra, is equivalent in sense and use to the latter, sometimes also interchanging with it. It forms adjectives and a

¹ *bhārvā-* (of doubtful meaning) is probably a secondary formation, and *vāsarā-* 'matutinal' seems to be derived from *vasar-* 'morning'.

² Also *-ṛkṣarā-* 'thorn' m. in *an-ṛkṣarā-* 'thornless'.

³ Perhaps for **jāv-ā-ru-* from *jū-* 'speed'.

⁴ The suffix is secondary in *mitrē-ru-* 'ally'.

few masculine and neuter substantives. The radical syllable is accented in two or three substantives only. The suffix is added either directly to the root or with the connecting vowels *-a-*, *-i-*, *-u-*.

Derivatives thus formed are: *-pā-lā-* (VS.) m. 'guardian' in *aja-pālā-* (VS.) 'goat-herd', *suk-lā-* (AV.) n. 'white colour' (beside *suk-rā-* 'white'), *sthū-lā-* (AV.) 'thick' (beside *sthū-rā-*); with connecting *-a-*: *īp-d-lā-* 'joyous', *bhṛm-a-lā-* (AV.) 'torpid', *mūs-a-lā-* (AV.) m. 'pestle', *śab-ā-lā-* 'mottled', *śām-a-lā-* (AV.) n. 'defilement'; with *-i-*: *ān-i-lā-* m. 'wind', *trā-i-lā-* 'porous', *sal-i-lā-* 'surging' (beside *sar-i-rā-* VS. 'flood'); with *-u-*: *taṇḍ-u-lā-* (AV.) m. 'grain', *śak-u-lā-* (AV. VS.) m., a kind of fish.

-li and *-lu* : agent.

175. The suffix *-li* occurs only once as the equivalent of *-ri* in *aṅg-ū-li-* (VS.¹) f. 'finger' (beside *aṅg-ū-ri-*). Similarly *-lu* occurs only once as the equivalent of *-ru* in *patayā-lī-* (AV.²) 'flying', formed from the conjugation stem *patāya-* (from *pat-* 'fly').

-va : agent.

176. This suffix forms about 20 adjectives and seven or eight substantives, mostly masculines with a concrete meaning. With one or two exceptions it is added directly to the root. The accent is rather oftener on the suffix than on the radical syllable. The root hardly ever appears in a strengthened form.

1. Accented on the suffix are the adjectives: *ūrdh-vā-* 'upright', *rk-vā-* 'praising', *ṛṣ-vā-* 'lofty', *tak-vā-* 'swift', *dhru-vā-* 'fixed', *pak-vā-* 'ripe', *mal-vā-* (AV.) 'foolish', *yah-vā-* 'swift', *raṇ-vā-* 'joyful', *viś-vā-*³ 'all', *śik-vā-* (AV.) 'deft', *śyā-vā-* 'dark brown', *hras-vā-* (VS.) 'short'; the substantives: m. *ūr-vā-* 'stall', *śar-vā-* (AV. VS.), N. of a god, *sru-vā-* 'ladle'; f. *pruṣ-vā-* (AV.) 'rime'; *vidh-ā-vā-*² 'widow'.

2. Accented on the root are: *fbh-va-* 'skilful', *é-va-* 'quick', m. 'course', *pī-va-* 'fat', *pūr-va-* 'preceding', *vāk-va-* 'twisting', *viś-va-* 'all', *sār-va-* 'all'; m. *ās-va-* 'horse', *khāl-va-* (AV. VS.), a kind of grain, *srāk-va-* 'corner of the mouth'; f. *ām-i-vā-* 'disease'³.

a. A few such derivatives occur only compounded with prefixes: *ā-khar-va-* 'not shortened', *āi-kukā-* (VS.) 'too bald', *vi-bhā-va-* 'brilliant'.

-van : agent.

177. This suffix is used almost exclusively to form agent nouns⁴, both adjectives and substantives, which are mostly masculine, but sometimes neuter. Though the root is regularly accented⁵, it almost invariably appears in its unstrengthened form. If it ends in a short vowel *-t-* is added before the suffix. The feminine of these words is regularly formed with *-varī* (179 a).

Examples of adjectives are: *fk-van-* 'praising', *kf-t-van-* 'active', *drūh-van-* 'injurious', *pāt-van-* 'flying', *pī-van-* 'fat', *yāj-van-* 'sacrificing', *rā-van-* (VS.)

¹ Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 126.

² Cp. ROTH, KZ. 19, 223; BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 126.

³ Also n. *ūlva-* 'caul' if this stands for **ūlva-* from *vr-* 'cover'.

⁴ The only action nouns are the few which in the active are employed as infinitives; cp. WHITNEY 1169 e.

⁵ The only exceptions are two words formed with the connecting vowel *-i-*, *mūs-i-vān-* 'robber', *san-i-t-van-* 'bestower', and two others from the reduplicated root, *rārā-van-* 'liberal', *cikī-t-vān-* 'wise'.

'bestowing', *śák-van-* (VS.) 'able', *śi-t-van-* 'pressing Soma'; substantives: m. *ádḥ-van-* 'road', *dr-van-* 'steed', *grá-van-* 'stone'; n. *tīg-van-* 'ford', *dhán-van-* 'bow' and 'desert', *pár-van-* 'joint', *sná-van-*¹ (AV. VS.) 'sinew'.

a. Several derivatives with *-van* are compounded with prepositions; thus *ati-śkád-van-* (VS.) 'transgressing', *upa-hás-van-* 'mocking', *vi-vás-van-* 'shining forth', *vi-mṛ-g-van-* (AV.) 'cleansing', *saṁ-bhṛ-t-van-* (AV.) 'accumulating'².

-vana, -vanī, -vanu : agent.

178. These rare suffixes are doubtless secondary forms of *-van*. They are all three accented: *-vana* and *-vanu* on the final, *-vanī* on the first syllable. With *-vana* are formed: *vag-vaná-* 'talkative', *sat-vaná-*, m. 'warrior' (beside *sát-van-*), and from the reduplicated root *śusuk-vaná-* 'shining' (*√śuc*). The suffix *-vanī* seems to be preferred for derivatives from the reduplicated root; thus besides *tur-vāni-* 'overcoming', *bhur-vāni-* 'restless', occur *jujur-vāni-* 'praising', *tutur-vāni-* 'desiring to gain', *dadhr̥-vāni-* 'daring', *śusuk-vāni-* 'shining' (*√śuc*); the obscure word *arharisvāni-* 'exultant' seems to be derived with this suffix from an irregularly reduplicated form of *hr̥s-* 'be excited'. With *-vanu* is formed only *vag-vanī-* m. 'noise'.

-vara, -vala : action and agent.

179. This suffix makes a few masculine nouns (f. *-ī*) chiefly accented on the final syllable of the suffix, and a very few neuter substantives accented on the root. The masculines are: *i-t-vará-* 'going', *ī-t-vará-* (AV.) 'able', *phár-vara-* 'sower', *vyadh-vará-* (AV.) 'piercing'³ (*√vyadh*). Neuter substantives are: *kár-vara-* 'deed', *gáh-vara-* (AV.) 'thicket'. There are also two feminines which have the appearance of being derived with this suffix, *ur-vārā-* 'field' and *ur-vārī-* (AV.) 'filament', but their origin is uncertain. This suffix appears with *l* instead of *r* in *vid-valá-* 'cunning'.

a. The f. of this suffix, *-varī*, is used as the f. of adjectives in *-van*, with which it corresponds in accent and treatment of the radical syllable. There are about 25 of these feminines in the RV.; e. g. *yáj-varī-* 'pious', *śi-t-varī-* 'speeding'⁴.

-vas : action and agent.

180. This very rare suffix forms only the neuter substantive *vár-i-vas-* 'wide space' (beside *vári-man-*) and the adjectives *fbh-vas-* 'skilful' (beside *fbh-va-* and *fbh-van-*) and *śik-vas-* 'skilful' (beside *śik-van-*). The vocative *khid-vas* (VI. 22⁴) 'oppressing' is probably from a perfect participle *khid-vāms*⁵ formed without reduplication, not from a stem *khid-vas*.

-vāms : agent.

181. This suffix is used to form a large number of perfect participles active, being added with or without the connecting vowel *-i-*; e. g. *cakṛ-vāms-* 'having done', *tyi-vāms-* 'having gone'; sometimes without reduplication; e. g. *vid-vāms-* 'knowing'⁶. This suffix, which is always accented, is in the weak cases reduced to *-ús-* before vowels⁷.

¹ On two or three doubtful derivatives with this suffix see WHITNEY 1169 b.

² Several others are compounded with nouns; see LINDNER p. 107.

³ According to the Pada text *vi-adhvará-*.

⁴ See WHITNEY 1171 b; for such femi-

nines occurring in the AV. see his Index Verborum 375.

⁵ Cp. pw.; in BR. the stem is given as *khid-van-*. According to WHITNEY 1173 b, it is derived from *√khād*.

⁶ For the forms occurring see below 492.

⁷ See Declension, *-vāms* stems, 347.

-vi : agent.

182. This rare suffix is used to form some half dozen adjectives and one f. substantive, partly from the simple root (which is accented), partly from the reduplicated root (of which the reduplicative syllable is accented). The adjectives are: *ghṛṣ-vi*- 'lively', *jīr-vi*-¹ (AV.) 'aged', *dhrī-vi*- 'firm'; *jāgr-vi*- 'watchful', *dā-dhr-vi*- 'sustaining', *dī-dī-vi*- 'shining'²; f. *dūr-vi*-³ 'ladle'.

-vit : agent.

183. This suffix, which is perhaps an extension of *-vi* with *-t*, occurs in the single form *cikit-vit* (RV¹.) 'deliberately'.

-sa : agent.

184. This suffix is used to form about two dozen adjectives and substantives of all genders. It is added to the root with or without the connecting vowels *-ī-* or *-ū-*. The accent is sometimes on the suffix, sometimes on the root, which is usually unstrengthened. Many of these derivatives are of obscure origin.

The suffix is added direct in: *gīt-sa*- 'adroit', *dīk-sa*-⁴ (VS.), *prk-sā*- 'dappled' (*√prc-*); *ūt-sa*- m. 'fountain', *kīt-sa*-, N. of a man, *ghraṇ-sā*- m. 'sun's heat', *drap-sā*- m. 'drop', *ruk-sā*- m. 'tree'; *bhī-sā*-⁵ f. 'fear'.

a. The suffix is added with a connecting vowel (*-ī-*, *-ū-*) in: *tav-i-sā*-⁶ 'strong', *bhar-i-sā*- 'rapacious', *mah-i-sā*- 'mighty'⁷; *rj-i-sā*- 'rushing', *rāt-sa*-⁸ n. 'chasm', *pūr-i-sa*- n. 'rubbish'; *man-i-sā*- f. 'devotion'; *ar-u-sā*-⁹ 'red', *aś-iś-a*- 'voracious', *tār-u-sa*- m. 'overcomer', *pūr-u-sa*- m. 'man', *mān-u-sa*- 'man'; *āṅg-ū-sā*- m. 'hymn', *pīy-ū-sa*- n. 'biestings'.

-sani : agent.

185. This suffix is found only in the derivatives *car-sani*- 'active', f. pl. 'people', and *par-sāni*- 'carrying across' (*pr-* 'cross').

-sara : agent.

186. This suffix appears only in *mat-sarā*- 'intoxicating' (*√mad-*) and perhaps in *sap-sarā*- (I. 168⁹) 'inspiring awe' (?) if derived from *sap-* 'do homage'.

-sas : action.

187. This suffix seems to be contained in *vāp-sas*- (RV¹.) 'beauty' (?)¹⁰, and possibly in *tār-ū-sas*- (RV.) 'superior' (*√tṛ-*).

-sna : agent.

188. This suffix (perhaps syncopated for *-sana*) forms some half dozen adjectives and m. or n. substantives: *tīk-ṣṇā*- 'sharp' (*√tij*), *de-ṣṇā*-¹¹ n. 'gift'

¹ From *jīr*- 'age'; see WHITNEY's note on AV. XIV. 121. The RV. has *jiv-vi*-.

² The derivation of *pra-pharvī*- (RV¹.) is uncertain.

³ In VS. *dāvī*- in the vocative *darvī*.

⁴ In *ī-dīk-sa*- (VS.) 'looking like this' 'such' (from *dṛś*- 'see').

⁵ Only in the I. s. *bhīśā* which is a contraction for *bhīyasā*.

⁶ The f. is *tāvīśā*.

⁷ The f. is *māhīśā*.

⁸ The absence of cerebralization in the *s*, together with the *ḷ*, makes the origin of this word quite uncertain; it is most probably borrowed.

⁹ The f. is *aruśī*.

¹⁰ This is Sāyana's interpretation of the word.

¹¹ Generally to be read trisyllabically as *da-iṣṇā*.

(*dā-* 'give'), *ślak-ṣṇā-* (AV.) 'smooth'; with connecting *-a-*: *kar-ā-sna-* m. 'fore-arm', *māt-a-sna-*, n. 'lung', *vadh-a-ṣṇā-* n. 'deadly weapon'.

-snu : agent.

189. This suffix, which is always accented, forms adjectives, being added with or without a connecting vowel to the simple root, or more usually with connecting *-i-* to the causative stem.

1. From the simple root: *jī-ṣṇī-* 'victorious', *danī-ṣṇī-* (VS.) 'biting' (*√danī-*), *nī-ṣat-ṣṇī-* 'sitting down'; *vadh-a-ṣṇī-* 'murderous', *vṛdh-a-ṣṇī-* 'joyous'; *car-i-ṣṇī-* 'wandering', *d-maṣiṣṇu-*¹ (x. 94¹²) 'immovable' (*√mū-* = *mī-*).

2. From the causative stem: *tāpay-i-ṣṇī-* 'tormenting', *namay-i-ṣṇī-* 'bending', *patay-i-ṣṇī-* 'flying', *pāray-i-ṣṇī-* 'saving', *poṣay-i-ṣṇī-* (AV.) 'causing to thrive', *māday-i-ṣṇī-* 'intoxicating', *abhi-śocay-i-ṣṇu-* (AV.) 'causing torments'.

II. Secondary Nominal Derivation.

LINDNER, Altindische Nominalbildung p. 114—52. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar p. 454—80.

190. Secondary nominal stems are those derived from stems already ending in a suffix. They, however, include derivatives from pronominal roots, as *i-tara-* 'other', and exceptionally from indeclinable words or case-forms, as *antār-vant-* 'pregnant' (*antār* 'within'), *māma-ka-* 'belonging to me' (*māma* 'of me'). The stem to which secondary suffixes are added is subject to certain changes. Thus final *-a* and *-i* vowels are regularly dropped before suffixes beginning with a vowel or *y*, while final *-u* generally takes Guṇa; thus *āśv-in-* 'possessing horses' (*āśva-*), *khād-in-* 'adorned with rings' (*khādī-*), *vāyav-yā-* 'relating to the wind' (*vāyī-*). Again, the *n* or the *a* of stems ending in *-an* is occasionally lost, e. g. *vṛṣa-tvā-* 'manly power', *vṛṣṇ-ya-* 'manly' (but *vṛṣaṇ-vant-* 'drawn by stallions'); while stems in *-ant* regularly appear in the weak form of *-at*, e. g. *vāivasvat-a-* 'son of Vivāsvant'. The commonest change is, however, the strengthening of the initial syllable with *Vṛddhi*², e. g. *āmitrā-* 'hostile' (*a-mitra-* 'enemy'), *pārthiv-a-* 'relating to the earth' (*prthivī-*), *maitrāvaruṇ-* 'derived from Mitrā-vāruṇa', *sāubhaga-* 'luck' (*subhāga-* 'lucky').

As regards meaning, the great majority of secondary suffixes form adjectives with the general sense of 'relating to' or 'connected with'. In several, however, the meaning has become specific. Thus the suffixes *-āyana*, *-ī*, *-eya*, form patronymics or metonymics; *-in*, *-mant*, *-vant* express possession; *-tama* and *-tara* imply degrees of comparison; *-tā* and *-tva* form abstract substantives. The masculines and feminines of adjectives are frequently used as appellatives, while the neuter is commonly employed as a substantive expressing the attributive sense of the adjective as an abstraction.

a. The secondary suffixes are in their alphabetical order the following: *-a*, *-ā*, *-ānī*, *āyana*, *āyī*, *āyā*, *-ī*, *-in*, *-īma*, *-īya*, *-ī*, *-īna*, *-īya*, *-enī*, *-enya*, *-eya*, *-eyya*, *-ka*, *-tā*, *-tana* and *-tina*, *-tama*, *-tara*, *-tavya*, *-tā*, *-tāt*, *-tāti*, *-tīya*, *-tva*, *-tvatā*, *-tvana*, *-tha*, *-na*, *-nī*, *-bha*, *-ma*, *-mant*, *-maya*, *-min*, *-mna*, *-ya*, *-yin*, *-ra*, *-la*, *-va*, *-vat*, *-van*, *-vant*, *-vaya*, *-vala*, *-vin*, *-vya*, *-śa*.

¹ Thus derived in pw.; in BR. emended to *d-maṣiṣṇu-* 'immortal'; in GRASSMANN explained as *āma-viṣṇu-* 'mit Ungestüm andringend'.

² Strengthening with Guṇa is, on the other

hand, extremely rare in secondary derivation, as *devā-* 'divine' (*dī-* 'heaven'), *drōṇa-* 'wooden vessel' (*drū-* 'wood'), *bhesaj-ā-* 'medicine' (*bhīṣaj-* 'healing'); cp. 191 a.

191. With the suffix *-a* is formed a very large number of derivatives which are primarily adjectives expressing the sense of relation to or connexion with the primitive word; in the m. and f. they are, however, often used as appellatives, and in the neuter as abstracts. The first syllable of the primitive word, whether it is simple or compound is in the great majority of instances strengthened with *Vṛddhi*; e. g. *mārut-a-* 'relating to the Maruts' (*marūt-*), *māghon-a-* n. 'bountifulness' (*maghāvan-* 'bountiful')¹; *dāśarājñ-a-* 'battle of the ten kings' (*daśa-rājan-*)²; *jāitṛ-a-* 'victorious' (*jēṭṛ-* 'conqueror'), *tvāṣṭṛ-a-* 'belonging to Tvaṣṭṛ'; *mānav-a-* 'belonging to man' (*mānu-*), *tānu-a-*³ 'belonging to the body' (*tanū-*); *sārasvat-a-* 'coming from the Sarasvatī', *aindrāgn-a-* (AV. VS. TS.) 'belonging to Indra and Agni' (*indrāgni-*); *yāmuna-d-* (AV.) 'coming from the Yamunā'; *vādhryaśv-a-*⁴ 'descended from Vadhryaśvā', *vaiśvadev-a-* (AV. VS.) 'sacred to all the gods' (*viśvā-deva-*).

a. A comparatively small number of derivatives add the suffix without taking *Vṛddhi*. These are probably to a considerable extent due to transfers from other declensions to the *a*-declension. Such are *tamas-d-* (AV.) 'dark-coloured', *parus-d-* 'knotty' (*pārus-* 'knot'), *hemant-d-* 'winter'; *āpāk-a-* 'distant' (*āpānc-* 'behind'); *hotṛ-d-* 'office of priest' (*hōṭṛ-*); *sakhy-d-* 'friendship' (*sākhi-* 'friend').

u. With *Guṇa* are formed *tray-d-* 'threefold' (*tri-* 'three'), *dvay-d-* 'twofold' (*dvī-* 'two'), *nāv-a-* 'new' (*nū-* 'now'); *dev-d-* 'divine' (*dīv-* 'heaven'), *bhēṣaj-d-* 'medicine' (*bhīṣaj-* 'healer').

192. The suffix *-ā* is used in a very large number of stems to form the feminine of adjectives which in the masculine and neuter end in *-a*. Thus *nāv-ā-* f., *nāva-* m. n. 'new'; *priy-ā-* f., *priyā-* m. n. 'dear'; *gat-ā-* f., *gatā-* m. n. 'gone'.

193. The suffix *-ānī*⁵ is used to form the feminine from stems in *-a*, designating the wife of the corresponding male being, or expressing a feminine personification: *arany-ānī* 'Forest Nymph' (*āranya-* 'forest'), *indr-ānī* 'wife of Indra', *uśinār-ānī* 'Queen of the Uśinaras', *ūrj-ānī* 'Strength' (personified), *purukūts-ānī* 'wife of Purukutsa', *mudgal-ānī* 'wife of Mudgala', *varuṇ-ānī* 'Varuṇa's wife'.

194. The suffix *-āyana-* forms a few patronymics with *Vṛddhi* in the first syllable: *ānty-āyanā-* (VS. TS.) 'descendant of Āntya', *āmuṣy-āyanā-* (AV.) 'descendant of so and so' (*amūṣya-* gen. of *adās*), *kāṇv-āyana-* 'descendant of Kaṇva', *dākṣ-āyanā-* (VS. AV.) 'descendant of Dakṣa'; also the f. *rām-āyanī-* (AV.) 'daughter of the Black One' (*rāmā-*). The derivative *ukṣan-āyana-*, N. of a man, being formed without *Vṛddhi* is perhaps not meant for a patronymic.

195. The suffix *-āyī* occurs perhaps only twice, forming the feminine from two masculine stems in *-i* and designating the wife of the corresponding male: *agn-āyī* 'wife of Agni' and *vṛṣākapi-āyī* (only voc.) 'wife of Vṛṣākapi'.

196. The suffix *-āyya* forms gerundives⁶; e. g. *śrav-āyya-* 'glorious' (*śru-* 'hear'). There are also a few other derivatives similarly formed, which are used as ordinary adjectives or as neuter abstracts; thus *nr-pāyya-* 'guarding

¹ Formed from the weakest stem *maghōn-*.

² With syncope of the vowel of the suffix.

³ Without *Guṇa* of the *ū*; similar exceptions in *pārśv-a-* 'side' (*pārśu-* 'rib'), *paidv-a-* 'belonging to Pedu', *mādhv-a-* 'full of sweetness' (*mādhv-*), *yādv-a-* 'belonging to Yadu'.

⁴ It is natural to suppose that the suffix

-a is added to stems in *-a* as to others (the final vowel of the primitive disappearing before it) and not that derivation by *Vṛddhi* alone takes place here; cp. WHITNEY 1208 i.

⁵ Cp. LEUMANN, KZ. 32, 294 ff.

⁶ These are probably formed from dative infinitives in *-ai* + *-ya*; cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 1422; cp. also IF. 12, 2.

men', *bahu-pāyya*- 'protecting many'; *pūrva-pāyya*- 'first drink', *mahay-āyya*- 'enjoyment', *kuṇḍa-pāyya*- and *puru-māyya*- as Proper Names; also formed from nouns, *ras-āyya*- 'tasteful' (*rāsa*- 'sap') and *uttam-āyya*- n. 'summit' (*uttamā*- 'highest')¹.

197. The suffix *-i* forms a few patronymics from nouns in *-a* with Vṛddhi in the initial syllable: *āgnives-i*- 'descendant of Agniveśa', *pāurukuts-i*- 'son of Purukutsa', *prātardan-i*- 'descendant of Prātardana', *prāhrād-i*- (AV.) 'son of Prahāda', *samvaran-i*- 'descendant of Samvaraṇa'. Similarly formed, but with the sense of an ordinary substantive, is *sārath-i*- 'charioteer' (from *sa-rātha-m* 'on the same chariot'). Two other words add a secondary *-i* without Vṛddhi or patronymic sense: *tāpus-i*- 'burning' and *śucant-i*-, N. of a man (seemingly an extension of the participle *śuc-ānt*- 'shining')

198. Hundreds of adjectives are formed with the suffix *-in* from stems in *-a*, but very rarely from stems with any other final; e. g. *ark-in*- 'praising' (*arkā*- 'praise'), *manṣ-in*- 'wise' (*manṣ-śā*- 'wisdom'), *arc-in*- 'radiant' (*arcī*- 'beam'), *śatagv-in*- 'consisting of hundreds' (**śata-gva*-), *varm-in*- 'clad in armour' (*vārman*-), *śvan-in*- (VS.) 'keeping dogs' (*śvān*-). With loss of final *-as*: *ret-in*- 'abounding in seed' (*rētas*-) and perhaps in the Proper Name *varc-in*- (*vdrc-as*- 'power'); with loss of *-ya*: *hiraṇ-in*- 'adorned with gold' (*hiraṇ-ya*-).

199. The suffix *-ima* is very rare, being employed to form adjectives from the stems in *-tra* and from one in *-ra*: *kṛtr-ima*- 'artificial', *khanitr-ima*- 'made by digging', *pūtr-ima*- (AV.) 'purified'; *agr-ima*- 'foremost' (*āg-ra*- 'front').

200. The suffix *-iya* is employed to form some 20 adjectives (from stems in *-a*). It is only a modified form of *-ya* which is added for facility of pronunciation after two or more consonants, the last of which is generally *r*, rarely *n*, *m* or *v*; e. g. *abhṛ-iyā*- 'derived from the clouds' (*abhṛā*-), *samudr-iyā*- 'belonging to the sea' (*samudrā*-), *indr-iyā*- 'belonging to Indra'; *kṛṣṇ-iyā*-, N. of a man (*kṛṣṇā*- 'black'); *ṛgm-īya* 'praiseworthy'; *aśv-iyā*- 'consisting of horses', 'troop'.

201. The suffix *-ī* is employed in a very large number of derivatives to form the feminine of masculine stems; often from stems in *-a*²; e. g. *arus-ī*- 'ruddy' (*arudā*-), *dev-ī*- 'goddess' (*devā*-); or in *-u*; e. g. *prthiv-ī*- 'broad' (*prthiv*-); or from stems formed with suffixes ending in consonants, as participles in *-at* or *-ant*, e. g. *pīprat-ī*- 'protecting' (*pī*- 'take across'), *ad-at-ī*- 'eating' (*ad-ānt*-), *mād-ant-ī* 'rejoicing' or in *-vāṇs*-, e. g. *jagm-īś-ī*- 'having gone'; comparatives in *-īyāṇs*-, e. g. *nāv-īyas-ī*- 'new'; stems in *-tar*, e. g. *avitr-ī*- 'protectress'; in *-mant*, e. g. *dhenu-māt-ī*- 'abounding in nourishment'; in *-vant*, e. g. *āma-vat-ī*- 'impetuous'; in *-an*, e. g. *sōma-rājñ-ī*- 'having Soma as king'; in *-in*, e. g. *arkīn-ī*- 'radiant'; in *-āñc*, e. g. *arvāc-ī*- 'hitherward'; in compounds of *-han* 'slaying', e. g. *a-pati-ghn-ī*- 'not killing a husband', of *-dṛś*- 'look', as *su-dṛś-ī*- 'well-looking', and of *-pād* 'foot', as *a-pād-ī*- 'footless'.

202. The suffix *-ina* forms more than a dozen adjectives from the weak stems of derivatives in *-āñc*-, expressing direction without change of meaning; e. g. *arvāc-ina*- and *arvāc-inā*- 'turned towards' (*arvāñc*- 'hitherward'). It also forms six or seven adjectives from other words, expressing the general sense of relation; e. g. *añjas-ina*- 'straightforward' (*añjasa*- 'straight'), *viśvajān-ina*- (AV.) 'containing all kinds of people'.

¹ See WHITNEY 1218 a.

formed with Vṛddhi in the initial syllable;

² This is regularly the case in stems e. g. *mānuṣ-a*- 'human', f. *mānuṣ-ī*-.

203. The suffix *-iya* forms fewer than a dozen general adjectives, of which only two occur in the RV.; e. g. *ārjīk-īya*, designation of a Soma vessel, *gr̥ha-medh-īya* 'relating to the domestic sacrifice'; *āhav-an-īya* (AV.) 'sacrificial fire', *parvat-īya* (AV.) 'mountainous'. This suffix also appears in the three ordinals *dvit-īya* 'second', *tyt-īya* 'third', *tur-īya* 'fourth'.

204. The suffix *-ena* with Vṛddhi of the initial syllable, occurs only once, forming a general adjective, in its feminine form *sāmidh-entī* 'relating to fuel' (*samidh*).

205. The suffix *-enya* was doubtless originally formed by the addition of *-ya* to derivatives made with *-na*, but it nearly always has a primary value as forming gerundives; e. g. *dr̥ś-ēnya* 'worthy to be seen'. It appears, however, also in the two ordinary adjectives *kūrt-ēnya* 'famous' (*kūrtī* 'fame') and *vīr-ēnya* 'manly' (*vīrā* 'hero').

206. The suffix *-eya*, with Vṛddhi of the initial syllable, is employed to form fewer than a dozen adjectives of a patronymic or metronymic value and some half dozen adjectives of a general character, the latter occasionally appearing in the neuter as abstract substantives; e. g. *ārs-eyā* 'descended from a seer' (*ṛṣi*), *āditi-eyā* 'son of Aditi'; *pāurus-eya* 'relating to man' (*pūruṣa*), *māun-eya* 'position of a sage' (*mūni*). Two words with this suffix are formed without initial Vṛddhi, following the analogy of gerundives from roots ending in *ā* like *dāya* 'to be given' (*dā* 'give'); *dīdṛks-ēya* 'worth seeing' (as from *dīdṛk-ṣā* 'desire to see') and *sabh-ēya* 'fit for an assembly' (*sabhā*).

207. The very rare suffix *-eyya* forms adjectives with a gerundive sense in *stuṣ-ēyya*¹ 'praise-worthy', and *śapath-eyyā* (AV.) 'worthy of cursing'. It also forms an ordinary adjective used as a neuter substantive, *sahas-ēyya*-n. 'lying together' (*śī* 'lie').

208. The suffix *-ka* was probably used originally to form adjectives expressive of connexion, but it has become so attenuated in meaning as often to be added to substantives or adjectives without changing the sense; while on the other hand it has become specialized as a suffix forming diminutives. 1. Examples of its significant use are: *anta-ka* 'making an end' (*anta*), *rūpa-ka* (AV.) 'having an assumed form' (*rūpā* 'form'); *asmā-ka* 'our' (*asmā* 'us'), *māma-ka* 'my' (*māma* 'of me'); *ānti-ka* 'near' (*ānti* 'before'). 2. The suffix appears without changing the meaning in e. g. *dūra-kā* 'distant' (*dūrā* 'far'), *vamra-kā* 'ant' (*vamrā* 'ant'), *sarva-kā* (AV.) 'all' (*sārva*), and in the fem. form of *-kā* in: *avi-kā* 'ewe' (*āvi* 'sheep'), *īṣu-kā* (AV.) 'arrow' (*īṣu*), *dhenū-kā* (AV.) 'cow' (*dhenū*). 3. The diminutive sense appears in e. g. *arbhā-kā* 'small', *kumāra-kā* 'little boy', *pāda-kā* 'little foot', *putra-kā* 'little son'². Sometimes a contemptuous meaning is conveyed at the same time, as in *anya-kā* 'other' (*anyā*), *āla-ka-m* 'in vain' (*āla-m* 'enough')³.

a. With Vṛddhi in the first syllable is formed *māma-kā*⁴ 'belonging to me' (*māma*); and with connecting *-i-*: *vārs-i-ka* (AV. VS.) 'belonging to the rains' (*varṣā*), *vāsant-i-ka* 'belonging to the spring' (*vasantā*), and in the fem. *kairāt-ikā* (AV.) 'relating to the Kirātas'.

209. The rare secondary suffix *-ta* has an ordinal sense in *eka-tā* (VS.)

¹ This gerundive is probably based on the infinitive *stuṣē* 'to praise'; cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 1422 (5).

² The feminine of some of these diminutives is formed with *-ikā*: *īyāt-ikā* 'so

small', *kumār-ikā* (AV.) 'little girl', *khārt-ikā* (AV.) 'mutilated', *śakunt-ikā* 'little bird', *śīt-ikā* 'cool' (AV. *śītā* 'cold').

³ Cp. WHITNEY 521.

⁴ Beside the more normal *māma-ka*.

'First', *dvi-tá-* 'Second', *tri-tá-* 'Third' as Proper Names. It also appears in *ava-tá-* 'well' and *muhūr-tá-* 'moment'.

210. With the suffix *-tana* and its syncopated form *-tna* are made, from adverbs or prepositions, a very few adjectives with a temporal sense: *nū-tana-* and *nū-tna-* 'present' (*nū* 'now'), *sanā-tāna-* (AV.) and *sanā-tna-* (AV.) 'eternal' (*sānā* 'from of old'), *prā-tnā-* 'ancient' (*prā* 'before').

211. The suffix *-tama* has two uses. It is employed to form superlatives from nominal stems and from the preposition *id*; e. g. *ṣuru-tāma-* 'very many', *mādhumat-tama-* 'very sweet', *rathāt-tama-*¹ 'best charioteer'; *ut-tamā-*² 'highest'. It is also used to form ordinals; e. g. *śata-tamā-* 'hundredth'.

212. With the suffix *-taya* are formed only two adjectives from numerals in the sense of 'consisting of so many parts': *cātus-taya-* (AV.) 'fourfold' and *dśa-taya-* 'tenfold'.

213. The suffix *-tara* is regularly used to form comparatives from adjectives, substantives, or the preposition *id*; e. g. *tavās-tara-* 'stronger', *rathāt-tara-* 'better charioteer', *vṛtra-tāra-* 'worse Vṛtra'; *ūt-tara-* 'higher'. It also forms the ordinary adjective *dīvā-tara-* (RV.) 'diurnal' (*dīvā* 'by day'), and a few substantives in which the meaning of the suffix is somewhat obscure: *aśva-tīra-*³ (AV.) 'mule' (f. *-ī*), *vaśa-tarā-*⁴ 'weaned calf'⁵ (f. *-ī*).

214. The suffix *-tav-ya*, probably originating from the predicative use of dative infinitives in *-tav-e* and beginning to be used in a gerundive sense, appears only twice in the AV.: *jan-i-tav-yā-* 'to be born' and *hims-i-tav-yā-* 'to be injured'.

215. The suffix *-tā* forms, from adjectives and substantives, some two dozen abstract nouns expressing the sense conveyed by the English suffixes *-ness* and *-ship*; e. g. *bandhū-tā-* 'relationship', *vaśī-tā-* 'wealthiness'; *agū-tā-* 'lack of cattle', *devā-tā-* 'divinity', *puruṣā-tā-* 'human nature'; *janā-tā-* (AV.) has acquired the concrete sense of 'mankind'⁶. Exceptional formation appears in *manā-tā-* 'selfishness' and *trētā-*⁷ (VS. TS.) 'triad'. This suffix is probably contained in *sū-nī-tā-*⁸ 'gladness' also.

a. The suffixes *-tāti* and *-tāt* are related to *-tā* and have the same sense. With the former are made about a dozen abstract substantives; e. g. *a-riṣṭā-tāti-* 'security', *grbhītā-tāti-* 'the being seized', *jyēṣṭhā-tāti-* 'superiority', *devā-tāti-* 'divinity', *vaśī-tāti-* 'wealth', *sarvā-tāti-* 'completeness'. The two substantives *śām-tāti-* 'good fortune' and *satyā-tāti-* 'truth' also appear as adjectives meaning respectively 'beneficent' and 'truthful'. The suffix *-tāt*, which seems to be an abbreviation of *-tāti* and occurs only in the RV., is employed to form four or five abstract substantives: *uparā-tāt-* 'proximity', *devā-tāt-* 'divine service', *vṛkā-tāt-* 'wolfishness', *sarvā-tāt-* 'completeness'.

216. The suffix *-tya* forms some half dozen adjectives and substantives from prepositions and adverbs. These are *āpa-tya-* n. 'offspring', *amā-tya-* 'companion' (*amā* 'at home'), *āvis-tya-* 'manifest' (*āvis* 'openly'), *nīṣ-tya-* 'foreign' (*nīṣ* 'out'), *sānu-tya-* 'secret'⁹. This suffix is also added to

¹ Also in the Proper Name *gō-tama-*.

² The superlatives *tīvi-ṣ-tama-* 'strongest' and *surabhī-ṣ-tama-* 'most fragrant' insert a sibilant before the suffix.

³ Perhaps 'more (like a) horse' (than an ass).

⁴ Probably 'more than a calf'.

⁵ In *ratham-tarā-*, designation of a kind of Sāman, in which the case ending of the acc. remains, the second part is doubtless

the verbal *-tara* 'speeding' (*ty-* 'cross'). *kāroṣarā-* 'filter' and *kaulitarā-*, designation of Śambara, are probably formed with *-a* and Vṛddhi.

⁶ Like 'humanity' in English.

⁷ Also in *trēt-in-ī-* (RV.) 'the threefold flame of three fires'.

⁸ Though it appears also as a neuter *sū-nīta-* 'gladness' and as an adjective 'joyful'.

⁹ Cp. *sanu-tār* 'aside'.

the substantive *āp-* 'water' to form the two adjectives *ap-tyá-* and *āp-tyá-* 'watery'.

217. With the suffix *-tva* are formed more than thirty abstract substantives with the same sense as those in *-tā*; e. g. *amṛta-tvá-* 'immortality', *aham-uttara-tvá-* (AV.) 'assertion of superiority', *bhṛātṛ-tvá-* 'brotherhood', *maghavat-tvá-* 'liberality', *raksas-tvá-* 'sorcery'. The final syllable of the primitive is lengthened in *an-āgās-tvá-* 'sinlessness'; while it is shortened in *sadhani-tvá-*¹ 'companionship'. Owing to the influence of the nominative, *s* is inserted before the suffix in *su-prajā-s-tvá-* 'possession of many children' and with initial *Ṛddhi* in *sauprajā-s-tvá-*² (AV.¹) 'possession of good offspring'.

a. The two suffixes *-tā* and *-tva*, identical in meaning, are pleonastically combined in the form of *-tva-tā-* in the two derivatives *iṣita-tvātā-* 'excitement', and *puṛuṣa-tvātā-* 'human nature'.

218. The suffix *-tvana*, an extension of *-tva* with *-na*, appears in the formation of some eight neuter abstracts occurring almost exclusively in the RV. These are *kavi-tvaná-* 'wisdom', *jani-tvaná-* 'state of a wife'; *pati-tvaná-* 'matrimony', *martya-tvaná-* 'the ways of man', *mahi-tvaná-* 'greatness', *vasu-tvaná-* 'wealth', *vṛṣa-tvaná-* 'manliness', *sakhi-tvaná-* 'friendship'. All of these except *martya-tvaná-* have beside them the corresponding abstracts formed with *-tva*³.

219. The suffix *-tha* forms a few ordinals from cardinals, and adjectives from pronominal stems with a general numerical sense. Thus *catur-thá* (AV.) 'fourth', *ṣaṣ-thá-* (AV. VS.) 'sixth', *saptá-tha-* 'seventh'; *kati-thá-* 'the how manyeth?'.

220. The rare secondary suffix *-na* appears in one adjective derived with initial *Ṛddhi* from a substantive, *strái-ṇa-* 'feminine' (*strí-* 'woman'), and in three adjectives derived from adverbs without any internal change: *purā-ná-* 'ancient' (*purā* 'before'), *vīṣu-ṇa-* 'various' (*vīṣu-* 'apart'), *samā-ná-* 'like' (*samá-* 'equal').

221. The suffix *-nī* is used to form the feminine of *pāti-* 'lord' and *paraṣ-á-* 'knotty', as well as of several adjectives in *-ta* denoting colours. Thus *pāt-nī-* 'mistress', *páruṣ-nī-*, as N. of a river. The suffix is substituted for *-ta* in *é-nī-* 'variegated' (*é-ta-*), *róhi-nī-* 'red cow' (*róhi-ta-* 'red'), *śyé-nī-* 'white cow' (*śyé-tá-* 'white'), *hári-nī-* 'fallow' (*hári-ta-*). In a few such words *-nī* is substituted for the final *a*, while *k* takes the place of the *t*: *ásik-nī-* 'black' (*ási-ta-*), *pálik-nī-* 'grey' (*páli-tá-*), *hárik-nī-* in the diminutive form *hárikṇ-ikā-* (AV.) 'yellowish' (*hári-ta-* 'fallow').

222. The suffix *-bha* forms half a dozen derivatives, all names of animals except one adjective⁵: *ṛṣa-bhá-* and *vṛṣa-bhá-* 'bull', *garda-bhá-* and *rāsa-bha-*⁶ 'ass', *śara-bhá-* (AV. VS.) 'fabulous eightlegged animal'. The one adjective is *sthūla-bhá-* (AV.¹) beside *sthūlá-* 'big'.

223. The suffix *-ma* forms some eight superlatives, partly from prepositions, and the ordinals from the cardinals for 'five' and 'seven', 'eight', 'nine', 'ten'. The former are: *adha-má-* 'lowest', *apa-má-* 'farthest', *ava-má-* 'lowest',

¹ From *sadha-nī-* ('one who leads with him') 'companion', which is, however, analysed in the Pāda text as *sa-dhanī-*.

² *saubhaga-tvá-* 'happiness' is formed from *sāubhaga-* 'welfare' = 'condition of welfare', not from *su-bhaga-* 'lucky', from which is formed *subhaga-tvá-* 'welfare'.

³ Cp. LINDNER 26 and 28.

⁴ See BRUGMANN, *Morphologische Untersuchungen* 2, p. 198, and *Grundriss* 2, p. 315.

⁵ See BRUGMANN, *Grundriss* 2, p. 203; cp. p. 89, note 2.

⁶ Formed, with *Ṛddhi* and accented on the initial syllable, from *ras-* 'roar', 'bray' etc.

upa-má- 'highest', *ánta-ma-*¹ 'nearest', *cara-má-* 'last', *para-má-* 'remotest', *madhya-má-* 'middlemost'. The ordinals are: *pañca-má-* (AV. VS.) 'fifth', *sapta-má-* (VS.) 'seventh', *aṣṭa-má-* 'eighth', *nava-má-* 'ninth', *daśa-má-* 'tenth'.

224. The suffix *-mant* forms in the Samhitās between 80 and 90 possessive adjectives, like the parallel suffix *-vant*², with which it is to some extent interchangeable. Unlike *-vant*, however, it never forms derivatives from stems ending in *-ā* except *kāṇva-mant-* (RV¹) 'prepared by the Kaṇvas' and *yáva-mant-* 'rich in barley'. Examples are: *aśáni-mant-* 'possessing the thunder-bolt', *śasadhi-mant-* (AV.) 'rich in herbs', *krátu-mant-* 'having power', *vadhū-mant-* 'drawn by mares'(?), *lótṛ-mant-* 'provided with a sacrificer', *gó-mant-* 'rich in kine', *śrúḥ-mant-* 'gleaming', *garūt-mant-* 'winged'(?), *kakūd-mant-*³ 'provided with a hump', *cákṣus-mant-* 'possessed of eyes', *vādyun-mant-*⁴ 'containing lightning'.

a. A final *-i* is sometimes lengthened: *tvīṣ-mant-* 'vehement' (*tvīṣi-* 'vehemence'), *dhṛáji-mant-* 'gliding' (*dhṛáji-* = *dhṛáji-* 'gliding motion'), *híri-mant-* 'tawny-horsed' (*híri-* = *hári-* 'bay steed'); *-i-* is inserted in *jyótiṣ-i-mant-* (AV.)⁵ 'full of light' (beside *jyótiṣ-mant-*), and *s* in *śuci-s-mant-*⁶ 'shining'. In the derivative *susu-mánt-* (RV¹) 'very stimulating' the suffix seems to have primary value⁷. The adverb *āśu-mát* (AV¹), formed from the neuter of this suffix, seems to follow the analogy of adverbs in *-vat* from derivatives in *-vant*.

225. The suffix *-māya* (f. *-ī*) forms fewer than a dozen adjectives with the sense of 'consisting of', 'derived from', 'abounding in'. The suffix *-as* remains unchanged before the *m*, but *d* is assimilated as in external Sandhi. Derivatives thus formed are: *ayas-māya-* 'made of metal', *aśman-māya-* 'made of stone', *kim-māya-* 'consisting of what?', *go-māya-* 'consisting of cattle', *nabhas-māya-* 'vaporous', *manas-māya-* 'spiritual', *mṛn-māya-* 'made of clay' (*mṛd-*), *saka-māya-* 'arising from dung', *sū-māya-*⁸ 'well-fashioned'.

226. The suffix *-mín* was most probably due to the derivatives in *-in* from nouns in *-ma*, like *dhūm-in-* 'smoking' (*dhūmá-* 'smoke') which are fairly common. It has an independent character, however, in *iṣ-mín-* 'impetuous' and *ṛg-mín-*⁹ 'jubilant with praise' (*ṛc-*).

227. The rare suffix *-mna* forms a few neuter abstracts from nouns or particles. It seems to be an extension with *-a* of *-man* syncopated like *-na* for *-tana*. The derivatives formed with it are: *dyu-mná-* 'brightness' (*dyū-* 'sky'), *nṛ-mná-* 'manliness' (*nṛ-* 'man'), *ni-mná-* 'depth' (*nī-* 'down'), *su-mná-* 'welfare' (*su-* 'well').

228. The very common suffix *-ya*¹⁰ forms a large number of adjectives of relation, including a good many patronymics, and abstract substantives. It is pronounced *-ia* nearly four times as often as *-ya*. The feminine is usually *-yā*, both in adjectives and abstract substantives; but in the former it is sometimes *-ī*, as *ār-ī-* and *ār-yā-* 'Aryan', *dāiv-ī-*¹¹ and *dāiv-yā-* 'divine'.

a. All the patronymics besides a good many general adjectives, and most of the abstract substantives are formed with initial **Vṛddhi**; e. g. *ādīt-yá-* 'Son of Aditi', *sāhadev-yá-* 'descendant of Sahadeva'; *grāiv-ya-* (AV.) 'relating to the neck' (*grīv-*), *dāiv-ya-* 'divine' (*devá-* 'god'), *prājāpat-yá-* (AV.)

¹ Once (I. 1655) *anta-má-*; cp. p. 89, note 3.

² Which is, however, about three times as common.

³ The VS. has *kakūn-mant-* as in external Sandhi.

⁴ With assimilated *t* as in external Sandhi.

⁵ Following the analogy of *táviṣ-mant-* 'strong'.

⁶ Occurring only once in the vocative *śuciṣ-mas*.

⁷ The word is analysed in the Pada text as *susu-mán*.

⁸ This derivative seems to preserve the originally nominal character of this suffix.

⁹ In this derivative the original guttural appears, though it has become sonant as in external Sandhi.

¹⁰ See WHITNEY 1210—1213 (p. 459—466) and LINDNER 36 (p. 138—144).

¹¹ These are evident instances of the reduction of unaccented *yā* to *ī*; cp. 24 a.

'relating to Prajāpati'; *ādhipat-ya-* 'lordship' (*ādhi-pati-* 'lord'), *jānarāja-ya-* (VS.) 'kingship' (*jana-rājan-* 'king of the people'), *vaimanas-yā-* (AV.) 'dejection' (*vi-manas-*), *sāṅgrāmajit-ya-* (AV.) 'victory in battle' (*sāṅgrāma-jit-* AV.) 'conquering in battle'), *sāuvasv-ya-*¹ 'wealth in horses' (*sv-āśva-*).

b. Derivatives formed without Vṛddhi are mostly ordinary adjectives, being about four times as numerous as those formed with Vṛddhi. They are made from stems with all kinds of finals. The following are examples: *āśv-ya-* 'relating to horses' (*āśva-*); *urvar-yā-* (VS.) 'belonging to cultivated land' (*urvárā-*); *āv-ya-* 'belonging to sheep' (*āvi-*); *vāyav-yā-*² 'belonging to wind' (*vāyā-*); *nār-ya-* 'manly' (*nā-* 'man'); *pitr-ya-* 'belonging to the fathers' (*pitt-*); *gāv-ya-* 'derived from cows' (*gō-*); *nāv-yā-* (AV.) 'navigable' (*nāu-* 'boat'), *svarāj-ya-* 'autocracy' (*sva-rāj-* 'sovereign'); *karmān-yā-* 'skilful in work' (*kārman-*), *vīṣṇ-ya-*³ 'virile' (*vīṣan-* 'male'); *sat-yā-*⁴ 'true' (*sānt-*), *prāc-yā-* (AV.) 'eastern' (*prāñc-*); *āyus-yā-* (VS. AV.) 'length of life' (*āyus-*).

a. The final *-a* is retained before the suffix in *hīranyā-ya-* 'made of gold' (*hīranya-*), while *-an* is dropped before it in *aryam-yā-* 'intimate' (*arya-mān-* 'companion'). The suffix is added pleonastically in *avyā-ya-* and *āvya-ya-* 'belonging to sheep' (beside *āv-ya-*) and *gāvya-ya-* 'derived from cows' (beside *gāv-ya-*); also in forming a few possessive compounds, as *su-hāst-ya-* 'skilful-handed' (beside *su-hāsta-*)⁵. It is also used in forming a few governing compounds, as *ādhi-gart-ya-* 'being on the driver's seat' (*gārtā-*), *abhi-nabh-yā-m*, adv. 'near the clouds' (*nābhas-*)⁶.

β. In some adjectives and substantives, the suffix has a primary appearance; e. g. *phūṣ-ya-* 'flower', *yūj-ya-* 'related', *mādh-ya-* 'middle', *mār-ya-* 'young man', *sūr-ya-* 'sun', f. *sūr-yā-*⁷ (*svār-* 'light').

γ. Though as a gerundive suffix *-ya* must be regarded as primary, it is manifestly secondary in certain adjectives which have a gerundive sense; thus *a-vi-mok-yā-* (AV.) 'not to be loosened', *pari-varg-yā-*⁸ (AV.) 'to be avoided'.

δ. Akin to the gerundives are a few abstract feminines in *-yā*; e. g. *kṛ-t-yā-* 'action', 'enchantment', *vid-yā-*⁹ (AV.) 'knowledge', *deva-yaj-yā-* 'worship of the gods'.

229. The rare suffix *-yin*, like *-in*, forms a few possessive adjectives, all of which except one occur in the VS. They are *ātātā-yin-* (VS.) 'having one's bow drawn' (*ā-tata-*), *dhanvā-yin-* (VS.) 'bearing a bow' (*dhanvan-*), *marā-yin-*¹⁰ (RV¹), N. of a man, *śrka-yin-* (VS.) 'having a spear' (*śrkā-*), *svadhā-yin-*¹¹ (VS.) 'owning the Svadhā'.

230. The suffix *-ra* forms four superlatives from prepositions and about a dozen ordinary nouns, most of which are adjectives. The superlatives are *ādha-ra-* 'lower', *āpa-ra-* 'later', *āva-ra-* 'lower', *ūpa-ra-*¹² 'lower'. The ordinary adjectives formed with the suffix have the sense of 'belonging to' or 'connected with'. It is usually added direct; e. g. *dhūm-rā-* 'grey' (*dhūmā-* 'smoke'), *asrī-rā-* 'ugly', *pāṃsu-rā-* 'dusty' (*pāṃsi-* 'dust', AV.), and with initial Vṛddhi *āgnīdh-ra-* 'belonging to the fire-kindler' (*agnīdh-*). It is added with connecting *i* in *medh-i-rā-* 'wise' (*medhā-* 'wisdom') and *rath-i-rā-* 'riding in a car'. It also occurs in a few substantives, some of which are of

¹ As if from *suvasva-*; like *vaiyāsv-ā-* 'descendant of Vyāśva'; cp. WHITNEY 1204 b, c.

² With Guṇa of final *-u* as usual before secondary suffixes (190); *prāśav-yā-* 'to be partaken of' (*pra-aś-*) and *ūrjav-yā-* 'rich in nourishment' (*ūrj-*) are formed without any primitives *prāśu-* and *ūrju-*.

³ With syncope in the suffix of the primitive; cp. 190.

⁴ From the weak stem of the primitive; cp. 190.

⁵ Cp. WHITNEY 1212 c.

⁶ Cp. WHITNEY 1212 m.

⁷ Cp. WHITNEY 1213 e; and Roots, under *svār-* 'sound'.

⁸ Here the guttural shows that these words are derived from nominal stems *-moka-* and *-varga-*.

⁹ In the RV. only in the compound *jātā-vidyā-* 'knowledge of creatures'.

¹⁰ Perhaps meaning 'brilliant' or, according to Sāyana, 'destroying' enemies.

¹¹ The TS. IV. 4. 114 has *svadhā-vin-*.

¹² For *ānta-ra* cp. above p. 90, 39 and note 1.

doubtful etymology: *karmā-ra*-¹ 'smith', *muṣka-rā*- (AV.), a kind of small animal², *sāmbāra*-³, N. of a demon, *sāṅkurā*- (AV.) 'penis', *sahā-s-ra*- 'thousand'.

231. The suffix *-la* forms about a dozen adjectives with the same meaning as those formed with *-ra*, with which it sometimes interchanges and of which it is generally a later form. Examples are: *aśī-lā*- (AV.) 'ugly', *kapi-lā*- 'brown', *jīva-lā*- (AV.) 'lively', *tīvi-lā*- 'fertile', *bahu-lā*- 'abundant', *madhu-lā*- 'sweet', *śēva-lā*- (AV.) 'shiny'. This suffix also forms two or three diminutives: *vr̥ṣa-lā*- 'little man', *śiśū-lā*- 'little child', and the fem. *śalāka-lā*- (AV.) 'small splint'.

232. The suffix *-va* forms a few adjectives: *arṇa-vā*- 'billowy', *keśa-vā*- (AV.) 'hairy', *añji-vā*- (AV.) 'slippery', *śanti-vā*- (AV.) 'friendly', *śraddhi-vā*- 'credible'.

233. The suffix *-vāt* forms seven feminine abstract substantives, with a local sense, from adverbs or prepositions: *arvā-vāt*-⁴ 'proximity', *ā-vāt*- (AV.) 'proximity', *ud-vāt*- 'height', *ni-vāt*- 'depth', *parā-vāt*- 'distance', *pra-vāt*- 'height', *saṃ-vāt*- 'region'.

234. With the suffix *-van*, before which *-a* and *-i* may be lengthened, are formed some twenty derivatives, nearly all adjectives with the sense of 'possessing' or 'connected with'. The adjectives are: *amati-vān*- 'indigent', *arāti-vān*- 'hostile', *ṛghā-van*- 'impetuous', *ṛṇā-vān*- 'indebted', *dhitā-van*-⁵ 'rich in gifts', *dhi-van*- (AV.) 'clever', *maghā-van*- 'bountiful', *śruṣṭi-vān*- 'obedient', *satyā-van*-⁶ (AV.) 'truthful', *samād-van*- 'warlike', *svadhā-van*-, f. *-varī*-⁷ 'faithful', *hārd-van*- (VS.) 'hearty'; also the feminines *sumnā-vārī*- 'bringing favour', *sūnītā-varī*- 'joyous'. Somewhat anomalously formed are *indhan-van*- 'possessed of fuel' (*indhana*-), *sahā-van*-⁸ and *sāho-van*-⁹ (AV.) 'mighty'. There are also the substantives *āthar-van*- m. 'fire-priest', *muṣṭ-vān*- m. 'robber', and *santī-t-van*-¹⁰ 'reward'.

235. The suffix *-vant* forms, from nominal stems of every kind, possessive adjectives numbering at least 250 in the Samhitās. A final vowel is often lengthened before the suffix, most frequently *-a*, but very rarely *-u*. Examples are: *keśa-vant*- 'hairy', *āśva-vant*- 'possessed of horses' (beside *āśva-vant*-); *prajā-vant*- 'having progeny'; *sākhi-vant*- 'having friends', *śakti-vant*- 'mighty' (*śakti*- 'might'); *dyāvā-prthivī-vant*-¹¹ (AV.) 'connected with heaven and earth'; *viṣṇu-vant*- 'accompanied by Viṣṇu', *viṣṇu-vānt*- 'dividing' (*viṣu*- 'apart'); *hārit-vant*- 'gold-coloured'; *āsan-vānt*- (AV.) 'having a mouth', *rōman-vant*- and *lōma-vant*- (AV.) 'hairy', *śr̥ṣan-vānt*- (AV.) 'having a head'; *kakībh-vant*- (MS. 1. 11¹) 'having a peak'; *svār-vant*- 'splendid'; *pāyas-vant*- 'containing milk', *nas-vānt*- (AV.) 'having a nose'. With external Sandhi: *pīśad-vant*- 'variegated'¹².

a. Some of these derivatives, especially if formed from pronominal stems, have the meaning of 'resembling' instead of 'possessing'; thus *mā-vant*- 'like me', *t-vant*- 'so great', *kī-vant*- 'how far?', *indras-vant*-¹³ 'like Indra', *nīla-vant*-

¹ *śēvāra*- 'treasury' probably stands by haplogy for *śēva-vāra*-.

² The word occurs in TS. v. (B) as an adjective meaning 'having testicles'.

³ Probably a foreign word.

⁴ From *arva*- 'hither' contained in *arvān*- 'hitherward' and some other derivatives.

⁵ The Pada text has *dhitā-van*-.

⁶ The Pada text has *satyā-van*-.

⁷ The fem. of the secondary *-van* being formed like that of the primary *-van*; see 177 and cp. 179 a.

⁸ The Pada text has *sahā-van*-.

⁹ The only instance of external Sandhi with this suffix.

¹⁰ With *-i* interposed, as after short radical vowel preceding primary *-van*; e. g. *kī-t-van*-.

¹¹ Retaining the double accent of the primitive.

¹² In a few derivatives *-vant* has the appearance of a primary suffix: *vivās-vant*- or *vi-vas-vant*- 'shining', *dr-vant*- 'swift', *yah-vānt*- 'speeding'.

¹³ With the *s* of the nominative.

'blackish', *ṇṛ-vánt-* 'manly'. From this sense is derived the use of the **neuter** acc. as an **adverb of comparison**, e.g. *manuṣ-vát* 'like Manus', 'as Manus did'.

236. The very rare suffix **-vaya**, probably a noun in origin, seems to be found only in one numeral adjective, *cátur-vaya-* 'fourfold', and one substantive, *dru-váya-* (AV.) 'wooden dish'.

237. The suffix **-vala** (cp. 179) seems to be used in the formation of secondary derivatives only in *kṛṣi-valít-* 'peasant' (*kṛṣi-* 'tillage') and in the fem. *naḍ-valít-* (VS.) 'reed-bed'.

238. The suffix **-vin** is used in forming nearly twenty possessive adjectives from stems ending in **-a** (which is lengthened), **-ā¹**, **-as**; thus *ubhayā-vín-* 'partaking of both' (*ubhāya-*), *aśtrā-vín-* 'obedient to the goad', *yaśas-vín-* (AV.) 'beautiful'. To the analogy of the derivatives from stems in **-as** is due the insertion of *s* in *śata-s-vín-* 'possessing a hundred'. The only derivatives from stems ending in any consonant other than *s* are *dhr̥ṣad-vín-* 'bold' (*dhr̥ṣát-*) and *vāg-vín-* (AV.) 'eloquent' (*vāc-* 'speech'), both formed as in external Sandhi.

239. The only derivative of the suffix **-vya** forming names of relationship which occur in the Samhitās seems to be *bhrātṛ-vya-* (father's) 'brother's son'².

240. The suffix **-śa** forms eight or nine adjectives or substantives without in most instances changing the original meaning. The **adjectives** are *ēta-śa-* 'variegated', *babhlu-śa-* (VS.) 'brownish', *yuva-śa-* 'youthful', and with possessive sense *roma-śa-* 'hairy'. The **substantives** are *aṅku-śa-* m. 'hook', *kāśma-śa-* (AV.) m. or n. 'stupefaction'(?), *kālú-śa-* m. 'jar', *turvát-śa-*, N. of a man, *lopā-śa-*³ m. 'jackal'.

V. COMPOUNDS.

BENFEY, Vollständige Grammatik p. 245—282. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 1246—1316. — REUTER, Die altindischen nominalcomposita, ihrer betonung nach untersucht, KZ. 31, 157—232; 485—612. — WACKERNAGEL, Altindische Grammatik, 2¹, Nominalcomposition, 1905: cp. BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 20, 162—172 (Anzeiger).

241. **Form of compounds.**—The Vedic language has inherited from the Indo-European speech the power of combining words into a compound treated like a simple word as regards accent, inflexion, and construction. Both in the frequency and the length of compounds the Vedic language resembles that of Homer. In the RV. and the AV. no compounds of more than three independent members occur; and those which consist of three members are rare, such as *ādabádha-vrata-pramati-* 'superior-minded owing to unbroken observances', *pūrvā-kāma-kṛtvān-* 'fulfilling former wishes', *mūlho-avadya-pa-* 'mutually warding off want', *hāri-manyu-sāyaka-* 'stimulating the mettle of the bays'.

The two characteristic features of a compound are **unity of accent** and use of the **uninflected stem in the first member** (or members). There are, however, exceptions to both these rules. The Sandhi between the two numbers is occasionally different from that between words in a sentence. Occasionally also tmesis of a compound occurs⁴. Generally speaking a

¹ The doubtful word *vy-śmva-in-* (VS¹.) seems to add *-in* to the present stem with interposed euphonic *-v-*.

² *pitr-vya-* 'father's brother', 'uncle', occurs in the later language.

³ Cp. GUSTAV MEYER, IF. 1, 328.

⁴ Frequently in dual compounds, as *dyāvā ha kṣāmā* 'heaven and earth'; occasionally in others also, as *śinaś cic chēpam* for *śinaḥ-śēpam*; *nārā vā śāmsam* for *nārā-śāmsam*; *saptā me saptā* for *saptā-saptā me*.

compound assumes a modified and single meaning as compared with the same words used in juxtaposition in a sentence; e. g. *kṛṣṇa-sakunī-* (AV.) 'raven', while *kṛṣṇāḥ sakunīḥ* would mean 'black bird'. Compounding must take place when a derivative has to be formed from the two words; as *kṣṣītrapat-ya-* 'property' beside *kṣṣītrasya pāti-* 'lord of the field'. Sometimes, however, the case-ending remains while the compound accent is used, as *rāyas-poṣa-dā-* 'bestowing abundance of wealth', beside *rāyās poṣa-* 'abundance of wealth'. There is a tendency to compounding when the first of two syntactical words is indeclinable. Thus beside *sām yós* 'happiness and welfare' also appears *sām-yós* (I. 34⁶); and analogously the indeclinable form or stem of a word takes the place of the case¹. Sometimes compounds are formed by the coalescence of inflected words occurring side by side in a sentence. Thus *viśvāhā* (TS.) 'all days' beside *āhā viśvā* (RV.) has become *viśvāhā* 'daily' with a single accent. Occasionally, when two compounds have the same final member, the latter is used only once, as *mitrātītithim*² *mēdhyātītithim* (I. 36⁷) for *mitrātītithim utā mēdhyātītithim*; *patayāt-sakham* (I. 4⁷) for *patayāt-sakham mandayāt-sakham*. Sometimes one of the members of a compound governs a case³ outside the compound, as *ārvato māṃsa-bhikṣām* (I. 162¹²) 'begging for the flesh of the steed'; in some instances pleonastically, as *gaṇānām gaṇā-patim* (II. 23¹) 'troop-leader of troops'. A case-form may agree with the first member of a compound when that member has the form or even only the sense of that case, as *rāyās-kāmo viśvāḍṣnyasya* (VII. 42⁶) 'desirous of wealth of all forms'; or a case-form may agree with the second member, while coordinated in sense with the first, as *mahā-dhané* .. *ārbhe* (I. 7⁵) 'in great booty (and) in small'.

a. The gender of compounds is, in Copulatives (Dvandvas) and Determinatives (Tatpuruṣas) ending in substantives, that of the last member⁴; but collective compounds are regularly neuter⁵. Compounds ending in adjectives, possessives, and governing compounds have the gender of the substantives with which they agree or which they represent. The number in Determinatives is that of the last member. In Copulatives of the older types it is dual or plural according to the total number meant by the combination, while it is singular (and neuter) in the later type. Collective compounds (whether copulatives or possessives) are singular. Compounds ending in adjectives, possessives, and governing compounds, have the number of the substantive with which they agree or which they represent.

A. The First Member of Compounds.

242. Its form. — The first member of nominal compounds may consist of nouns (including numerals and pronouns) or indeclinables suitable for qualifying nouns. Exceptionally an inflected form appears in this position qualifying the second member in dependent determinatives and possessives. This is mainly due to words frequently in juxtaposition becoming permanently joined; thus beside the two independent words *jās pātiḥ* (VII. 38⁶) 'lord of the family'

¹ Thus for *viṣṇoḥ krāma-* (AV. TS.) 'step of Viṣṇu' there appears in a B. passage of the TS. (V. 2. 1¹) the compound *viṣṇu-krāmā-*.

² The Pada text reads *mitrā utā*.

³ This seems to be almost restricted to the genitive in the Samhitās, but many examples of other cases (acc., inst., dat., abl.) occur in the later language.

⁴ In a few Dvandvas the gender of the

first member prevails (265, notes 1 and 2); and a few Determinatives change the gender of the final member, as *painī-sāla-* (VS.) n. (*sālā-*) 'shed for the wives (of sacrificers)' and *agra-jihvā-* (VS.) n. 'tip of the tongue' (*jihvā-*).

⁵ Both Dvandvas (266) and Bahuvrīhis (290).

we find the compound *jās-patim* (1. 185⁸). But it partly also arises from desire to express the syntactical relation of the words in the compound even without antecedent juxtaposition; as in the verbal determinatives *dhanam-jayā* 'winning booty', *apsu-sād* 'dwelling in waters'; or in possessives like *rāvās kāmā* 'desirous of wealth'. Such case-endings show a tendency to encroach beyond their legitimate sphere; thus the frequency of the ending *-as* before *-pati-*, e. g. *vāc-ās-pāti* 'lord of speech', led to its becoming the general genitive sign before that word, as in *rātha-s-pāti* 'lord of the car' (*rātha*). Similarly, according to *apsu-kṣi-t* 'dwelling in the waters' was formed *apsu-jī-t* beside *ab-jī-t* 'winning waters', where the locative is not appropriate. Ordinarily the first member appears only in its stem form. As the stem cannot express number it may mean either the singular or the plural. That it often indicates the plural is shown by expressions like *narām* or *jānānām* *nr-pātī* 'man-guardian of men' or 'people'. The plural sense is also evident in compounds like *devā-kṛta* 'made by the gods', *vīrā-jāta* 'produced by men', *nr-pāti* 'lord of men'. In personal pronouns and cardinals the number is of course inherent in the stem itself.

a. The gender is expressed in the first member only in as far as feminine words retain their f. stem when coordinated in copulatives or dependent on the final member in the sense of a case in determinatives; e. g. *patnī-sāla* (VS.) 'shed for wives'. The f. suffix *-ā* is, however, often shortened to *a*², as in *amīva-hān* 'destroying suffering', *amīva-sātana* 'dispelling suffering' (*āmīvā*). But when a feminine adjective as first member agrees attributively with a feminine in the last member, it appears in the masculine stem-form³; e. g. *prāyata-dakṣiṇa* 'one by whom a sacrificial fee (*dakṣiṇā*) has been presented'⁴.

243. If the stem is liable to gradation, that form is used which occurs in the weak cases. Thus in the vowel stems *-i*, *-u*, *-r*, appear; e. g. *pāti-juṣā* 'dear to a husband', *vasu-vīd* 'finding wealth', *pitṛ-yajñā* 'sacrifice to the manes'. Similarly *dyu-* (*dīu-*) 'heaven' appears before consonants, as *dyu-kṣā* 'dwelling in heaven', *dyū-bhaktā* 'presented by heaven', but *div-* before vowels, as *div-īt* 'going to heaven', *div-iṣṭi* 'prayer'. The two stems *dāru* 'wood' and *āp* 'water' are reduced to *dru-* and *ap-*: *dru-padā* 'wooden pillar', *dru-sād* 'sitting on the tree'; *ap-tīr* 'overcoming the waters', *ab-jā* 'derived from waters'. The stem *pīmāṇs* 'man' appears in the weak form *pums-* in *pums-cali* (VS. AV.) and *pums-calī* (VS.) 'courtesan' ('running after men').

a. Stems in *-an* have *-a* not only before consonants⁵, but also before vowels⁶ and *y*, *v*⁷; e. g. *rāja-putrā* 'king's son', *ukṣānna* 'devouring bulls' (*ukṣān*), *āsmānya* 'whose mouth is a rock' (*āsmān*), *brāhmeddha* 'kindled with devotion' (*brāhman*), *brahmaudanā* (AV.) 'boiled rice (*odanā*) for Brāhmins' (*brāhmān*). Exceptions, however, are *nemann-īś* 'following the lead', *vṛṣan-aśvā* 'drawn by stallions', *vṛṣan-vasu* 'having great wealth'⁸.

b. Stems in *-in* seem to follow the same analogy, dropping the *-n* before consonants; thus *śāci-gu* (only voc.) 'having strong cattle' and *śāci-pūjana* (only voc.) 'worshipping the strong'⁹.

¹ The compounding of such forms probably often started from vocatives like *sahasas putra* treated as a unit in regard to accent.

² This, however, seems to be due to metrical influence.

³ An exception in *urvy-āti* 'giving wide aid', where the f. stem *urvī-* appears instead of the m. *urū-*.

⁴ In *bṛhāc-chandas* (AV.) 'having Brhatti Indo-arische Philologie. I. 4.

as metre' and *jāgac-chandas* (AV. VS.) 'having Jagati as metre', the first members doubtless represent neuter names of the metres.

⁵ As in *rāja-bhis* etc.

⁶ Unlike *rāj-ā-e* etc.

⁷ Not *-an* as in *rājan-yā*, *udan-vānt-*.

⁸ In *āsānn-iṣu* 'having arrows in his mouth' the first member is a locative.

⁹ Cp. WACKERNAGEL 2^r, p. 54 β, note.

c. Occasionally the weak grade stem used as first member does not occur as an independent word; thus *kṣā-pāvant-* and *kṣa-pāvant-* 'earth-protector' from *kṣām-* 'earth'; *jñu-bādh-* 'bending the knee' from *jānu-* 'knee'; *man-dhātī-* 'devout man' from *mān-as-* 'mind' (through **manz-*), *sāt-pati-* 'lord of the abode', probably from *sād-as-* 'abode' (through **sats-*).

204. When in the inflexion of a word two or more collateral stems (not differing in gradation only) are used, the one which appears in weak cases is mostly employed as first member in compounds. 1. Even though the stem *ās-yā-* 'mouth' is inflected throughout, the alternative stems of weak cases *ās-* and *āsan-* are preferred: *ā-daghnā-* 'reaching to the mouth', *āsann-iṣu-*¹ 'having arrows in his mouth'. 2. *udān-*² 'water' is preferred to *uda-kā-*³: *uda-grābhā-* m. 'holding water', *uda-pū-* (AV.) 'purified by water', *uda-meghā-* 'water-shower'; *uda-kā-* appears only in *uddakātman-*⁴ (AV.) 'having water for its chief substance'. 3. Of the three stems *pānthān-*, *pathi-*, *pāth-*, only the middle one, which appears before consonant endings, is used: *pathi-kṛt-* 'path-making', *pathi-rākṣi-* 'protecting roads'. 4. *śākan-*⁵ is preferred to *śākṛt-* 'dung': *śāka-dhūma-* (AV.) 'dung-smoke', *śāka-piṇḍā-* (VS.) 'lump of dung', *śāka-pūta-* ('purified by dung'), N. of a seer. 5. *śīrsān-* is preferred to *śīras-* 'head': *śīrṣa-kapālā-* (AV.) 'skull', *śīrṣa-bhīdya-* (AV.) n. 'head-splitting', *śīrṣa-mayā-* (AV.) m. 'disease (āmaya-) of the head'. 6. There is fluctuation between *pād-* and *pāda-* 'foot', *māṃs-*⁶ and *māṃsā-* 'flesh', *hṛd-* and *hṛdaya-* 'heart': *pād-ghoṣā-*⁷ (AV.) 'sound of footsteps', but *pāda-gṛhya*, ger. 'seizing by the foot'; *māṃs-pācana-* 'used for cooking flesh', but *māṃsa-bhikṣā-* 'begging for flesh', *hṛd-rogā-* 'heart-disease', but *hṛdayā-vidh-* 'wounding the heart'⁸.

245. Alternative adjective stems sometimes appear in the first member of compounds. Thus in the RV. *mahi-* interchanges with *mahā-*⁹ 'great' in Karmadhārayas and Bahuvrīhis, as *māhi-kṣatra* 'owning great sway', but *mahā-dhanā-* 'great booty', *mahā-manas-* 'great-minded'¹⁰. A few stems in *-i* appear instead of or interchanging with others in *-ra-*: *ṛji-* in *ṛji-pyā-* and the Proper Names *ṛjī-svan-*¹¹ beside *ṛjrā-* 'quick' in *ṛjrāśva-* ('having quick horses'), N. of a man; **dabhi-* in *dabhīti-* (for **dabhi-iti-*) 'injurer', beside *dabhrā-* 'small' in *dabhrā-cetas-* 'of little wit'; *śviti-* in *śvityā-ānc-*¹² 'bright', beside *śvitṛā-* (AV.) 'white'; *saci-* in *saci-vid-* 'belonging together', beside *ā-sk-ra-*¹³ 'united'; perhaps also *-kravi-* for **kruvi-* in *ā-kravi-hasta-* 'not having bloody hands', beside *krū-rā-*¹⁴ (AV.) 'bloody'.

a. A few adjective stems in *-i* used as first member neither occur as uncompounded adjectives nor have corresponding adjective stems in *-ra-*: *tuvi-jātā-* 'mightily born', *tuvi-grīva-* 'strong-necked', *tuvi-ōjas-* 'very strong'; *gabhi-sāk* (AV.) 'deep down'.

¹ See above p. 145, note 8.

² Inst. sing. *udā*, pl. *udā-bhis*.

³ Nom. n acc. *udakām*.

⁴ With irregular accent; cp. WACKERNAGEL 21, p. 56, note.

⁵ Inst. *śāka-bhis* (TS.), nom. acc. *śākṛt*.

⁶ Beside *vand-* 'wood' (which is fully inflected and appears in *vandā-dhiti-* 'layer of wood'), the stem *van-* (gen. *van-ām*, loc. *van-si-*) is perhaps used in *vām-saga-* 'bull', *van-dhūra-* 'car-seat', and *van-ād-* 'devouring wood' (?).

⁷ Perhaps in *pād-grābhi-*, N. of a man or demon, if *pād-* = *pād-*, cp. WACKERNAGEL 1, 148 a.

⁸ On the other hand, of the alternative stems *asṛj-* and *asān-* 'blood', only the nom. acc. form is used; e. g. *asṛj-pāvān-* (AV.) 'drinking blood', *asṛj-mukha-* (AV.) 'bloody-faced'.

⁹ *mahā-* being the m., *mahi-* the n. nom. acc. stem, beside the weak dat. *mah-é* etc.

¹⁰ The AV. has the stem *mahāt-* in the Karmadhāraya *mahāt-kāṇḍā-*, 'great section'.

¹¹ Perhaps also in *ṛjīti-* (= *ṛji-iti-*), cp. WACKERNAGEL 21, p. 59.

¹² Cp. *siti-pād-* 'white-footed', *siti-grābha-* 'white-backed'.

¹³ From *sac-* 'be attached' with syncope.

¹⁴ Cp. WACKERNAGEL 21, p. 59.

246. Extension of the stem sometimes takes place in the first member. The commonest addition is *-a* owing to the frequency of that ending: *dur-a-dabhmā-* (AV.) 'eluding doors', *aśvin-a-kṛta-* (VS.) 'done by the Aśvins'; *viśaujas-*¹ (VS.) 'ruling the people'; *ṣaṭ-a-rud-*² (AV.) 'collection of six verses'. An *a*-stem becomes one in *-as* in *yakṣmo-dhāt-* (AV.) 'seat of a disease' (*yakṣma-*). An extension with *-d* appears in *śatād-vasu-*³ 'having a hundred (*śatā-*) treasures', and in *ān-atid-bhuta-*⁴ 'unsurpassed'.

a. Shortening of the stem sometimes takes place by the dropping of a final *t* or *s* (preceded by *a*) or of the vowel *-a*; thus *prṣodarā-* (TS. v. 6. 14¹) 'having a spotted (*prṣat-*) belly' (*udāra-*); *apna-rāj-* 'ruling over riches' (*āpnas-*); *bhar-iṣṭā-*⁵ (IV. 40²) 'desiring booty' (*bhāra-*); *til-pīñja-* (AV.) 'barren sesamum' (*tillā-*); *sas-pīñjara-* (TS. IV. 5. 2¹) 'reddish like grass' (*sasā-*), may also be an example, but it is more probably a modification of *śas-pīñjara-* (VS. XVI. 17) by haplology for **śaspa-pīñjara-*.

247. Adverbs often occur as first member of compounds. In several instances a nominal stem in *-a* represents an adverbial case (acc., inst., abl., loc.) formed from that stem; thus *nitya-vatsa-* 'having a calf continually' (*nityam*); *satya-yāj-* 'sacrificing truly' (*satyām*), *samantā-siti-bāhu-* (VS.) 'whose forefeet are white all round' (*samantām*); *sana-jā-* 'born of old' (= *sanā* or *sanāt*); *upākā-cakṣas-* 'visible from near at hand' (*upākā* 'near'). Occasionally a nominal stem which has no separate existence is abstracted from the adverb; thus *arā-maṇas-* 'ready-minded' (from *āram* 'ready'), *arā-matī-* 'suitable prayer', *abhyardha-yājvan-* 'offering apart' (*abhyardhās*). A cardinal is sometimes thus used instead of its adverb: *try-āruṣa-* 'reddish in three places' (*trī-s*), *dvi-jā-* (AV.) 'born twice' (*dvi-s*).

248. The case-ending is also preserved in several instances; thus *aram-kṛt-* 'preparing', *sākam-ikṣ-* 'sprinkling together', *sākaṇ-yij-* 'joined together' (*sākām*), *sāyam-bhavā-* (AV.) 'becoming evening'; *paścā-doṣā-* (VS.) 'late evening'. Adverbs that are neither case-forms nor look like them regularly remain unchanged; thus *akṣṇayā-drih-*⁶ 'injuring wrongly'; *itthā-dhī-* 'truly devout'; *idā-vatsard-* (VS. AV.) 'the present year', a particular kind of year; *pīnar-ava-* 'renewing itself', *punar-bhū-* 'arising again'; *viśvāto-dhī-* 'observing in all directions', *viśu-rūpa-* 'coloured variously' (*viśu-*), *viśv-vṛt-* 'rolling in various directions'. A nasal is added in *makṣu-ṇ-gamā-* 'approaching quickly' (*makṣū*).

249. Prepositions frequently occur as the first member of a compound. 1. Owing to their originally adverbial character they may qualify ordinary adjectives or substantives like adverbs; thus *āti-kṛṣṇa-* (VS.) 'excessively dark', *vi-mahī-* 'very great'; *prā-ṇapūt-* 'great grandson', *vi-vāc-* 'opposing shout'; and in Bahuvrhis: *prā-śṛṅgā-* (VS.) 'having prominent horns', *vy-āṇsa-* 'having shoulders wide apart'.

2. Owing to their constant connexion with verbs they are very common before verbal nouns; e.g. *ūpa-śṭu-t-* and *ūpa-stuti-* 'invocation'; *purb-hita-* 'domestic priest'.

3. Owing to their frequent connexion with cases, they also appear in a governing sense; e.g. *ādhi-gart-ya-* 'being on the car-seat', *anu-pathā-* 'following the path'.

¹ For *viśa-ojas-* like (AV. VS.) *satyaujas-* (= *satya-ojas-*) instead of *viś-ojas-*.

² Like *pañcarcā-* = *pañca-rca-*.

³ Influenced by the analogy of *pañcāśād-* '50' etc., and *vidād-vasu-*, etc.

⁴ Due to a confusion of **ati-bhuta-* = *ati-bhūta-* 'surpassed' and *adbhuta-* 'marvellous'.

⁵ According to the analogy of *gar-iṣṭā-* 'desiring cows'.

⁶ *akṣṇa-yāvan-* 'going across' stands by haplology for **akṣṇayā-yāvan-*. Cp. WACKER-NAGEL 2¹, p. 128 d.

a. Prepositions as first member sometimes appear in a shortened form; thus *bhi-* = *abhi-* in *bhi-śaj-*: 'healer'; *o-* = *ava* in *o-gaṇā-* ('away from the crowd') 'isolated', 'wretched', and in *o-paśā-* 'top-knot' ('that which is tied down, from *paś-* 'fasten'). On the other hand, *ānu* several times appears lengthened to *ānu-*: thus *an-ānu-kṛtyā-* 'inimitable', *an-ānu-dā-* 'not giving way', *ān-ānu-diṣṭa-* 'unsolicited', *ān-ānu-bhūti-* 'disobedient', *ānu-śāk* 'in constant succession'.

250. *Sam* and *sa-*. — The preposition *sām* is of very common occurrence as first member. This is its form invariably before vowels, and when accented originally always before consonants. Its unaccented form *sa-* (= *sam-*) should phonetically always appear before consonants. But the proper use of *sām-* and *sa-* before consonants has begun to be confused.

a. In **determinatives** (1) when the final member is a verbal noun *sam-* always appears before a vowel, as *sam-aṅkā-* (AV.) 'hook' (from *aṅc-* 'bend'), *sam-īdh-* 'fuel'; and *sām-* if accented predominates³ before consonants, being phonetic; e. g. *sām-gati-* f. 'coming together', *sām-dhātṛ-* 'one who puts together', *sām-prkta-* 'mixed'. *sā-*, however, also occurs in *sā-gdhi-* (VS. MS.) f. 'eating together', *sā-cyuti-* (MS. II. 7¹²) 'falling together', *sā-pīti-* (VS. MS.) f. 'drinking together', *sā-hūti-* f. 'joint invocation'.

(2.) *sa-* is preserved before accented verbal nouns formed from the simple root with or without *-t*, or with the suffixes *-a*, *-ana*, *-van*, *-in*; thus *sa-cit-* 'thinking', *sa-bādḥ-* (TS. III. 2. 12⁴) 'oppressed', *sa-yūj-* 'united', *sa-vṛdh-* 'increasing together', *sa-śībh-* (TS. IV. 3. 12⁵), a kind of metre. *sa-syād-* 'streaming together'; *sa-kṣi-t-* 'dwelling together', *sa-sri-t-* 'streaming';⁶ *sa-gmā-* (VS.) 'coming to terms', *sa-jōsa-* 'unanimous', *sa-mādana-* 'conflict';⁷ *sa-yā-van-* 'going along with', *sa-yūg-van-* 'united with', *sa-sthā-van-* 'standing together', *sa-ji-t-van-* 'victorious'; *sa-vās-in-* (AV.) 'dwelling together'.⁸

(3.) Before ordinary adjectives *sam-* appears in *sām-vasu-* 'fellow-dweller', *sām-miśla-* 'commingling', *sām-priya-* (VS.) 'loving one another', and even when unaccented before ordinary substantives in *sam-vatsarā-* 'year', *sam-grāmā-* (AV.) 'assembly', but *sa-pātnī-* 'co-wife'.

b. In **Bahuvrihis** when the meaning is (1.) 'together' (as in the verbal use of the preposition) *sam-* appears, as *sām-hanu-* (AV.) 'striking the jaws together', *sam-gavā-* m. 'time when the cows (are driven) together', and (as usual before vowels) *sam-udrā-* m. 'sea'. But when the meaning is (2) 'united with', 'accompanied by' what is expressed by the final member, *sa-* is almost exclusively used (and nearly always even accented)⁹, as *sā-cetas-* 'accompanied by intelligence', 'rational'; *sam-* occurs here only in *sām-sahasra-* 'accompanied by a thousand', and in *sām-pātnī-* (AV.) 'accompanied by her husband'. In this sense *sam-* still appears before vowels in *sām-agra-* and *sam-agrā-* (AV.) ('including the top'), 'complete', *sām-aṅga-* (AV.) 'accompanied by all limbs'¹⁰, 'complete', *sām-āsir-* 'accompanied by mixture', 'mixed'; but even here *sa-* once in the RV. takes the place of *sam-* in the compound *sāśana-* (x. 90⁴)

¹ The initial *a-* of some other prepositions is lost in the later language: *pi-* = *pi* (SB.); *dhi-* = *adhi* and *va-* = *ava* are post-Vedic.

² See WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 72 s, and cp. BRUGMANN, KZ. 25, 214, note.

³ *sam-* occurs more than three times as often as *sa-* before consonants, doubtless owing to the parallel use of *sam-* with verbs.

⁴ But also *sam-giv-* 'assenting', *sam-yāt-* 'contiguous'.

⁵ But also *sam-ji-t-* 'conqueror', *sam-hā-t-* 'layer'.

⁶ But also *sam-gamā-* 'coming together', *sam-cārana-* 'suitable for walking on'.

⁷ With verbal nouns otherwise formed, as with *-tra* or *-na* only *sam-* occurs, as *sam-hotrā-* 'joint sacrifice', *sam-prasṇā-* 'interrogation'.

⁸ With the usual Bahuvrihi accent on the first member.

⁹ In order to distinguish this sense from that of *sa-pātnī-* 'co-wife'.

¹⁰ Cp. also the adv. *sam-antā-m* (AV.) 'including the ends', 'completely'.

'provided with food' (*āsana-*), 'eating', and becomes common in the later Sāṃhitās; e. g. *sāṅga-* (AV.) 'accompanied by the limbs' (*āṅga-*), *sāntar-deśa-* (AV.) 'accompanied by the intermediate quarters' (*antar-deśa-*). — When the meaning is (3.) 'in common', 'same', 'identical'¹ *sa-*² is very common before consonants, as *sā-keta-* 'having the same intention', *sā-lakṣmaṇ-* 'having the same characteristics'; while *sa-* appears only in *saṃ-śīṣvār-* 'having a calf in common', *sām-manas-* (AV.) 'being of the same mind', 'unanimous', *sām-mātṛ-* 'having the same mother'. In this sense *sa-* alone appears (as usual) before vowels: *sām-anta-* 'contiguous' ('having the same boundary'), *sām-okas-* 'having a common abode', 'living together'.

251. Particles, which for the most part have no independent existence, frequently appear as first member of compounds.

1. The negative particle, the form of which in the sentence is *na*, almost invariably appears in composition as *a-*³ before consonants, and invariably as *an-* before vowels. It completely reverses the meaning of the final member; thus *mitrā-* 'friend', *a-mitra-* 'enemy', *śasti-* 'praise', *ā-śasti-* 'curse'⁴. As participles, infinitives, and gerunds are nominal forms, they may be compounded with the privative particle: thus *ā-bhīḥyat-* 'not fearing', *ā-budhya-māna-* 'not waking', *ā-dāsyant-* (AV.) 'not about to give', *ā-vidvāms-* 'not knowing'⁵. The syntactical form of the particle is very rare: *na-murā-* (AV.) 'non-dying' (?)⁶. Perhaps also in *nā-pāt-* 'grandson', if it originally meant 'un-protected'⁷.

2. *su-* 'well', 'very', except in the RV. very seldom used independently⁸, and *dus-* 'ill', 'hardly', which occurs as a prefix only, appear as first member in determinatives and possessives; e. g. *su-kāra-* 'easy to be done', *śū-kṛta-* 'well-done', *su-dā-* 'giving willingly', *su-vasanā-* 'fair raiment', *su-varṇā-* 'fair-coloured', *su-āśva-* 'having excellent horses'; *dū-dāś-* (AV.) 'not-worshipping', 'irreligious', *dus-cyavanā-* 'difficult to be felled', *dur-vāsas-* 'having bad clothing', 'ill-clad'; *dur-āhā* (AV.) 'wail!' is formed as an antithesis to *su-āhā* 'hail!'.

3. There are a few prefixes beginning with *k-* which seem to be etymologically connected with the interrogative, and express depreciation, badness, or difficulty: *ku-*⁹ in *ku-carā-* 'wandering about', *ku-nakṣin-* (AV.) 'having diseased nails', *ku-nannamā-* 'hard to bend', *kū-yava-* (VS.) 'bringing bad harvest'¹⁰; *kad-* in *kaṭ-payā-* 'swelling horribly'; *kim-* in *kim-īlā-* (VS. TS. MS.) (land) 'having small stones', *kim-puruṣā-*, a kind of mythical being ('some-what like a man'); a collateral form *kavā-* perhaps in *kavārt-* 'stingy', *kavā-sakhā-* 'selfish'¹¹.

4. The particles *-id* and *-cid* make their way into the first member of compounds in the company of pronominal words to which they may be

¹ *samāna-* is also used in this sense: as *samānā-bandhu-* 'having the same relatives'.

² *sa-* has the sense of 'one' in *sāṃhā-* (AV.) 'lasting one day', *sa-kṛt* 'once', *sa-dīvas* and *sa-dyās* 'on one and the same day'.

³ This is the low-grade form (= *ṇ-*) of *nā-*.

⁴ It frequently reverses the pregnant sense of the final member, as *vi-śastṛ-* '(good) dissector', *a-viśastṛ-* 'bad dissector'.

⁵ See KNAUER, Ueber die Betonung der composita mit *a* privativum im Sanskrit, KZ. 27, 1—68; examples from the later Sāṃhitās in DELBRÜCK, Altindische Syntax p. 540 f., Syntaktische Forschungen 2, p. 530 f.

⁶ *nā-puṃsa-ka-* 'neuter' also occurs in MS. and ŚB.

⁷ See LEUMANN, Festgruss an Böhlingk, p. 77 f. For a few other doubtful compounds with *na-* see WACKERNAGEL 21, p. 78, note.

⁸ *śū* occurs as an independent particle about 250 times (but never at the beginning of a sentence) in the RV., rarely in the later Sāṃhitās: only 14 times in AV.

⁹ Often in adverbs such as *kū-tas* 'whence', *kū-tra* 'where'.

¹⁰ On a few doubtful compounds with *ku-*, see WACKERNAGEL 21, p. 83, note.

¹¹ Also in *kāvā-tiryāṇ-* (TS.) 'directed somewhat across'.

appended; thus *tad-id-ariha-* 'directed to that particular object'; *kā-cit-karā-* 'effecting all manner of things'; *kū-cid-arthīn-* 'striving to get anywhere', *kuha-cid-vid-* 'wherever being'.

5. A few interjectional or onomatopoetic words are compounded with *-kāra-* and *-kṛti-* 'making' = 'sound', 'utterance', or *-kartṛ-* 'maker', to express the actual phonetic sound of those words: thus *vaṣaṭ-kārā-* (AV. VS.) 'the interjection *vaṣaṭ*', *svadhā-kārā-* 'pronouncing (the benediction) *svādhā*', *svāhā-kṛti-* 'consecration with the call *svāhā*', *hiñ-kartṛ-* (TS.) 'one who utters the sound *hiñ*', *hiñ-kārā-* (VS.) 'the sound *hiñ*'. In *has-kartṛ-* 'enlivener', *has-kārā-* 'laughter', *hās-kṛti-* 'loud merriment', the first member represents either an interjection connected with the verb *has-* 'laugh', or a reduced form of **hasas-* 'laughter' (like *sūt-pati-* for *sādas-pati-* through **sāts-pati-*).

B. The Last Member of Compounds.

252. Its form. — Practically all nouns may appear in this position. But many verbal nouns, especially participles, if used in their primary sense, are found exclusively after indeclinables which are capable of being combined with the corresponding verbs. Some stems also occur as final members though not used independently; such are verbal nouns formed from the simple root with or without an added determinative *-i-*; also derivatives like *-janina-* (AV.) 'belonging to the people (*jāna-*) of —'.

a. Change of ending. — When the gender of the final member is changed, the *-ā* of feminine words, even though radical, becomes *-a* in masculine or neuter compounds; thus *priyosriyā-* 'fond of cows' (*usriyā-*); *an-avasā-* 'restless' (from *ana-sā-* 'rest'), *a-śraddhā-* 'unbelieving' (from *śrad-dhā-* 'belief'), *ṛtā-jya-* 'well-strung' (from *jyā-* 'bowstring'). Even *-ī* in a few instances becomes *-a*; thus *ati-rātrā-* 'performed overnight' and *aho-rātrā-* 'day and night' (*rātrī-*); *api-śarvarā-* 'early in the morning' and *ati-śarvarā-* or *ati-sarvar-īsu* (AV.) 'late at night' (*śarvarī-*).

On the other hand m. and n. stems in *-a* regularly end in *-ā* in the feminine, as *cittā-garbhā-* 'having evident offspring' (*gārbha-* m.); and *pāti-* 'husband' in f. possessives substitutes *-patnī-*; thus *eka-patnī-* (AV.) 'having a single husband', *dāsā-patnī-* 'having demons as lords', *sa-patnī-* 'having one husband in common', *sām-patnī-* (AV.) and *sahā-patnī-* (AV.) 'having her husband with her', *su-patnī-* 'having a good husband'; also in the determinative *vīrā-patnī-* 'wife of a hero'.

253. Alternative stems. — When in the inflexion of a word alternative stems are used, only one of these, and as a rule the older one, appears as final member of possessive compounds: thus *dānt-* 'tooth' (not *dānta-*) in *śatī-dant-* (AV.) 'hundred-toothed', *śūci-dant-* 'bright-toothed'; *pād-* 'foot' (not *pāda-*): *a-pād-* 'footless', *uttānā-pad-* 'whose feet are extended', *eka-pad-*¹ 'one-footed'; *nās-* 'nose' (not *nāsā-*) in *ījū-nas-*² 'straight-nosed', N. of a man³; *ūdhān-* 'udder' (not *ūdhār-*) in *an-ūdhān-*⁴ 'udderless', *rapśād-ūdhān-* 'having a distended udder', f. *ā-cchidrodhn-ī-* 'having an intact udder'; *dhanvan-* 'bow' (not *dhanus-*) in *abalā-dhanvan-* (AV.) 'having a weak bow', *dvatata-dhanvan-* (VS.) 'having an unstrung bow', *kṣiprā-dhanvan-* 'having a swift bow', *śatā-*

¹ The AV., however, has the nom. sing. *eka-pāda-h*.

² According to BLOOMFIELD also in *rujānās*, for *rujānd-nās* 'broken-nosed'; see p. 59, note ¹.

³ According to WACKERNAGEL ²¹, p. 92(top), *a-nāsikā-* occurs in TS. (VII. 5. 12¹).

⁴ Cp. WACKERNAGEL ²¹, p. 93, note.

dhanvan- (VS.) 'having a hundred bows'¹; *śīrṣān-* 'head' (not *śīras-*) in *a-śīrṣān-* 'headless', *tri-śīrṣān-* 'three-headed'², f. *rūru-śīrṣṇ-t-* 'having the head of a Ruru antelope'³; *hṛd-* 'heart' (not *hṛdaya-*) in its long-grade form *-hārd-* in *dur-hārd-* (AV.) 'ill-disposed' and *su-hārd-* 'good-hearted'.

a. Sometimes an alternative stem is used which has not been preserved as an independent word; thus *-jñu-* 'knee' (weak form of *jānu-*) in *asitā-jñu-* (AV.) 'dark-kneed', *mitā-jñu-* 'firm-kneed'⁴; an old stem *-medhas-* in *su-medhās-* 'wise' and *puru-médhas-* (SV.) 'wise' beside the regular compounds in *-medha-* (from *medhā-* 'wisdom') such as *puru-médha-* 'having much wisdom'; *-tvacas-*⁵ 'skin' in *śīrya-tvacas-* (AV. VS.) 'having a skin bright as the sun' and *hiranya-tvacas-* (AV.) 'having a golden skin', beside *tvac-* in *śīrya-tvac-* and *hiranya-tvac-*.

254. **Transfer stems.**—Some four stems appear in certain forms changed to stems in *-as* from a misunderstanding of the nom. *-s* in *-ā-s* (as in *su-prajā-s*); thus from *prajā-* 'offspring', *ā-prajas-* (AV.) 'having no offspring', and *su-prajā-s-*⁶ 'having good offspring', *līla-prajas-*⁷ (MS. I. 5³) 'descendant of Idā'; from *ksā-* 'dwell', *divā-ksas-* 'living in heaven'; from *dā-* 'give', *draviṇo-dās-* 'bestowing wealth'; from *dhā-* 'put', *vayo-dhās-* (AV. VS.) 'bestowing strength' and *varco-dhās-* (AV.) 'bestowing vigour'. On the other hand, by the loss of final *-s* or *-t* a few consonant stems are transformed to *a*-stems; thus beside *ān-āgas-* 'guiltless' appears *ān-āga-*, and beside *puru-dāṃsas-* 'abounding in wondrous deeds', *puru-dāṃsa-*; *ūrv-aśīhvā-* (VS.)⁸, n. du. 'thigh and knee', beside *aśīhvānt-* m. du. 'knees ('bony')'; *ubhayā-da-*⁹ (AV.) 'having teeth in both (jaws)', beside *ubhaya-dat-*.

255. **Vowel gradation in final member.**—a. i. The low grade vowel of the roots *dā-* 'give' and *cut-* disappears when the past participles **dīta-* 'given'¹⁰ and *dīta-* 'cut' and the action noun **dīti-* 'giving' become unaccented final members in a compound: thus *dva-tta-* (VS.) 'cut off', *devā-tta-* 'given by the gods', *vy-ā-tta-* (AV. VS.) 'opened', *pārī-tta-* (VS.) 'given up'¹¹, *ā-pratī-tta-* (AV.) 'not given back'; *bhāga-tti-* 'gift of fortune', *maghā-tti-* 'giving of presents', *vāsu-tti-* 'granting of wealth'¹². Unreduced forms, however, occur in *tvā-dāta-* and *tvā-datta-* 'given by thee' and in *havyā-dāti-* 'sacrificial gift'¹³.

2. The vowels *ī* and *ū* in the radical syllable of the final member is in a few instances reduced to *i* and *u*; thus *try-udhān-* 'having three udders' (*ūdhan-*), *dht-jū-* 'inspiring the mind' (*jū-* 'impel'), *su-śīrā-* 'having a good channel', 'hollow' (*śīrā-* 'stream'), *sik-suti-* 'easy birth' (*sū-ti-* TB.), *ā-huti-* 'invocation' (otherwise *sā-hūti-* 'joint invocation', etc.). Derivative *-ī* is reduced to *-i* in *ā-ni-bhṛṣṭa-taviṣi-* 'having unabated power' (*tāviṣi-*).

¹ The determinative *indra-dhanūs-* 'Indra's bow', occurs in the AV.

² The AV. however has *prthū-śīras-* 'broad-headed'.

³ From *āsthan-* (beside *āsthi-*, AV.) occur both *an-asthān-* and *an-asthā-* 'boneless'.

⁴ Other reduced stems are *sā-gdhi-* (VS.) 'joint meal' (*√ghās-*), *nīdā-* 'nest' (*ni+√sad-*), *upa-bd-i-* 'noise' (*upa+√pad-*) *ā-sk-ra-* 'united' (*√sac-*); perhaps *pari-mśā-* 'best part of' (*āmśa-* 'part').

⁵ Also in the derivative *tvacas-yā-* (AV.) 'being in the skin'.

⁶ Under the influence of this new stem is formed *su-prajā-s-tvā-* 'possession of good offspring' (for **su-prajā-tva-*).

⁷ In K. *idā-prajas-* (IS. 3, 463) with the *ā* of *idā-* unshortened.

⁸ Formed by dropping the *-t* of the weak stem *aśīhvānt-*.

⁹ Formed by dropping the *-t* of the weak stem *-dat-*.

¹⁰ This phonetic form has otherwise been ousted by the anomalous participle *dat-tā-* made from the weak present stem *dad-*.

¹¹ The participle *prā-tta-* 'given up' also occurs in TS. II. 2. 8⁴ (B).

¹² *prā-tti-* 'gift' also occurs in TS. V. 4. 7² (B) and *nir-dva-tti* 'distribution of shares' in K.

¹³ The *ā* of *sāman-* 'chant' is perhaps reduced to *a* in *śk-sāma-* (VS.), *śk-sāma-* (TS.), and *ścī-sāma-*; cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, 43 f., note.

3. The *o* of *gô* 'cow' is reduced to *-u* in *pl̥ṣṭi-gu* 'rearing cows', N. of a man, and *su-gî-* 'having fine cows'. The *-ai* of *râi-* 'wealth', is reduced to *-i* in *br̥hâd-ri*¹ 'having abundant wealth'; perhaps also in *ṛdhâd-ri*², N. of a man.

4. Final *-i* and *-u* of the first member combine with the low grade form of *ā* of *âp-* 'water' in the last member to *ī* and *ū*, in *dvīp-â*³ 'island' (*dvi-âp-*), *pratīp-â-m* 'against' (*prati-*) 'the stream', *anūp-â* 'pond' (*anu-âp-*).

b. On the other hand, radical *a* in several instances appears lengthened to *ā*⁴. This occurs in several possessive compounds of *jāni-* 'wife': *bhâdra-jāni-* 'having a beautiful wife' (only voc.), *yīva-jāni-* 'having a young wife', *vittī-jāni-* 'having found a wife', 'married', and with shifted accent *dvi-jāni-* 'having two wives' and *a-jāni-* (AV.) 'having no wife'. A similar lengthening appears in *pr̥thu-jāghana-* (only voc. f.) 'broad-hipped'; *sahâ-jānuṣa-* 'with offspring' (*jānuṣ-*); *nī-pādâ-* 'low ground' (*pādâ-*); *tvât-pitâras* (TS. I. 5. 10²), N. pl. 'having thee as father'; *su-vâcas-* 'having good speech', 'very eloquent', *sâ-vâcas*⁵ (AV.) 'employing similar speech', *vī-vâcas-* (AV.) 'speaking in various ways' (*vâcas-*), *viśvâ-sârada-* (AV.) 'occurring every autumn' (*śarâd-*) 'annual', *śatî-sârada-* 'lasting a hundred autumns'⁶.

256. Adjectival suffixes. — Adjective compounds not infrequently add certain suffixes to mark their adjectival character more clearly. These suffixes are *-ka*, *-i*, *-ya*, *-a*, *-in*.

1. The suffix *-ka*⁷ is thus used in only two somewhat obscure compounds in the RV. *tri-kadru-ka-* (only pl.), a designation of certain soma vessels (*kadru-*) and *try-âmba-ka-* 'having three mothers' (*amba* voc.); in the AV. occur *vī-manyu-ka-* 'free from anger' and *sahâ-kañhi-kâ* f. 'with the throat' (*kañhâ-*, B.)⁸.

2. In the final member of a few Bahuvrihis, the suffix *-i* sometimes takes the place of *-a*; thus *praty-ardhi-* 'to whom the half (*ârdha-*) belongs'; *ân̥jana-gandhi-* 'having a smell (*gandhâ-*) of ointment', *dhūmâ-gandhi-* 'smelling of smoke', *su-gândhi-* or *su-gandhi* 'sweet-smelling'; *kr̥ṣṭâ-râdhi-* (AV.) 'attaining success (*râdha-*) in agriculture'.

3. The suffix *-ya* is frequently added in Bahuvrihis; thus *anyâdar-ya-* 'born from another womb' (*uddra-*), *dâśa-mâs-ya*⁹ 'ten months old', *dirgha-jīhv-yâ-* 'long-tongued'¹⁰, *mâdhu-hast-ya-* 'honey-handed', *mayîra-śep-ya-* 'peacock-tailed'¹¹, *viśvâ-jan-ya-* 'belonging to all men', *viśvâ-dev-ya-* 'relating to all gods', *viśvâṅg-yâ-* (AV.) 'being in all limbs', *sâ-garbh-ya-* (VS.) 'born from the same

¹ In the dative *br̥hâdraye*; cp. BB. 25, 250.

² In the anomalous gen. sing. *ṛdhâd-riyas*.

³ Also *nīp-a-* 'low-lying' (*nī-âp-* 'into which the water flows down') in K.

⁴ For a phonetic explanation of this phenomenon see WACKERNAGEL 2¹, 43 (p. 100); and cp. I, 68.

⁵ There is a various reading *sî-vâcasas* in AV. VII. 12², on which see WHITNEY's note.

⁶ On *vī-hāyas-* 'of extensive power', *sârva-hāyas-* (AV.) 'having all vigour', *su-râmâ-* 'delighting', *su-yâmâ-* 'guiding well', see WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 101 (middle).

⁷ This suffix, which is never accented, is probably identical with that which forms

adjectives, as *ânta-ka-* 'ending' from *ânta-* 'end'.

⁸ In the VV. several examples occur; WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 102, quotes from the TS. *a-kaṣṇâ-ka-* 'earless', *a-dantâ-ka-* 'toothless', *a-pādâ-ka-* 'footless', *an-akṣi-ka-* 'eyeless', *an-asthi-ka-* 'boneless', *a-tvâk-ka-* 'skinless', *sâśir-ka-* 'accompanied by a blessing', *an-âśir-ka-* 'lacking a blessing'; from the MS. *a-cchandâs-ka-* 'metreless', *an-âstha-ka-* 'boneless'.

⁹ Also *ṣaṇ-mâsya-* 'six months old', and *sapta-mâsya-* 'seven months old' in K.

¹⁰ Also in TS. some compounds formed with *-deva-tyâ-* 'having — for a deity' (*devâtâ-*); *nânâ-viś-yâ-* (MS.) 'consisting of various villages'.

¹¹ Also *vī-śiṣṇ-ya-* (K.) 'tailless'.

womb', *sa-dhan-yā* 'accompanied by gifts', *sā-yāth-ya* (VS.) 'belonging to the same herd', *su-hāst-ya* 'fair-handed' (beside *su-hāsta*-), *hiraṇya-keś-ya* 'golden-maned' (beside *hiraṇya-keśa*-).¹

The suffix *-ya* is also common in governing compounds with prepositions as first member; thus *dāhi-gart-ya* 'being on the car-seat', *antaḥ-pārśv-yā* (VS.) and *antaḥ-pārśv-yā* (VS.) 'being between the ribs', *āntr-ya* (AV.) 'being in the entrails', *api-kakṣ-yā* 'situated near the arm-pit', *īpa-tṛn-ya* (AV.) 'being in the grass', *īpa-mās-ya* (AV.) 'occurring every month', *pāri-rath-ya* (AV.)² 'being around the car', n. part of the car. It also appears in the adverbially used governing compounds *abhi-nabh-yā-m* 'near the clouds' and *ud-āp-yā-m* (AV.) 'upstream'.

4. The final member of *Bahuvrīhis* is very frequently extended by the suffix *-a*. In the RV. there are at least fifteen such stems; thus *akṣ-* 'eye' in *an-akṣ-ā* 'eyeless', *ādhy-akṣ-a* 'eye-witness', *catur-akṣ-ā* 'four-eyed', *bhūry-akṣ-ā* 'many-eyed', *śahasrākṣ-ā* 'thousand-eyed', *hiraṇyākṣ-ā* 'golden-eyed', *āktākṣ-a* (AV.) 'whose eyes are anointed', *an-āktākṣ-a*³ (AV.) 'whose eyes are not anointed', *dhūmākṣ-ā* (AV.) 'smoke-eyed', *pariyastākṣ-ā* (AV.) 'with eyes cast about', *sanisrasākṣ-ā* (AV.) 'having constantly falling eyes', *hary-akṣ-ā* (VS.) 'yellow-eyed'; **asth*⁴ 'bone' in *an-asth-ā* 'boneless' beside *an-asthān*-; **udar* 'water' in *an-udr-ā* 'waterless'; *gō* 'cow' in *su-gāv-a* 'having fine cows', *saṃgav-ā* 'time when cows come together', and in *atithi-gv-a*, a name, *lā-gv-a* 'variegated', *dāśa-gva*, N. of a mythical group, *nāva-gv-a*⁵, N. of a mythical group; *janus* in *śahā-jānuṣ-a* 'with offspring'; *div* 'heaven' in *brhād-div-a* and *brhad-div-ā*, N. of a seer, *su-div-ā* (AV.) 'bright day'; *dur* 'door' in *śatā-dur-a* 'having a hundred doors'; *dhur* 'yoke' in *su-dhūr-a* 'going well under the yoke' (beside *su-dhūr*-), *sā-dhur-a* (AV.) 'harnessed to the same yoke'; *nas* 'nose' in *urū-nas-ā* 'broad-nosed', *pari-nas-ā* (AV.) 'having a nose like a spear-head', *vārdhrī-nas-ā* (VS.) 'rhinoceros'; *mīdh* in *vi-mīdh-ā*⁶ (AV.) 'warding off foes' (beside *vi-mīdh*-, VS.); *rāi* 'wealth' in *ā-rāy-a* 'not liberal'; *vāstu* 'dwelling' in *nāva-vāstv-a* 'having nine abodes'; *śardā* 'autumn' in *śatā-śarad-a* 'lasting a hundred autumns'; *āp* 'water' in *dvīp-ā* 'island'⁷.

In the later Samhitās several other final members extended with *-a* occur: *dhan* 'day' in *sāhn-ā* (AV.) 'lasting a day'; *fc* 'verse' in *eka-rc-ā* (AV.) 'consisting of one verse'; *kṣām* 'earth' in *su-kṣm-ā* (VS.) 'consisting of good earth'; *netṭ* 'leader' in *agnī-netr-a* (VS. TS.)⁸ 'having Agni as leader'; *path* 'road', in *vi-path-ā* (AV.), a kind of chariot ('fit for untrodden paths'); *pād* 'foot' in *ā-bā-a* (VS.) 'year'; **vatas* 'year' in *tri-vats-ā* (VS.) 'three years old'; *saṃ-dīś* 'aspect' in *mādhū-saṃdīś-a* (AV.) 'sweet-looking'.

a. The final member is also sometimes extended with *-a* after a governing preposition; thus *ānu-path-a* 'going along the road', *āntas-path-a* 'being on the road', *anūp-ā* 'tank' ('lying along the water'), *upānas-ā* 'being on the car' (*-ānas*-), *parō-keś-a* (AV.) 'away from the eye' (*akṣ*-), *puro-gav-ā* 'leader' ('preceding the cows').

¹ *āśva-budh-ya* 'based on horses' is probably for **āśva-budhn-ya* (from *budhnā* 'bottom') beside *āśva-budhna* 'borne by horses'.

² The accent of these words in *-ya* is usually the same as it would be without the suffix; for a few exceptions, see WACKERNAGEL 2ⁱ, 47 d (p. 108).

³ The Mss. (AV. xx. 1286) read *anāktākṣa*-.

⁴ See WACKERNAGEL 2ⁱ, p. 108 (bottom).

⁵ See BLOOMFIELD, *AJPh.* 17, 422 ff.

⁶ Also the f. *vi-mīdh-ā* (TS. II. 4. 2ⁱ B).

⁷ On a few doubtful instances see WACKERNAGEL 2ⁱ, p. 109 (bottom).

⁸ In TS. I. 8. 7ⁱ = VS. IX. 35, 36 several other names of deities compounded with *-netr-a* occur.

b. A similar extension with *-a* occurs in collectives which are allied to Bahuvrīhis: thus *try-īyus-ā-* (VS.) 'threefold lifetime', *dvi-rāj-ā-* (AV.) 'battle of two kings', *ṣaḍ-rc-ā-* 'aggregate of six stanzas', *sam-udr-ā-* 'collection of waters' (**udar-*), 'sea', *sa-vidyut-ā-* (AV.) 'thunderstorm' ('accompanied by lightning'). Akin to these are compounds in which the first member expresses a part of the last (with change of gender); thus *ardha-rc-ā-* (AV. VS.) m. 'half-stanza', *aparāhṇ-ā-* (AV.) m. 'afternoon', *ny-āhn-a-* (AV.) 'decline of day', *pūrvāhṇ-ā-* 'forenoon', *prā-pad-a-* 'tip of the foot'. There are further some neuter determinatives which probably had originally a collective sense; thus, with change of gender, *tri-div-ā-* 'third heaven', *su-div-ā-* (AV.) 'fine day'; *ā-path-a-* (AV.) 'pathlessness', *su-pāth-a-* 'good path'. From neuter stems in *-as*, *devainas-ā-* (AV.) 'curse of the gods', *manuṣyainas-ā-* (AV.) 'sin (*ēnas-* of men)', *brahma-varcas-ā-* (AV. VS.) 'divine power', *hasti-varcas-ā-* (AV.) 'vigour of an elephant', *brāhmaṇa-varcas-ā-* (AV.) 'dignity of a Brahman'.

c. The ending *-a* frequently takes the place of *-an*¹ in the final member of Bahuvrīhis, collectives, and Karmadhārayas; thus *deva-karmā-* 'doing divine work', *viśvā-karma-* 'performing all work', *vīrā-karma-* 'performing manly work', *priyā-dhāma-* 'occupying desirable places', *chando-nāma-* (VS.) 'named metre', 'metrical', *vi-parva-* 'jointless', *dvi-vrṣā-*² (AV.) 'having two bulls', *añji-sakthā-* (VS.) 'having coloured thighs', *ut-sakthā-* (VS.) 'lifting up the thighs', *lomaśā-saktha-* (VS.) 'having hairy thighs'³, *rk-sāmā-* 'the R̥c verses and the Sāmans', *ṣaḍ-ahā-* (AV.) m. 'period of six days'; *bhadrāhā-* (AV.) n. 'auspicious day', *eka-vrṣā-* (AV.) 'only bull', *mahā-vrṣā-* (AV.) 'great bull'.

d. The suffix *-a* takes the place of *-ī* in *kavī-sakthā-* 'having a niggard for a friend' (*sakhi-*), in *mandayāt-sakha-* 'gladdening his friend', and in *daśāṅgulā-* 'length of ten fingers' (*āṅgūli-*).

5. In Bahuvrīhis the suffix *-in* is sometimes pleonastically added; thus *ku-nakh-in-* (AV.) 'having bad nails', *mahā-hast-in-* 'having large hands', *yaśo-bhag-in-* (VS.) 'rich in glory', *sa-rath-in-* (VS.) 'riding on the same chariot'.

257. Classification of Compounds.—The Indian grammarians divided compounds into three main classes according to their syntactical relations: 1) copulatives, or those in which the members are coordinated, called *dvandva-*⁴ ('couple'); 2) determinatives, or those in which the first member determines the second, called *tat-puruṣa-* ('his man')⁵; 3) those which are dependent on another word, called *bahuvrīhi-*⁶. The latter are usually regarded as compounds of the determinative class transmuted to adjectives, which would thus have a secondary character. They are often called 'possessives' since their meaning can usually be rendered by 'possessing', as *bahv-annā-* 'possessing much food'. To these may be added three other groups in order to treat Vedic compounds exhaustively: 4) governing compounds, or those in which the first member governs the last in sense; e. g. *kṣayād-vīra-* 'ruling men'; 5) a certain remnant of irregular combinations which are best dealt with together; 6) iteratives, or repeated words which are treated as compounds in the Saṃhitās inasmuch as they have only one accent and a special meaning when thus combined; in these the second member is called *āmreṣṭita-* 'repeated' by the Indian grammarians.

¹ This *-a* probably started in stems ending in *-man*, representing **-mn-a-*; see WACKER-NAGEL 2¹, p. 118 c.

² *-vrṣa-* for *-vr̥ṣan-* occurs in the AV. after other numerals also.

³ For some doubtful examples see WACKER-NAGEL 2¹, p. 116.

⁴ The word first occurs in a B. passage of the TS. (I. 6. 9⁺) in the form of *dvandvāni* 'couples', and in the AB.

⁵ An example used as the name of the class.

⁶ 'Having much rice', an example used as the name of the class.

I. Iteratives.

COLLITZ, Transactions of the Oriental Congress of Berlin 23, 287 ff. — DELBRÜCK, Vergleichende Syntax, Dritter Theil (1900), p. 141—153: Iterativcomposita. — WACKER-NAGEL 2¹, p. 142—148.

258. The repetition of an inflected form with loss of accent in the second word is very frequent in the RV. Such repetitions are treated in the Pada texts as compounds the members being separated by the Avagraha. The word thus repeated is generally a substantive and iteration is expressed chiefly in regard to time or distribution in regard to space; e. g. *āhar-āhar*, *divé-dive*, *dyāvi-dyavi* 'every day'; *gr̥hē-gr̥he*, *dāme-dame*, *viśē-viśe* 'in every house'; *diśā-diśah* (AV.) 'from every quarter'. Substantives are also thus repeated to express frequency or constant succession in other matters: *śatroh-śatroh* 'of every foe'; *annam-annam* (AV.) 'food in perpetuity'; *agnīm-agnim vah samidhā duvasyata* (VI. 15⁶) 'worship Agni again and again with your fuel', *yajñāsya-yajñasya* 'of every sacrifice' (X. 1⁵), *āṅgād-āṅgāt* 'from every limb' (X. 163⁶), *pārvaṇi-pārvaṇi* 'in every joint' (X. 163⁶). Adjectives repeated in this way are less common; e. g. *pānyam-panyam* . . . *dhāvata* . . . *sāmam* (VIII. 2²⁵) 'cleanse Soma who is again and again to be praised'; *prācīm-prācīm pradiśam* (AV. XII. 37) 'each forward (eastern) direction'; *uttarām-uttarām sāmām* (AV. XII. 133) 'each following year', 'year after year'².

a. The repeated word was originally used in the singular only. But the plural meaning of this repetition led to the beginnings of plural forms, as *ekam-ekā satā daduḥ* (V. 52¹⁷) 'they have given a hundred each' (lit. 'hundreds, each one'). But a word thus iterated seems never to be in the plural except in agreement with a plural.

b. The frequency of *-e* as locative of *a*-stems led to the occasional use of the dative in consonant stems; *div-ē-div-e* (for **div-i-div-i*) and *viś-ē-viś-e* (for **viś-i-viś-i*).

c. The transition from iteratives to regular compounds, which appears in B., began with numerals. Thus the *eka-ekah* of the RV. (III. 29¹⁵) appears in the ŚB. as *ekaika*; and from the *dvā-dvā* of the RV. (VIII. 68¹⁴) we come to the adverbial *dvan-dvām* 'in pairs' in the MS., and finally to *dvandvā* 'pair' in the TS. (B).

d. Adjective compounds in which a word is repeated for emphasis are unconnected with iteratives, differing from them both in sense and accent; thus *mahā-mahā* 'mightily great'; *ṣaiṣṭ* f. of **ṣaiṣā*-d- (= *ṣa-ṣā*-d-) 'very speedy'³. Whether *carā-carā* and *calā-calā* 'moveable' belong to this group is somewhat uncertain.

2. Copulative Compounds.

REUTER, Die altindischen nominalcomposita, KZ. 31, 172—87: I. Copulative composita. — DELBRÜCK, Altindische Syntax 31. — RICHTER, Die unechten Nominalkomposita des Altindischen und Altiranischen: IF. 9, 23 ff. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 1252—61. — WACKERNAGEL 2¹, 62—74 (p. 149—173).

259. Classification of Dvandvas.—This class consists of compounds consisting of two substantives, far less commonly adjectives, the syntactical relation of which in the sentence is the same and which may be regarded as connected in sense by 'and'. The successive stages in the development of this class can be closely traced from the beginning in the Samhitās. I. First we have in the RV. the most numerous group (about three-fourths

¹ A vocative repeated to express emphasis is not treated in the same way: in *aranyāny aranyāni* (X. 146¹) both vocatives are accented, the second being as emphatic as the first.

² The only repetition of a verbal form in this way is *piba-piba* (II. 11¹¹) 'drink again and again'; cp. above 88.

³ According to GELDNER, VS. 2, 15 the form *ṣaiṣyā* (RV¹) is the inst. sing. of *ṣaiṣṭ* f. of **ṣaiṣā*-d-; but according to BR. and GRASSMANN it is neut. pl. of *ṣaiṣyā* (= *ṣa-ṣyā*-d-) 'to be striven for with desire', 'desirable'.

of all the Dvandvas) in which the compound consists of two co-ordinated nouns in the dual, each with its own accent. 2. The first member assumes an unchangeable form. 3. Only one accent remains and is restricted to the last syllable of the final member. 4. The first member assumes (but quite rarely in the RV.) the form of the stem. 5. The formation, becoming more general, can assume plural endings (but the RV. has only a few examples in the last book). 6. In the later Saphitās this type becomes quite general, forming a single category with the dual Dvandvas. 7. The final stage (of which the examples are few) is that of Dvandvas which are neuter singulars of a collective character.

260. In the commonest and earliest type of the old Dvandvas each member is dual in form and has a separate accent. This type seems to have originated from two grammatical practices frequent in the Vedas: (a) the juxtaposition of two coordinate words without *ca*; e.g. *bhūmano divās pāri* (IX. 73⁵) 'away from earth and heaven', *krātuṃ dāksam* (VIII. 42³) 'understanding and will'; (b) the use of the elliptic dual¹ which puts one of a pair in the dual to express both, as *dyaūvā* 'heaven and earth'. This origin is probable because the dual Dvandvas are found alternating with one or both of these usages; thus *mitrā-varuṇā* 'Mitra and Varuṇa' appears beside both *mitrā* alone and *mitrō varuṇaḥ* (or *mitrō varuṇas ca* and *mitrās ca varuṇas ca*); *mātūrā-pitūrā* 'mother and father' beside *mātūrā* or *pitūrā* and *pitre mātre* and other cases, the VS. (IX. 19) having pleonastically even *pitūrā-mātūrā ca* meaning 'father and mother'. The transition from the syntactical collocation *divās . . . pṛthivyās* (VI. 30¹) to a dual compound is seen in *divās-pṛthivyās* 'of heaven and earth' (occurring four times in the RV.) where the second word is put in the dual to show clearly that an associated couple is meant. In the RV. the two duals of the compound are often separated; e.g. *dyaūvā ha kṣāmā* (X. 12¹) 'heaven and earth'; *dyaūvā yajñdīḥ pṛthivī* (VII. 53¹); *indrā no ātra varuṇā* (IV. 41¹)²; *ā nāktā barhiḥ sadatām uśāsā* (VII. 42⁵) 'let Night and Dawn seat themselves upon the litter'; *indrā nī pūṣānā* (VI. 57¹) 'Indra and Pūṣan'; *indrā no agnī* (VI. 59³) 'Indra and Agni'; *indrā yo agnī* (VI. 60¹)³; *cākṣur māhi mitrāyor āṃ ēti priyān varuṇayoh* (VI. 51¹) 'the great, dear eye of Mitra and Varuṇa comes'. In two or three examples of tmesis the dual ending appears in the first member only, while the singular remains in the second; thus *mitrā . . . varuṇaḥ* (VIII. 25²) and *indrā yō vām varuṇa*⁴ (VI. 68⁵) 'O Indra and Varuṇa'. Generally, however, the two duals are in immediate juxtaposition, as *indrā-bṛhaspātī* 'Indra and Bṛhaspati'; *dyaūvā-pṛthivī* 'Heaven and Earth'; *agnī-śomā* 'Agni and Soma'; gen. *mitrāyor-varuṇayoh*⁵ 'of Mitra and Varuṇa'.

The characteristic final vowel of the first member is *-ā*⁶, as *uśāsā-nāktā* (or *nāktośāsā*); hence it even ousts *-ī* as in *agnī-viṣṇū* (AV.) 'O Agni and Viṣṇu'. Beside this *-ā* there sometimes appears *a* in the vocative, both in tmesis, as in *mitra rājānā varuṇā* (V. 62³) 'O kings Mitra and Varuṇa' (voc. of *rājānā mitrā-varuṇā*, III. 56⁷; X. 64⁵); and when the members are joined, as

¹ Cp. WACKERNAGEL, KZ. 23, 302 ff., REUTER, KZ. 31, 176 ff., DELBRÜCK, Altindische Syntax 58 (p. 98), Vergleichende Syntax, Erster Theil 41 (p. 137 f.).

² In each of the first 6 stanzas of IV. 41 *indrā* and *varuṇā* are separated by one or two words of two or three syllables.

³ Also *viṣṇū agan varuṇā* 'Viṣṇu and Varuṇa' in a Mantra in TB. II. 8. 45.

⁴ The Pada text here reads *varuṇā*; cp. *indrā kō vām varuṇā* (IV. 41¹).

⁵ Double duals in *-bhyām* do not appear to occur.

⁶ The ending *-au* or *-āv* never occurs in the first member.

in *parjanya-vātā* (VI. 49⁶), voc. of *parjanya-vātā* (VI. 50¹²), and always in *indra-vāyū*¹ 'O Indra and Vayu'. The ending *-ī* appears in the first member in *agnī-śmau* 'Agni and Soma'; and *-ū* in *krātū-dākṣau* (VS.)².

261. These coordinate duals having early come to be regarded as a unit, the commonest ending of the first member, that of the nom. acc., came to be retained unaltered in other cases and in derivatives³. Thus arose the forms *mitrā-vāruṇābhyām*; *mitrā-vāruṇayos* beside *mitrāyor-vāruṇayos*, *indrā-vāruṇayos*; in the AV. *dyaūva-prthivībhyām* and *dyaūva-prthivyós* (instead of the *divás-prthivyós* of the RV.).

262. In a minority of instances, but comparatively oftener in the later Samhitās than in the RV., the first member loses its accent and only the last syllable of the final member (irrespective of its original accent) has the acute⁴; thus *indrā-pūṣṇós* (beside *indrā-pūṣṇā*); *somā-pūṣābhyām*; *bhava-rudrāu* (AV.) 'Bhava and Rudra', *bhava-sarvāu* (AV.) 'Bhava and Sarva'⁵; *vātā-parjanya* 'Vāta and Parjanya' (*parjanya-*); *sūryā-candramāsā* 'sun and moon' (*candramas-*).

a. In the later Samhitās there are a few examples in which the nom. sing. of stems in *-īr* has, doubtless owing to identity in form of the final vowel with the Vedic dual ending *-ā*, become fixed in the first member: *pitā-putrāu* (AV.) 'father and son'; *neṣṭā-potībhyām* (TS. I. 8. 18¹) 'to the Neṣṭr and the Potr'⁶. They doubtless started from syntactically coordinated nominatives (like *divás-prthivyós* beside *divás prthivyās*, VI. 47²⁷)⁷.

263. Dvandvas with a single accent having established themselves, the stem form began to encroach in the first member. The only two examples from RV. I.-IX, are *indra-vāyā* (the transition being facilitated by the more frequent occurrence of the vocative *indra-vāyū*) and *satyīṃtē*⁸ (VII. 49³) 'truth and untruth'. Two additional neuters occurs in book x: *sāsanānaśanē* 'what eats (*sa-aśana-*) and does not eat' (*an-aśana-*); and *ṛk-sāmābhyām* 'with hymns and chant'. In the later Samhitās this becomes the prevailing type regularly followed in new formations; *prastotṛ-pratihartībhyām* (TS. I. 8. 18¹) 'to the Prastotṛ and Pratihartṛ'; *krātū-dākṣau* (VS.); *dakṣa-krātū* (TS.), *sūdrāryāu* (VS.) 'a Sūdra and an Ārya'⁹.

264. The stem form having established itself in the first member, the compounding of Dvandvas became freer, and not only neuters but feminines began to be admitted, as *dīkṣā-tapās-os* (VS.) 'consecration and austerity'. Here, too, the final syllable of the compound has the acute; the svarita of the original word is, however, retained in *brahma-rājanyāu* (VS. XXVI. 2; AV. XI. 32⁸) 'a Brahman and a warrior'.

265. Dvandvas with plural ending are on the whole later than those with dual ending. They would first have been used to express the plural sense of the pair in question, thus *ṣṭī āhur dyaūva-prthivī* (VIII. 9¹⁶) 'they speak of six heaven-and-earths'; *aho-rātrāni* = 'pairs of day-and-night'.

¹ This Dvandva always has *a* even in the nom. *indra-vāyū*.

² The dual notion is sometimes emphasized by the addition of *ubhāu* 'both', as *ubhā mitrā-vāruṇā*; *sūryā-candramasāu ubhā* (AV.).

³ Like *jeder-manns* for *jedes-manns* in German. BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 20, 168 (Anzeiger) regards these Dvandvas as abbreviations by dropping the common ending in the first member.

⁴ This accentuation is probably due to the influence of collective compounds which are nearly allied to Dvandvas. *Indrāgnī*, *indrāgnībhyām*, *indrāgnyós* and *agnīndrābhyām*

are examples which may contain the stem form in the first member (263).

⁵ WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 153, also quotes *somā-rudrāyos* (TS.), *uṣṇīhā-kakūbhau* (MS.).

⁶ On *teṣṭī-varūtrī* see WACKERNAGEL 2¹, 64 (p. 154).

⁷ The three divisions of Dvandvas treated above include masculines and feminines only. Neuters of similar type first appear in the Sūtras, as *idhmā-barhiṣṭī* 'fuel and litter'.

⁸ This is the earliest example of a neuter Dvandva.

⁹ WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 155, gives some further examples from B. portions of the later Samhitās.

A transition to the use of plural Dvandvas, that is, of pairs of groups, is made by *indrā-maruṭas* 'O Indra and Maruṭs', where the dual notion is made up of a singular on the one hand and a group on the other. The older type of such plural Dvandvas (which express two coordinated plurals, the first member retaining its accent and the archaic ending -ā, like the -ā of dual Dvandvas) is represented by *āṅgā-pārūṅsi* 'limbs and joints' occurring in a B. passage of the TS. (II. 5. 6¹). Examples of the later type with one accent are *ukthā-saṣṭrāṇi* (VS. XIX. 28) 'recitations and praises', *ukthā-madāni* (AV.) 'recitations and rejoicings', and probably *ukthārkā* (VI. 34¹) 'recitations and hymns'¹. The latest type of these plural Dvandvas (like that of the duals) has the stem form in the first as well as the acute on the last syllable of the final member. The only examples of this type in the RV. occur in book X: *aho-rātrāṇi*² 'days and nights', *ajāvādyas* 'goats and sheep', *dhana-bhaksṣu* 'in riches and enjoyments'. In the later Samhitās this type becomes quite general, forming a single category with the duals; e. g. *deva-manuṣyās* (AV. VIII. 10³), *bhadra-pāpās* (AV.) 'the good and the bad', *prīyāpriyāṇi* (AV.) 'pleasant and unpleasant things'³.

a. The expression *amṛta mātṛyānām* (I. 269) appears to be an abridgment for *amṛtānām mātṛyānām* 'of immortals (and) mortals', amounting almost to a plural Dvandva (= *amṛta-mātṛyānām*)⁴.

266. A few Dvandvas appear in the Samhitās with a singular ending, these being neuter only. The older type in which a dual or plural has been turned into a singular at the end, only in order to express a collective meaning, is represented in the RV. by *iṣṭā-pūrtām*⁵ 'what has been offered or given', originally a pl. n. in both members (**iṣṭā-pūrtāi*) which has become a singular to emphasize its collective character⁶. Both owing to the lack of an early type of neuter Dvandvas and because of the desire to express a collective sense, nearly all the neuter Dvandvas of the later kind are singular. In most instances both members are neuter; e. g. *kyākṛtā-m* (AV.) 'what has been done and not done', *cittākūtā-m* (AV.) 'thought and intention' (*ākṛta-*), *bhūta-bhavyā-m* (AV.) 'the past and the future', *saṁṣṭa-yajis* (VS.) 'sacrifice and sacrificial formula', *bhadra-pāpasya* (AV.) 'of good and evil', *añjanābhyañjana-m* (AV.) 'unction and inunction' (*abhyañjana-*), *kaśipūpabarhaṇā-m* (AV.) 'mat and pillow'.

a. In a few instances the first member is a masculine or feminine: *keśa-smaśrū* (AV.) 'hair and beard', *iṣṭā-ayudhā* (loc. sing.) 'arrows and weapons' (AV.).

267. Adjectives also occur as Dvandvas, but they are of rare occurrence. Three types may be distinguished.

1. Adjectives of colour expressing a mixture: e. g. *nīla-lohitā* 'dark-blue and red' = 'dark red'; *tāmra-dhūmrā* (AV.) 'red and black' = 'dark red'; *aruṇā-bāhru-* (VS.) 'ruddy and yellow', *dhūmrā-rohita-* (VS.) 'grey and red'⁷.

¹ Probably = *ukthā-arkā*, not *ukthā-arkā*, the gender of the first member having prevailed over that of the last.

² The gender of the first member here prevails over that of the second.

³ Some other examples from B. passages of the Samhitās in WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 157. The oldest example of a Dvandva consisting of three members is *prāṇāpānōdānēsu* (TS. VII. 3. 3¹) 'in the outward, the downward and the upward airs', where the plural results from the addition of three individual things (not three groups).

⁴ Cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 157.

⁵ See WINDISCH in Festgruss an Böhlingk, p. 115 ff.

⁶ WACKERNAGEL (2¹, 68) quotes *idhmā-barhis* from the MS., 'fuel and litter', which with its double accent as well as dual ending in the first member represents a still earlier type.

⁷ Except in these colour adjectives in the VS., the accentuation of the adjective Dvandvas is the same as that of neuter substantive Dvandvas, that is, the last syllable of the final member has the acute.

2. Adjectives expressing a contrast; e. g. *utkūla-nikūlā* (VS.) 'going uphill and downhill'.

3. Adjectives used with dual or plural substantives to express that each is an attribute of one unit of the kind; e. g. *padbhyām dakṣiṇa-sa-yābhyām* (AV. XII. 1²⁸) 'with the right foot and the left'; or with the substantive to be supplied, *saptamāṣṭamābhyām svāhā* (AV.) 'hail to the seventh and the eighth (Āṅgīrasa)'; *aghasaṃsa-duḥsaṃsābhyām* (AV.) 'by those plotting evil and those plotting ill'; *sāhnātirātrāu* (AV.) 'terminating with a day (*sa-ahna-*) and exceeding a day' (*ati-rātrā-*).

268. As regards the order of the members in a Dvandva, the rule seems to be that the more important or the shorter word comes first; thus *dyāvā-kṣamā*, *dyāvā-bhūmī*, *dyāvā-prthivī*¹ 'heaven and earth'; *sūrya-māsā* and *sūrya-candramāsā* 'sun and moon'; *indrā-vāruṇā* 'Indra and Varuṇa'; *ulūkhala-musālā* (AV.) 'mortar and pestle'. *Indrā-* regularly comes first in the RV. and the later Saṃhitās in some dozen Dvandvas²; e. g. *indrāgnī*; otherwise *agnī-* always precedes; *sōma-* comes after *indrā-* and *agnī-*, but before *pūṣan-* and *rudra-*. The longer word comes first, perhaps, as the more important, in *parjanya-vātā*³ 'Parjanya and Vāta' and in *turvaśa-yādū* 'Turvaśa and Yadu'. This can hardly be the reason in *sambādha-tandryās* (AV.) 'oppressions and weariness'. The shorter word comes first in *mitrā-vāruṇā*, though Varuṇa is the more important of the two⁴; in *ṛk-samābhyām* the shorter word is at the same time the more important.

3. Determinative Compounds.

269. Classification.—The large class of determinative compounds in which the first member determines or limits the sense of the last, is best divided into two main groups. In the one, the final member is a verbal noun which governs the first member in meaning, and often even in form, as a verb governs its case. In the other, the final member is an ordinary noun (either adjective or substantive), the relation of which to the first member is a purely nominal one.

a. Verbal Noun as final member.

270. The final member is often a verbal noun either not occurring as a simple word or at least not belonging to a type used as simple words: either the bare root⁵ or a verbal derivative formed with the suffixes *-a*, *-ana*, *-i*, *-in*, *-man*, *-van*. These nouns limited to use as final members are agent nouns; e. g. *haviṛ-dā-* 'eating the oblation', *sam-idh-* 'flaming', *jyotiṣ-kr-t-* 'producing light', *abhi-hri-t-* 'causing injury', *go-ghn-d-* 'cow-slaying', *ā-kar-d-* 'scattering'; *amitra-dāmbh-ana-* 'injuring enemies', *turvi-gr-i-* 'devouring much', *uru-dākr-i-* 'doing large work'; *bhadra-vād-in-* 'uttering an auspicious cry'; *āśu-hē-man-* 'swiftly speeding', *bhūri-dā-van-*⁶ 'giving much'. — Occasionally agent-nouns limited to use as final members are formed with other suffixes: *prati-dīv-an-* 'adversary at play', *vi-bhū-an-* 'far-reaching' and *vi-bhū-dn-* 'skilful'; *pra-py-asā-* (AV.) 'swelling', *sva-bhy-asā-* (AV.) 'spontaneously frightened';

¹ This form occurs 79 times in the RV. and *prthivī-dyāvā* only once.

² Otherwise only *agnīndrābhyām* (VS.) 'Agni and Indra'. Cp. the list of dual divinities in Vedic Mythology, Grundriss III, I A, p. 126.

³ Once also *vātā-parjanya-*.

⁴ Cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 168 (middle).

⁵ Appearing in its weakest form or, if ending in a short vowel, with determinative *-t*.

⁶ *-mant* and *-vant* occasionally appear as variations for *-man* and *-van*, as *vi-rīk-mant-* 'shining'; *prāṇa-dā-vant-* (AV.) 'life-giving' (cp. WHITNEY on AV. IV. 35³); see REUTER, KZ. 31, 560 f.

duḥ-śās-u- 'malignant', *vi-bhīnd-ī-* 'splitting', *pra-y'y-u-* 'used for driving', *go-vind-ī-* 'seeking cows', *pari-tatn-ī-* (AV.) 'encompassing', *pūṃś-cal-ī-* (VS.) 'prostitute'; *pīva-sphā-kā-*¹ (AV.¹) 'abounding in fat', *ni-hā-kā-* 'whirlwind'; *vi-bhāñj-anī-* 'shattering'; *pra-cet-īna-* 'affording a wide prospect'; *div-ī-tmant-* 'going to heaven'; *tuvi-kūrm-(n)-* 'stirring mightily'; *vāsaḥ-palpūl-ī-* (VS.) 'washing clothes'.

a. The meaning of these agent-nouns restricted in use as final members is chiefly active. But in those of them which consist of the bare root (with or without the determinative *-t*) it is often intransitive; e. g. *namo-vṛdh-* 'growing by adoration'; it is not infrequently passive, as *mano-yij-* 'yoked at will', *su-yij-* 'well-yoked'; *yāma-hū-* 'called by entreaties', *indra-pā-tama-* 'most eagerly drunk by Indra', *īvara-sit-* 'pressed from the fermenting mass', *hṛdaya-vidh-* 'pierced to the heart'² (AV.). The passive meaning also appears in one derivative formed with *-a*: *pari-mar-ā-* (TS.) 'died around' = 'around whom people die'. Final members formed with *-a*, *-ana*, (*i*)-*tu* when compounded with *su-* or *du-* also have a passive (gerundive) meaning expressive of the ease or difficulty with which the verbal action is performed; e. g. *su-kār-a-* 'easy to be done', *su-mān-tu-* 'easily recognisable', *su-ved-anā-* 'easily acquired'; *dur-āp-anā-* 'hard to attain'; *dur-ni-yān-tu-* 'hard to restrain', *dur-dhār-ī-tu-* 'irresistible', *dū-dābha-* 'hard to deceive'; also an isolated derivative with *-i*, *dur-gṛbh-i-* 'hard to catch', and one with *-na*, *su-śrū-ṇa-* 'easily heard' (beside *su-śrū-t-* 'hearing easily').

271. A certain number of verbal nouns restricted to employment as final members which are formed from the simple root (with or without determinative *-t*) or with the suffixes *-a*, *-ana*, *-tha* are nouns of action; e. g. *śrad-dhā-* 'belief', *āstir-dā-* (VS. TS.) 'fulfilment of wishes', *ūpa-stu-t-* 'invocation', *pari-pād-* 'snare', *saṃ-nām-* (AV.) 'affection'; *ksudhā-mār-ā-* (AV.) 'death by hunger', *pāpa-vād-ī-* (AV.) 'evil cry'; *deva-hū-ana-* 'offence against the gods', *baddhaka-mōc-ana-* (AV.) 'release of a prisoner'; *go-pī-thā-* 'drink of milk', *putra-kr-thā-* 'procreation of sons', *saṃ-i-thā-* 'conflict'. *kāma-pr-ā-* is both a noun of action, 'fulfilment of desires' (AV.) and an agent-noun, 'fulfilling desires' (RV.)³.

a. A class of secondary nouns of action is here formed by adding the suffixes *-ya* and *-yā* to agent nouns formed from the simple root (with or without *-t*). These are abstracts (neuter and feminine respectively); e. g. *haviṣ-ād-ya-* 'enjoyment of the oblation'; *pūrva-pāy-yā-* and *pūrva-pī-ya-* 'precedence in drinking' (*pūrva-pā-* 'drinking first'), *ṛ-ṣ-pāy-ya-* 'protection of men', *bahu-pāy-ya-* 'protection of many', 'large hall', *deva-yāj-ya-* n. and *-yāj-yā-* f. 'adoration of the gods' (*deva-yāj-* 'adoring the gods', VS.), *ṛ-ṣ-sāh-ya-* 'overcoming of men' (*ṛ-ṣ-sāh-* 'overcoming men'), *rāja-sū-ya-* (AV.) 'royal consecration' (*rāja-sū-* 'creating a king', VS.), *madhyama-sihy-ya-* 'standing in the middle' (*madhyama-sihā-* adj., VS.); *su-kṛt-yā-* 'righteousness' (*su-kṛ-t-* 'righteous').

272. The close verbal connexion of these final members with the roots from which they are derived, shows itself formally. Thus they retain the palatal of the verb where the guttural would otherwise appear⁴. Again, agent nouns of this kind are formed from almost every kind of present stem. The following are examples of such nouns from present stems of 1. the first class: *cakram-ā-sajā-* 'stopping⁵ the wheel'; 2. the sixth class: *ut-tudā-* (AV.) 'instigator' (*tudā-ti*), *saṃ-girā-* (AV.) 'swallowing' (*sāṃ girāmi*). 3. stems with *-cha*: *go-vyacchā-* (VS.) 'cow-tormentor' (from a lost present stem **vyaccha-*)

¹ For *pīvas-sphākā-*; the Mss. read *pīvasphākā-m* (Pada *pīvaḥ-sphākām*): see WHITNEY on AV. IV. 73.

² But 'heart-piercing' (RV.).

³ Isolated examples of nouns of action formed with other suffixes are *su-papt-anī-* 'good flight', *saṃ-śreṣ-īṇā-* (AV.) 'conflict'(?).

⁴ See WACKERNAGEL 2ⁱ, 76. Exceptions to this would be *tuvi-kūrmī-(n)-* and *divā-karā-* (AV.) 'sun', if these words are derived from *car-* 'fare'.

⁵ From *ā sajāmi* 'I attach'.

4. the fourth class or passive with *-ya*: *akṛṣṭa-pacyā*¹ (AV. VS. TS.) 'ripening in unploughed ground', *a-paśyā* 'not seeing', *ugram-paśyā* (AV.) 'fierce-looking', *mām-paśyā* (AV.) 'looking at me', *adhi-paśya* (AV. Paipp.) 'superintendent', *punar-manyā* 'remembering' (*mānya-te* 'thinks'), *ā-riṣanya* 'not failing' (*riṣanyā-ti*), *bala-vi-jñāyā* 'recognized by his strength', *a-vi-dasyā* 'not ceasing' (*vī dasyanti* 'they cease'), *a-vi-driyā* 'not bursting' (*dṛ-* 'split').
5. stems with *-aya*: *vācam-īkṣayā* 'stirring the voice', *śamudram-īkṣaya* (only voc.) 'stirring the vat' (*īkṣhāya-nti* 'they shake'), *viśvam-ējaya* (only voc.) 'exciting all' (*ējāya-ti* 'sets in motion'), *ati-pārayā* 'putting across'.
6. the fifth (*-nu*) and ninth (*-nā*) classes: *viśvam-īnvā* 'all-urging' (*īnv-ti*, *īnv-a-ti* 'urges'), *dhiyam-jinvā* 'stirring devotion' and *viśva-jinvā* (voc. du.) 'all-quickenings' (*jinu-a-ti* 'stirs'), *ā-daghnā* 'reaching to the mouth'² (*dagh-nu-yāt* 'may reach', K.), *dura-dabhnā* (AV.) 'eluding doors' = 'not to be kept by bars and bolts' (*dabhnu-anti* 'they deceive'), *dānu-pinwā* 'swelling with drops' (*pinu-ānā* 'swelling'), *sadā-prṇā* 'always giving' (*prṇā-ti* 'fills', 'bestows'), *a-minā*³ (beside *d-minant-*) 'undiminishing' (*minā-ti* 'diminishes'), *pra-mṛṇā* 'destroying' (*pra-mṛṇānt-* 'crushing', *prā mṛṇa* 'destroy'), *a-sinvā*⁴ (beside *d-sinvant-*) 'insatiable', *a-suv-ā* 'not pressing Soma' (beside *d-suv-ant-*).
7. the sixth and seventh classes: *agnim-indhā* 'fire-kindling' (*indh-āte* 'they kindle'), *pra-krntā* (TS. IV. 5.3¹) and *vi-krntā* (VS.) 'cutting to pieces' (*krntā-ti* 'cuts'), *bhūmi-dṛṇhā* (AV.) 'firmly fixed on the ground' (*dṛṇha-ta* 'make firm'), *nī-limpā* (AV.) a kind of supernatural being (*nī limpāmi* 'I besmear', AV.).
8. the root class: *vrātya-bruvā* (AV.) 'calling himself a Vrātya' (*bruv-ānti* 'they say').
9. the reduplicating class: *anu-jighrā* (AV.) 'snuffing at' (*jighranti* 'smelling'), *sam-pibā* (AV.) 'swallowing down' (*sām pibāmi*, AV.)⁵.

a. In a few instances verbal nouns which are final members of compounds in the RV. or the later Samhitās subsequently appear as independent words. Thus *jāta-vidyā* 'knowledge of things', *vidyā* (AV. TS.) 'knowledge'⁶. On the other hand, verbal nouns derived from roots without suffix, which in the RV. appear both as independent words and as final members of compounds, often survive in the later Samhitās in their compound form only; such are *tūr-* 'racing', *dā-* 'giver', *sā-* m. 'begetter', f. 'mother', *sthā-* 'standing'. As a rule verbal nouns which occur independently have the same general meaning as when they form the final member of a compound. But those formed without any suffix generally, and those formed with *-a* occasionally, have the sense of agent nouns at the end of compounds, but of action nouns or of designations of things conceived as feminine, when they are used independently. Thus *grābh-* f. 'act of seizing', *jīva-grābh-* adj. 'seizing alive'; *vid-ā* 'with knowledge', *hotrā-vid-* adj. 'knowing the oblation', *vidh-* f. 'fight', *pra-yudh-* adj. 'assailing'; *bhar-ā* (AV.) 'act of carrying', *pustim-bharā* 'bringing prosperity'. Sometimes the simple word has the meaning of an agent noun as well as of an action noun; e. g. *dṛś-* adj. 'seeing' and f. 'act of seeing'; *bhūj-* adj. 'enjoying' and f. 'enjoyment'; *śrūbh-* adj. 'shouting' and f. 'shout'; but at the end of a compound these three words express the agent only. Similarly *grābh-ā* m. 'seizer' (AV.) and 'grasp', but *grāva-grābh-ā* 'handling the Soma stones'⁷.

273. Independent verbal nouns.—Several kinds of verbal nouns which are also capable of independent use occur as final member of compounds. Among these the only ones of frequent occurrence are those in *-ta* which are adjectives (often used as substantives) and the corresponding abstract

¹ WACKERNAGEL 2ⁱ, p. 179 (bottom), refutes the view that this *-ya* is identical with that of the gerundive.

² *-daghna-* forms the last member of several other compounds in the later Samhitās. See WACKERNAGEL 2ⁱ, p. 181.

³ Cp. WACKERNAGEL 2ⁱ, p. 181, note.

⁴ From a lost root **si-nō-ti* 'satisfies'.

⁵ There is also a transition form (leading to the later *-dada-*) in *āyur-dād-am* (AV.)

acc. f. 'life-giving' (beside *āyur-dā-*, AV. VS. TS.): *dād-ati* 'they give'.

⁶ For examples of verbal nouns which assume an independent character in the later language, see WACKERNAGEL 2ⁱ, 77 a.

⁷ On the origin of these verbal compounds and the relation of the final member to the independent word, see WACKERNAGEL 2ⁱ, 78 b and note (p. 186 f.).

substantives in *-ti*; e. g. *puró-hita-* adj. 'placed in front', m. 'domestic priest'; *puró-hiti-* f. 'domestic priesthood'.

1. **Agent nouns.** Those which are formed with *-aka* and *-snu* are compounded with prepositions only: *abhi-króś-aka-* (VS.) 'one who cries out', *vi-láy-aka-* (VS.) 'melter'; *abhi-śocayī-śnū-* (AV.) 'causing heat', *nī-śat-śnū-* 'sitting firmly'. Agent nouns in *-r* may be compounded with adverbs, as *para-ctf-* 'going before', *para-h-sthātī-* 'standing at the head', and rarely with substantives, as *ny-pātī-* 'protecting men', *man-dhātī-*¹ 'applying (his) mind', 'thoughtful man'. Agent nouns formed with *-u* from secondary present stems are in a few instances compounded with substantives: *gir-vanasy-ū-* 'fond of hymns', *deva-pīy-ū-* (AV. VS.) 'hating the gods', *rāṣṭra-dips-ū-* (AV.) 'wishing to injure the country'.

2. **Action nouns.** A few action nouns formed with *-ā* from adjectives in *-u* derived from secondary verbal stems, begin in late passages of the RV. to appear in composition with a substantive: *māṃsa-bhikṣ-ā-* (I. 162¹²) 'request for flesh', *śraddhā-manasy-ā-* 'faithful intent' (X. 113⁹); *sajāta-vanasy-ā-* (TS. II. 6. 67) 'desire to rule over relatives'. Much more common are the abstracts in *-ti* (corresponding to adjectives in *-ta*), which may be compounded with indeclinables or nouns (adjective or substantive)²; e. g. *án-ūti-* 'no help', *d-śasti-* 'curse', *nir-ṛti-* 'dissolution', *sá-hūti-* 'joint invocation', *su-ūti-* 'good aid'; *sóma-pīti-* 'drinking of Soma', *sóma-suti-* 'pressing of Soma'. Some of these are becoming or have become agent nouns; thus *jarád-aṣṭi-* 'attaining great age' as well as 'attainment of old age'; *vásu-dhiti-* 'bestowing wealth' as well as 'bestowal of wealth'; but *vásu-nīti-* (AV.) only 'bringing wealth'. Others, even in the RV., approximate to the type of the non-verbal determinatives, as *śsu-nīti-* 'world of spirits', *rjñ-nīti-* 'right guidance', *devá-hiti-* 'divine ordinance', *námo-ṛkti-* 'cleansing for adoration', *pūrvá-citti-* 'foreboding': these can, however, be understood as abstracts to corresponding compounds in *-ta*³.

3. **Gerundives.** The gerundives formed with *-ya* are ordinarily compounded with adverbial prepositions, as *puro-nuvākyā-* (sc. *īc-* AV.) '(verse) to be repeated beforehand'. In the later Samhitās a noun here sometimes appears as first member: *nīvi-bhāryā-* (AV.) 'to be worn in a skirt', *prathama-vāsyā-* (AV.) 'worn formerly'. The Proper Names *kunda-pāyya-*, *puru-māyyā-*, *vṛṣṭi-hūyya-*, if they are formed with the gerundive suffix *-ya*, would be examples from the RV.⁴—Gerundives formed with *-anīya* and *-enya*⁵ are compounded with prepositions and *a(n)-* only: *ā-mantrañīya-* (AV.) 'to be asked'; *saṃ-carñīya-* 'suitable for walking on', *a-dviṣenya-* 'not malevolent'.—Gerundives in *-tva* are not compounded at all except with *a(n)-*.

4. **Participles.** Besides prepositions and *a(n)-*, only indeclinable words occurring in connexion with verbs are found compounded with participles (exclusive of the past passive participle): thus *alalā-bhāvānt-* 'murmuring' (waters) and *jañjanā-bhāvānt-* 'crackling' (flame), *astan-yānt-* (AV.) 'setting' and *astam-egyānt-* (AV.) 'about to set', *d-punar-dīyamāna-* (AV.) 'not being given back', *āvis-kṛvānā-* 'making visible', *dūr-vidvāms-* 'ill-disposed', *sū-vidvāms-* 'knowing well'.

¹ From *manas-* through **manz-dhātī-*.

² The verbal force is strongest when the preceding substantive has the sense of an object.

³ As *devá-hiti-* 'act of ordaining by the gods' beside *devá-hita-* 'ordained by the gods'.

⁴ The compounds *amā-vāsyā-* (AV.) sc. *rātri-* 'night of the new moon', *eka-vādyā-*

(AV.) 'uttering a single sound', a kind of spectre, and *vār-kāryā-* (I. 88⁴) are obscure in their formation.

⁵ A few gerundives in *-tavya* begin to be compounded with prepositions or particles in the B. portion of the TS. and MS.: *pravaṣṭavyām* (TS.) 'one should go on a journey'; *a-bhartavyā-* (MS.) 'not to be borne', *sv-ētavyam* (TS.) 'easy to go'.

a. By far the commonest verbal nouns occurring as final member are the **past participles in -ta**, which are compounded with nouns as well as prepositions and other indeclinables. The meaning is mostly passive. It is, however, sometimes active, but in the RV. almost exclusively when a preposition precedes, as *úd-ita-* 'risen'; when a noun precedes, only in *sárga-takta-* 'speeding with a rush' and *sárga-prataкта-* 'darting forth with a rush'. In the AV. a noun appears also in *uda-plutí-* 'swimming in the water'; occasionally even transitively governing the first member in sense: *kṛtí-dviṣṭa-* (AV.) 'hating what has been done' (by another)¹.

b. The **past participle in -na** is less frequent and occurs in the RV. only compounded with prepositions, *a(n)-* and *su-*; e. g. *pári-cchinna-* 'lopped around'; *á-bhinna-* 'not split'; *sí-pūrṇa-* 'quite full'. But it is found a few times in the later Samhitās with a preceding substantive: *agní-nunna-* (SV.) 'driven away by fire', *reṣmá-cchinna-* (AV.) 'rent by a storm'; and with active (transitive) sense *gara-gīṛud-* (AV.) 'having swallowed poison'.

5. There are besides some **verbal adjectives in -ra** or (after a vowel) **-tra, -la** and **-ma**, the first of which occurs compounded with nouns as well as prepositions: *á-sk-ra-* 'united'², *ní-mṛg-ra-* 'attached to', *tanū-śubh-ra-* 'shining in body', *hári-ścand-ra-* 'shining yellow'; *vi-bhṛ-tra-* 'to be borne about in various directions'; *á-miś-la-*, *ní-miś-la-*, *sám-miś-la-* 'commingling'; *áva-kṣā-ma-* (AV.) 'emaciated', *úc-chuṣ-ma-* (TS. I. 6. 2²) 'hissing upwards', *ní-sus-ma-* (TS. I. 6. 2²) 'hissing downwards'.

6. **Comparatives and superlatives in -jyāms and -iṣṭha** having originally been verbal adjectives are found in composition with prepositions and *sám-* when they still retain their verbal meaning: *úd-yamīyāms-* 'raising excessively', *pári-svajīyāms-* (AV.) 'clasping more firmly', *práti-cyavīyāms-* 'pressing closer against', *vi-kledīyāms-* (AV.) 'moistening more'; *á-gamīṣṭha-* 'coming quickly', *sám-bhaviṣṭha-* 'most beneficial'.

First member in verbal determinatives.

274. a. **Prepositions.** At the beginning of determinatives prepositions are employed in accordance with their use in verbal forms; e. g. *pra-ní-* and *prá-níti-* 'furtherance', *pra-netí-* 'leader', *prá-nīta-* 'furthered', *pra-není-* 'guiding constantly'. Even in the many instances in which the corresponding verbal combination has not been preserved, it may be assumed to have existed; e. g. in *abhi-pra-mūr-* 'crushing' and *abhi-pra-bhaṅgín-* 'breaking'. Occasionally, however, the preposition has a meaning which otherwise occurs only before non-verbal nouns; e. g. *ati-yājá-* 'sacrificing excessively'³. A preposition belonging to the second member is once prefixed to the first in *saṇ-ḍhanā-jí-t* (AV.) 'accumulating (= *saṇ-jí-t-*) 'wealth'.

b. **Adverbs.** Various kinds of adverbs occur in this position, as *puro-yāvan-* 'going before', *akṣṇayā-drúh-* 'injuring wrongly'; *amutra-bhūya-* (AV. VS.) 'state of being there' (i. e. in the other world). The privative *a(n)-* though belonging in sense to the final member always precedes the first; e. g. *án-agni-dagdha-* 'not burnt by fire'; *á-pāścād-daghdvan-* 'not remaining behind'; *á-dāra-sṛ-t* (AV.) 'not falling into a crack'.

c. **Nouns.** The first member, when a noun, expresses various relations to the last.

¹ Cp. WACKERNAGEL 2², p. 195; but also WHITNEY on AV. VII. 113¹.

² From *sac-* 'be associated'.

³ In TS. II. 5. 44 (B.) *ati-yaj-* means 'to pass over in sacrificing'.

It expresses: 1. the object, which is the prevailing meaning when the final member is an agent noun or an action noun; e.g. *ab-jī-t* 'winning waters', *aśva-hayā-* 'urging on steeds', *ny-pātī-* 'protecting men', *vāja-sāti-* 'act of winning booty', *vṛtra-hātya-* n. 'act of slaying Vṛtra'.¹ When the final member is a verbal noun formed from *kṛ-* 'make', the first member does not necessarily express the product, but may mean the material with which the activity is concerned; thus *hiranya-kārā-* (VS.) is not 'gold-maker' but 'worker in gold', 'goldsmith'.

2. the agent when the last member has a passive sense; e.g. *indra-pā-tama-* 'most drunk by Indra', *soma-śita-* 'excited by Soma'; occasionally also when the final member is an action noun, as *devā-hiti-* 'ordinance of the gods', *parṇa-śadd-* (AV. VS.) 'fall of leaves', *mitra-tūrya-* (AV.) 'victory of friends'.

3. the instrument, the source, or the locality when the final member is an agent noun or a past passive participle; e.g. *ādri-dugdha-*² 'milked with stones', *aritra-pāraṇa-* 'crossing with oars'; *gū-jāta-* 'produced from kine', *tīra-sit-t-* 'pressed from the fermenting mass'; *uda-plutā-* (AV.) 'swimming in the water', *dhar-jāta-* (AV.) 'born in the day', *puru-bhū-* 'being in many places', *bandhu-kṣi-t-* 'dwelling among relatives', *pṛśni-ni-preṣita-*³ 'sent down to earth'.

4. in an appositionally nominative sense, that as or like which the action of the final member is performed; e.g. *īśāna-kṛ-t-* 'acting as a ruler', *pūrva-pā-* 'drinking first', *vāmā-jāta-* 'born as one dear' = 'dear by nature'; *dhāra-vāki-* 'sounding like streams', *śyend-jūta-* 'speeding like an eagle'.

5. in the sense of a predicative nominative before a past participle, or a predicative accusative before an agent noun expressive of 'saying'; e.g. *bhaksām-kṛta-* (TS.) 'enjoyed', *śīma-taṣṭa-* 'fashioned as a hymn of praise'; *vrātya-bruvā-* (AV.) 'calling oneself a Vṛātya'.

6. adverbially the manner in which an action is done, sometimes by means of a substantive, more often by means of an adjective; e.g. *ṛtv-ij-* 'sacrificing at the proper time', that is, 'regularly', *sārga-takta-* 'speeding with a rush'; *āśu-pātvan-* 'flying swiftly', *dhruva-kṣi-t-* (VS.) 'dwelling securely', *satya-yāj-* 'sacrificing truly'; with a numeral in *dvi-jā-* (AV.) 'twice-born'.

275. Before a verbal noun a nominal first member very often appears with a case-ending⁴, generally with that which the corresponding verb would govern in a sentence. The accusative is here the commonest case, the locative coming next, while the other cases are rarer. A singular case-ending (the acc. or inst.) may here indicate a plural sense; e.g. *āśvam-iṣṭi-* 'seeking horses', *purāṇ-darā-* 'destroyer of forts', *śīlneṣita-* 'driven by dogs' (*śīlā-*). Plural (acc.) endings sometimes occur, but dual endings are never found in these compounds.

The accusative case-ending is very common, generally expressing the object of a transitive verb, as *dhanam-jayā-* 'winning booty'. But it also expresses other senses, as that of the cognate accusative; e.g. *śubham-yā-(van)-* 'moving in brilliance'; or of an adverbial accusative, e.g. *ugram-paśyā-*⁵

¹ WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 198, quotes *loka-jit-am svargam* (AV. IV. 34⁸) as showing that the first member was felt to have an accusative sense = 'winning the heavenly world' (*svargam lokam*); but the Paipp. Ms. has the reading *svargyam*, which WHITNEY regards as better, translating 'world-conquering, heaven-going'.

² When the first member is a part of

the body it expresses the sense of 'with reference to', as *bāhū-jūta-* 'quick with the arms'.

³ The local sense here is that of the accusative of the goal.

⁴ Cp. LINDNER, Nominalbildung p. 28.

⁵ Occasionally the *-m* is inorganic, as in *makṣam-gamā-* and *āsum-gā-* (AV.) 'going swiftly'. In *patam-gā-* 'bird', *patam-* probably

(AV.) 'looking fiercely'; or of a predicative accusative, e.g. *ayakṣmaṇ-kāraṇa*- (AV.) 'producing health', *śṛtaṇ-kartṛ*- (TS. III. 1. 4⁴) 'making cooked'¹. The acc. pl. occurs in *kā-cit-karā*- 'doing all manner of things', *pāśva-iṣṭi*-² 'desiring kine', *vīpaś-cit*- 'understanding eloquence', *vīpo-dhā*- 'granting eloquence', *huraś-cit*-³ 'intending evil'⁴.

a. The accusative form is commonest before agent nouns ending in *-a* or *-i* which begin with a single consonant and the first syllable of which is short; that is, the *-m* here appears in a syllable in which rhythmic lengthening would be allowed⁵. This accusative form is the regular rule in the RV. when the stem of the first member ends in *-a*, being found before *-kara*- 'making', *-caya*- 'collecting', *-jaya*- 'conquering', *-tara*- 'overcoming', *-dara*- 'cleaving', *-bhara*- 'bearing', *-ruja*- 'breaking', *-sani*- 'winning', *-saha*- 'overwhelming'; e.g. *abhayaṇ-karā*- 'procuring security'. The only exceptions to this rule in the RV. are *aśva-hayā*- 'urging on steeds', *sukra-dīgha*- 'emitting clear fluid'. In the RV. the ending *-im* also occurs in *puṣṭim-bharā*- 'bringing prosperity' and *harim-bharā*-⁶ 'bearing the yellow-coloured (bolt)'; and *-um* inorganically in *makṣum-gamā*- 'going quickly'. In the later Samhitās also occur *iram-madā*- (VS.) 'rejoicing in the draught', *dūram-gamā*- (VS.) 'going far', *devaṇ-gamā*- (TS.) 'going to the gods', *yudhīm-gamā*- (AV.) 'going to battle', *viśvam-bharā*- (AV.) 'all-sustaining', *śakam-bharā*-⁷ (AV.) 'bearing ordure'⁸.

b. The accusative form in *-am* is not uncommon before a final member with initial vowel (coalescence of the two vowels being thus avoided); e.g. *cakram-āsajā*- 'obstructing the wheel', *viśvam-invā*- 'all-moving', *āśvam-iṣṭi*- 'desiring horses', *vācam-tīkḥayā*- 'word-moving', *samudram-tīkḥaya*- (only voc.) 'stirring the vat', *viśvam-ajayā*- 'all-exciting'; in *-im*: *agnim-indhā*- 'fire-kindler'; in *-ām*: *tvām-āhuti*- (TS.) 'offering oblations to thee'.

c. The accusative form is common when the final member is formed from a present stem, owing to the close connexion of such verbal nouns with the verb; e.g. *dhiyaṇ-jinvā*- 'exciting meditation', *ugram-paśyā*- (AV.) 'looking fiercely', *mām-paśyā*- (AV.) 'looking at me'.

d. Apart from the conditions stated above (a, b, c) the accusative case-ending rarely occurs in the first member of verbal determinatives; e.g. *vanam-kāraṇa*-, a particular part of the body; *dhiyaṇ-dhā*- 'devout', *subham-yā(van)*- 'moving in brilliance'⁹.

a. In the great majority of instances the first member, if it has the accusative case-form, ends in *-am*, mostly from stems in *-a*, but also from monosyllabic consonant stems (*pur-am*- etc.)¹⁰, and from one stem in *-ī* (*dhiy-am*-). Otherwise there are three or

represents IE. *petn*-; while in *pūram-dhi*- 'fertile woman' and *vīśam-dhi*- 'bold', the origin of the nasal is doubtful; cp. WACKER-NAGEL 2¹, p. 202.

¹ In B. this predicative accusative sometimes comes to have the value of a predicative nominative when compounded with a gerundive or a derivative of *bhū*-, as *śṛtaṇ-kṛtiya*- (TS.) 'to be made cooked', *nagnam-bhānuka*- (TS.) 'becoming naked'.

² *pāśvās* acc. pl.

³ Here *huraś*- might be a genitive as *√cit*- governs that case as well as the acc.

⁴ *puro-hā* 'destroying forts' may contain an acc.; also *iśa-stūt*- 'praise of prosperity', which the Pada analyses as *iśaḥ-stūt*-.

⁵ How much the use of these forms is dependent on rhythm is seen in the alter-

nation of *ṛṇam-cayā*- and *ṛṇa-cit*- 'paying a debt', *kḥajaṇ-karā*- and *kḥaja-kṛt*- 'causing the din of battle', *dhanam-jayā*- and *dhanajit*- 'winning booty', *janam-sahā*- 'overcoming beings' and *vṛāta-sāhā*- 'conquering crowds'.

⁶ Beside *kavi-vṛdhā*- 'prospering the wise'.

⁷ Here the acc. of an *a*-stem is substituted for *sakān*-.

⁸ The compound *narāṇ-dhiṣa*- (VS.) is of doubtful meaning and irregular accent.

⁹ For several other examples occurring in Brāhmaṇa passages of the later Samhitās see WACKER-NAGEL 2¹, p. 207 d, e.

¹⁰ In *hṛd-am-sāni*- 'winning the heart' the neuter *hṛd*- is treated as if it were a masc. or fem.

four in *-im* (*agnim-* etc.), one in *-um* (*maksum-*), and two pronominal accusatives in *-ām* (*mām-, tvām-*). Polysyllabic consonant stems never have the accusative case-ending in the first member¹.

276. The locative case-ending is in the RV. almost limited to employment before agent-nouns formed from the simple root with or without determinative *-t*: *agre-gā-* 'going before', *agre-gā-* (VS.) 'moving forwards', *agre-ñt-* (VS.) 'leader', *agre-pā-* 'drinking first', *agre-pā-* (VS.) 'drinking first', *aiṅge-śthā-*² (AV.) 'situated in a member of the body', *ṛte-jā-*³ 'produced at the sacrifice', *kṛcchre-śrī-t-* 'running into danger', *gahvare-śthā-* (VS.) 'being at the bottom', *divi-kṣī-t-* 'dwelling in heaven', *divi-yāj-* 'worshipping in heaven', *divi-śrī-t-* (AV.) 'sojourning in heaven', *divi-śād-* (AV.) 'sitting in heaven', *dūre-dīś-* 'visible afar', *doṣaṇi-śrīś-* (AV.) 'leaning on the arm', *rathe-śubh-* 'flying along in a car', *rathe-śthā-* 'standing in a car', *vane-rāj-* 'shining in a wood', *vane-sāh-* 'prevailing in woods', *sute-gṛbh-* 'taking hold of the Soma', *hṛdi-spīś-* 'touching the heart'⁴.

2. The RV. has only two examples of a locative before an agent noun formed with the suffix *-a*: *divi-kṣayā-* 'dwelling in heaven', *vahye-śayā-* 'resting in a litter'⁵. There are several others in the later Samhitās: *agre-vadhā-* (VS.) 'killing what is in front', *talpe-śayā-* (AV.) 'resting on a couch', *divi-carā-* (AV.) 'faring in heaven', *divi-śambhā-* (AV.) 'supported on the sky', *dūre-vadhā-* (VS.) 'far-striking', *harā-śayā-*⁶ (MS. I. 27) 'resting in gold'. In the AV. also occurs an example of the locative before an agent noun formed with *-in*: *parame-śth-in-* 'standing in the highest (place)'.

3. The locative plural is much rarer than the singular in the first member: *apsu-kṣī-t-* 'dwelling in the waters', *apsu-jā-* 'born in the waters', *apsu-jī-t-* 'vanquishing in the waters', *apsu-śād-* 'dwelling in the waters', *apsu-vāh-* (SV.) 'driving in water', *apsi-saṁśīta-* (AV.) 'excited in the waters', *goṣu-yūdh-* 'fighting in (= for) kine', *pṛtsu-tūr-* 'conquering in battles', *bhारेषु-jā-* 'produced in fights', *hṛtsu-ds-* 'piercing to the heart'.

a. In these locative compounds the second member is most commonly *-stha-* or *-sthā-* in the RV., while the first member is most usually *agre-*, *dūre-* or *vane-*. The locative in *-e* is the predominant one, even displacing *-i* in *pathe-śthā-* 'standing on the road' beside *pathi-śthā-* (AV.).

277. The instrumental case-ending occurs several times in the first member of verbal determinatives: *kṣamā-carā-* (VS.) 'being in the ground', *girā-vādh-* 'rejoicing in song', *dhiyā-jūr-* 'aging in devotion', *yuvā-datta-* 'given by you two', *yuvā-nīta-* 'led by you two', *yusmā-datta-* 'given by you', *yusmā-nīta-* 'led by you', *śīneṣita-* 'driven by dogs' (*śīnā*). When the stem of the first member ends in *-a* there is some doubt whether *-ā* here represents the instrumental ending or lengthening of the vowel⁷; thus *śaphā-rīj-* may mean 'breaking with the hoof' or 'hoof-breaker'; and in *yuvā-yīj-* 'yoked by you two' the vowel may be simply lengthened. In *divā-karā-* (AV.) 'sun' the first member is an old instrumental used adverbially⁸.

a. The examples of the ablative case-ending are rare: *dakṣiṇāt-sād-*

¹ *śakan-* substitutes the acc. of an *a*-stem; above p. 165, note 7.

² There are several other locatives compounded with *-śthā-*.

³ There are several other locatives compounded with *-jā-*.

⁴ In *nare-śthā-* (RV.), an epithet of the car, the first member may be a locative (*Sāyana*), but it may also be a dative of *nṛ-* (BR., GRASSMANN), 'serving for a man to stand on'.

⁵ In *sūtē-kara-* 'active in (offering) Soma', the accent shows that the final member has an adjectival, not a verbal sense. In the name *mātari-śvan-* the first member is interpreted in RV. III. 29¹¹ as a locative; cp. RICHTER, IF. 9, 247, note; MACDONELL, Grundriss III. I A, p. 72 (middle).

⁶ In VS. v. 8 *harī-śayā-*; *harā-* here is the locative of *hāri-*.

⁷ Cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, 56.

⁸ See WACKERNAGEL 2¹, 213 a, note.

(MS. II. 6³) 'sitting in the south'; *divo-jā-* 'produced from heaven', *divo-dih-* (SV.) 'milking from the sky', *divo-rūc-* 'shining from the sky'.

b. The ending of the genitive would naturally appear only before derivatives from verbs governing the genitive. There seem to be no certain examples: *divā-kṣas-* 'ruling over the sky' (*divās*) however seems probable¹.

b. 1. Ordinary Adjective as final member.

278. Ordinary adjectives which are not of a verbal character may appear as final member of determinatives much in the same way as past participles in *-ta* and *-na* (273, 4). But adjectives ending in *-u* are almost exclusively compounded with the privative *a(n)-* and prepositions; e.g. *an-āśū-* 'not swift', *an-rju-* 'dishonest', *ā-dāśu-* 'impious', *d-bhīru-* 'not terrible'; *prāśū-* 'very (*prā-*) swift' (*āśū-*). The only final members otherwise compounded are *-vasu-* 'rich' in *vibhā-vasu-* 'radiant' and other compounds, and *-raghu-* 'swift', in *māde-raghu-* 'quick in exhilaration'.

a. The first member may be a substantive in the relation of a case to the last; e.g. *tanū-subhṛa-* 'shining in body', *yajñā-dhīra-* 'versed in sacrifice', *vakmarāja-satya-* 'faithful to the ordainers of hymns', *viśvā-sambhū-* 'salutary for all'. The relation is sometimes expressed by the case-ending: the locative in *gāvi-sphīra-* (AV.) 'strong in kine (*gāvi*)' as a name, *māde-raghu-* 'quick in exhilaration', *sutē-kara-* 'active in (offering) Soma', *sumnā-āpi-* 'united in affection (*sumnē*)'; instrumental² in *dhiyā-vasu-* 'rich in devotion', *vidmanāpas-* 'working (*apās-*) with wisdom (*vidmānā*)'. The first member may also additionally express a comparison as representing a type: *śūka-babhru-* (VS.) 'reddish like a parrot'³.

b. The first member may be an adjective qualifying the final member in an adverbial sense; thus *aprāmi-satya* (voc.) 'eternally true', *urdhvā-prāśni-*⁴ (VS.) 'spotted above', *try-āruṣa-* 'reddish in three (parts of the body)', *mahā-nagnī-*⁵ (AV.) 'courtezan' ('very naked'), *mahā-mahi-vrata-* 'ruling very mightily', *mahā-vañūrin-* 'very broad', *viśvā-śandra-* 'all-glittering'⁶.

c. Adverbs and particles often appear as first member; e.g. *an-āśū-* 'not swift', *anyāta-ent-* (VS.) 'variegated on one side (*anyātas*)', *evāra-* 'quite (*evā*) ready (*āra-*)', *duḥ-sēva-* 'unfavourable', *pīnar-nava-* 'renewing itself', *satā-mahānt-* 'equally (*sa-tās*) great', *satī-brhātī-* (VS.) 'the equally great' (a metre), *satyām-ugra-* 'truly mighty', *śū-priya-* (AV.) 'very dear'.

d. Several prepositions appear as first member, mostly with their original adverbial meaning; e.g. *āti-kṛṣṇa-*⁷ (VS.) 'very dark'; *ā-miśra-tama-* 'mixing very readily'⁸; *upottamī-* (AV.) 'penultimate'; *nī-dhruvi-* ('fixed down') 'persevering', *nīś-kevalya-* (VS.) 'belonging exclusively'; *prāśū-* 'very swift', *pra-*

¹ But it has also been otherwise explained; cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 213 c, note; who also quotes *ā-kasya-vid-* 'knowing nothing' from the MS.

² The word *jātū-sphīra-* probably contains an old instrumental = 'naturally solid'; in *nābhā-nēdisṭha-* 'nearest in kin' as a name, the first member though looking like a locative, probably represents an IIR. stem *nabhā-*; cp. RICHTER, IF. 9, 209. The compounds *frā-śama-*, an epithet of Indra, and *ghāśē-ajra-* (VS.) are Bahuvrihis.

³ A transition to this compound use appears in *māno jāviṣṭham* (RV. VI. 9⁵) 'very swift as thought'.

⁴ Here the adjectival stem is used for the adv. *urdhvām*.

⁵ From this is formed the m. *mahā-nagnā-* (AV.) 'paramour'.

⁶ The meaning of *sādhvā-aryā-* 'truly faithful' (?), which occurs only once, is doubtful; cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 237 (top).

⁷ *āti* in the sense of 'very' does not occur in the RV., but in the later Samhitās it is the commonest of the prepositions compounded with adjectives.

⁸ 'Very slightly mixed', GELDNER, VS. 3, 181. — *ā-tura-* 'suffering' is obscure in origin.

sardha- (voc.) 'bold'; *vī-mahī-* 'very great', *vī-ṣama-* (VS.) 'uneven', *vī-sadr̥ṣa-* 'dissimilar', *vy-ñī-* 'variously tinted' (dawn); *sām-vasu-* 'dwelling together', *sām-priya-* (VS.) 'mutually dear'.

b. 2. Ordinary Substantive as final member.

279. Determinatives with ordinary non-verbal substantives as their final member¹ are not common in the earliest period of the language. In the first nine books of the RV., except the frequent compounds in *-pati-* and *-patnī-*, there are not many more than three dozen examples²; the tenth book has quite two dozen more, and the AV. seven dozen more.

The first member is frequently a substantive also. Its relation to the final member seems to be limited to the genitive sense in the Samhitās. This genitive sense appears when the final member is a word expressive of relationship, or *-pati-* 'husband' or 'lord'; e. g. *rāja-putrā-* 'king's son', *mṛtyu-bāndhu-* 'companion of death', *viś-pāti-* 'lord of the tribe'. It sometimes expresses the material, as *dru-padd-* 'post of wood', *hiranya-rathā-* 'car of gold' or 'car full of gold'. In *deva-kilbiś-* 'offence against the gods' we have an example of an objective genitive. There seems to be no instance in the RV. of a Proper Name appearing as the first member of a determinative in the genitive sense³ except in *indra-senā-* (x.102²) 'Indra's missile'⁴, which compound is itself perhaps a Proper Name⁵. In *camasādhvaryu-* (AV.) 'the priest of the cups', the first member expresses quite a general genitive sense of relation = 'the priest who is concerned with the cups'.

280. As in determinatives with verbal noun as final member, the case-ending may appear in the first member. But it is less common here, and owing to the purely nominal character of the final member, is almost restricted to the genitive. The ending of this case is very common before *-pati-* 'lord' or 'husband': *aṇhas-as-pati-* (VS.) 'lord of distress', N. of an intercalary month, *gnā-s-pati-*⁶ 'husband of a divine woman', *jā-s-pati-* 'lord of the family', *bṛh-as-pati-*⁷ and *brāhmaṇ-as-pati-* 'lord of devotion', *mānas-as-pati-* 'lord of mental power', *vān-as-pati-*⁸ 'lord of the wood', 'tree', *vāc-ās-pati-* 'lord of speech', *vāstas-pati-* 'lord of the dwelling', *subh-ās-pati-* 'lord of splendour', *sādas-as-pati-*⁹ 'lord of the sacrificial seat'. According to the analogy of these compounds which end in *-s-pati-*, were also formed from *a-*stems *ṛta-s-pati-* (only voc.) 'lord of pious works' and *rātha-s-pati-* 'lord of the car'. The word *dām-pati-* may stand for **dām-s-pati-*¹⁰ 'lord of the house' (*dām-*, the gen. pl. of which, *dam-ām*, occurs).

¹ Bahuvrhis with ordinary substantives as final member were common from the beginning; hence combinations which appear as Bahuvrhis in the older period, are often only found later as Tatpuruṣas, the latter being thus occasionally affected by the formal peculiarities of Bahuvrhis.

² See WACKERNAGEL 21, p. 241 (97 note).

³ If this compound is a Proper Name, it is the only instance with the stem-form in the first member; but the genitive case-ending appears in the first member of a few determinative Proper Names; see below, 280 a.

⁴ 'Indra's missile' (BR.), 'Indra's army' (GRASSMANN).

⁵ This is the opinion of GELDNER, VS. 2, 1, and of DELBRÜCK, Vergl. Syntax 3, p. 202.

⁶ An anomalous f. *gnās-patnī-* was formed

from this word after the etymology had been forgotten, as conversely the m. *sapātina-* 'rival' was formed from *sa-pātī-* 'co-wife'.

⁷ **bṛh-* here is synonymous with *brāhmaṇ-*, *brāhmaṇas-pati-* being a parallel and explanatory formation. On *bṛhas-pati-* and cognate compounds see OTTO STRAUSS, *Bṛhaspati im Veda* (Leipzig 1905), p. 14—17.

⁸ *van-* 'wood' appears also in the pl. G. *van-ām*, L. *vām-su-*.

⁹ It is unnecessary to assume the existence of a stem *sad-* to explain *sādas-pati-* and *sāt-pati-* since the stem *sādas-* occurs; nor is *rād-* necessary to explain *rādhas-pati-* (only voc.) as *rādhas-* is frequent.

¹⁰ FISCHER, VS. 2, 93 ff., 307 ff., rejects any connexion between *dām-pati-* and *dām-* 'house'. Cp. WACKERNAGEL 21, p. 249 e, note.

a. These compounds in *-pāti-* are treated by the Pada text in three different ways: 1. *gnāṣpāti-*, *bḥaṣpāti-*, *vānaṣpāti-*, *viṣpāti-* (and *viṣpātni-*) appear as simple words; 2. *gnāṣpātni-*, *jāḥpāti-*, *sācīpāti-*, *ṛta-pāte* (voc.), *rādhas-pāte* (voc.), and those with a single accent (except *viṣpāti-*) as compounds separated by the Avagraha sign; 3. all other doubly accented compounds (e. g. *brāhmaṇas-pāti-*) as two separate words; even *rādhas-pātis* is written *rādhaḥ | pātih |* as if *rādhaḥ* were a nom. sing.¹

a. Otherwise the genitive ending appears only two or three times in the RV. in Proper Names: *divo-dāsa-* 'Servant of heaven'(?), *śīmaḥ-śēpa-*² 'Dog's tail', and (with gen. pl.) *nārā-śāmsa-* (for **nārām-śāmsa-*)³ 'Praise of men', an epithet of Agni. The VS. has also *rāyas-poṣa-* 'increase of wealth' in *rāyas-poṣa-dā-* 'bestowing increase of wealth' and *rāyas-poṣa-vāni-* 'procuring increase of wealth'.

b. Other case-endings are very rare in such determinatives. The locative appears in *svapne-dusvapnyā-* (AV.) 'evil dreaming in sleep'⁴; the instrumental in *vācā-stena-* 'thief by speech', 'one who makes mischief by his words'; the dative in *dasyave-vṛka-* (voc.) 'Wolf to the Dasyu', N. of a man; and possibly *dāsyave sāhaḥ* (I. 36¹⁸) may be meant as a name with double accent.

281. In a few instances the first member is a substantive used appositionally to express sex or composite nature: *puṣa-mṛgā-* (VS.) 'male antelope'; *ūluka-yātu-* 'owl demon' (= demon in form of an owl), *śuśulūka-yātu-* 'owlet demon'; *puṣa-vyāghrā-* 'man-tiger', a kind of demon, *vṛṣā-kapi-* 'man-ape'.

282. An adjective may appear as first member determining the sense of the following substantive. This type, which is called Karmadhāraya by the Indian grammarians, is uncommon in the Saṃhitās. Among the oldest are *candrā-mās-*⁵ ('bright) moon'⁶ and *pūrṇā-mās-a-* (TS. III. 4. 4¹) 'full moon'. Besides these occur *eka-vīrā-* 'unique hero', *kṛṣṇa-sakunt-* (AV.) 'raven'⁷, *nava-jvārā-* 'new pain', *mahā-grāmā-* 'great host', *mahā-dhanā-* 'great booty', *mahā-vīrā-* 'great hero'⁸, *sapta-ṛṣāyas* 'the Seven Seers', N. of a group of ancient sages (beside the separate words *saptā ṛṣayaḥ* and *ṛṣayaḥ sapta* in Books I-IX), *sapta-grdhṛāḥ* (AV.¹) 'the seven vultures'⁹.

a. A variety of Karmadhāraya is that in which the first member expresses a part of the last: *adhara-kaṇṭhā-* (VS.) 'lower part of the neck', *ardha-devā-*¹⁰ 'demi-god', *ardha-māsā-* (AV. VS.) 'half-month', *madhyāni-dina-* 'midday'; also with change of gender: *agra-jihvā-* (VS.) n. 'tip of the tongue (*jihvā-*)'; with the suffix *-a-*: *ardha-rcā-* (AV. VS.) 'hemistich', *pūrvāhṇā-* 'forenoon'¹¹.

283. Prepositions frequently occur as first member, all except *prā-* in their ordinary adverbial senses. Those which are thus used in the RV.

¹ See WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 241 (97 a α, note).

² This name occurs once with tmesis, *śīmaḥ cic chēpam* (v. 2⁷).

³ Cp. *nārāṇi nā śāmsa-* (I. 1739 etc.) and *śāmsa narām* (VI. 24²); see WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 248 d, note.

⁴ *hradī-cakṣus* 'mirrored in the lake' is regarded by GELDNER (VS. I, 173) as a Tatpuruṣa = 'eye in the lake'. For one or two doubtful examples of locative pl. see WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 249 (bottom).

⁵ That this is a very old combination is shown by the fact that *mās-* 'moon' occurs almost exclusively in compounds (*sūryā-māsā* and *pūrṇā-mās-*, SB.), only two or three times alone (though often in the sense of 'month'), and is therefore obsolescent in the RV.

⁶ In the later Saṃhitās *candrā-* comes to

mean 'moon' as an abbreviation of *candrā-mās-*.

⁷ With change of meaning from 'black bird'.

⁸ In K. appears the dative *viśva-devāya*, the expression *viśve devāḥ* having become a Karmadhāraya.

⁹ Translated by WHITNEY (AV. VIII. 9¹⁸) as a Bahuvrihi, 'seven-vultured'.

¹⁰ *ardhā-* 'half' is here used in a figurative sense.

¹¹ *pitā-mahā-* (AV. TS. VS.) and *tatā-mahā-* (AV.) 'grandfather' and *prā-pitāmaha-* (VS. TS.) and *pra-tatāmaha-* (AV.¹) 'great grandfather' (only voc.) are probably not Karmadhārayas, but formed in imitation of *mahā-mahā-* which appeared to be a gradation of *mahānt-*; cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 255, note.

are *ādhi* 'over', *nī* 'down', *pāri* 'around', *prā* 'forward'¹, 'front part of'², 'extreme' (of high degree), 'great' (in names of relationship), *prāti* 'against', *vī* 'asunder'³, *sām* 'together' (also *sa-* in the same sense); and in the later Samhitās, *antār* 'between', *āpa* 'away', *ā* 'at hand', *ūd* 'up', *ūpa* 'beside', *ūpari* 'above'. The following are examples in the alphabetical order of the prepositions: *ādhi-pati* (AV. VS.) 'over-lord', *ādhi-patnī* (AV. VS.) 'sovereign lady', *ādhi-bhojana* 'additional gift', *ādhi-rājā* 'supreme king'; *antar-dēśā* (AV.) 'intermediate region', *antah-pātrā* (AV.) 'inner (= interior of the) vessel'; *āpa-rūpa* (AV.)⁴ 'absence of form', 'deformity'; *ā-pati* (VS. MS. I. 27) 'the lord here'; **ut-sūrya* 'sunrise' in *otsūryām* (AV.) 'till sunrise' (*ā-utsūryām*); *upa-pati* (VS.) 'paramour' (lit. 'sub-husband'); *upari-sayanā* (AV.) 'elevated couch'; *nī-dhāna* (AV.) 'conclusion', *nī-pakṣati* (VS.) 'second rib', *nī-pādā* 'low ground', *ny-āhna*⁵ (AV.) 'close of day'; *pāri-pati* 'lord (of all) around', *pari-vatsarā* 'full year'; *pragūthā* (VS.) 'fore-song', a kind of stanza, *prā-diś* 'region' and (AV.) 'intermediate quarter', *prā-dhāna* 'prize of battle', *prādhvand* ('forward course', *ādhan-*) 'bed of a river', *prārtha* (AV.) 'preparation', 'implement'; *prā-pada*⁶ 'tip of the foot', *prā-uga* 'forepart of the shafts (of a chariot)'⁷; *prā-napāt* 'great-grandson', *prā-tatāmaha* (AV.¹) and *prā-pitāmaha* (VS. TS.) 'great-grandfather'; *prā-dhv-* (AV.) 'third (or fifth) heaven', *prā-patha* 'distant path', *prā-maganda* 'arch-usurer', *prā-vīra* 'great hero', *prāyus-* (MS. I. 54) 'long life' (*āyus*); *prati-janā* (AV.) 'adversary', *prati-dīvan-* 'adversary at play'; *vī-diś-* (VS.) 'intermediate region', *vī-madhya* 'middle', *vī-manyu-* 'longing'⁸, *vī-vāc-* 'opposing shout', 'contest', *vy-ōdana* (RV.¹) 'different food'⁹; *sa-pātnī* 'co-wife', *saṃ-grāmā* (AV.) 'assembly', 'encounter', *saṃ-anīkā* 'battle-array'¹⁰, *saṃ-bāndhu-* 'akin', *saṃ-vatsarā*¹¹ 'full year'.

284. Other indeclinables sometimes occur as first member, but very rarely in the RV. They include a few adverbs and the particles *a(n)-*, *du-*, *su-*, *kim-*, *ku-*: *paścā-doṣā* (VS.) 'late evening', *pūrā-agni-* (VS.) 'fire in front'; *a-mitra* 'enemy', *ā-hotṛ-* (AV.) 'incompetent Hotṛ'; *duc-chīnā* 'calamity'¹²; *sū-brāhmaṇa* (AV.) 'good Brāhmaṇ', *sū-bheṣaja* (AV. TS.) 'good remedy', *su-vasanā*¹³ 'fair garment'; *kim-puruṣā* (VS.) a kind of mythical being, *kūśara-* (RV.¹), a kind of reed.

4. Bahuvrihi Compounds.

285. The term Bahuvrihi, employed by the Indian grammarians to designate this type, is perhaps the most convenient name for these secondary adjective compounds, as it represents their general character both in form and meaning. For the final member is practically always a substantive, and the relation of the first member to the last is mostly attributive

¹ Without perceptibly changing the meaning of the final member.

² This and the following meanings do not occur in the combination of *prā* with verbs.

³ Expressing separation, extension, derivation.

⁴ In *āpa-kāmā* 'aversion' the final member is a verbal noun. There seem to be no certain instances of this kind of compound with *āpi*: cp. WACKERNAGEL 21, p. 259 β, note.

⁵ In *ny-arthā* 'destruction' the second member is a verbal noun. On the relation of *ny-ārbuda* (AV. VS.) and *ny-ārbudī* (AV.) to *ārbuda-* and *ārbudī-*, see WACKERNAGEL 21, p. 260 (top).

⁶ Once *prā-pad-* in AV.

⁷ Probably for *prā-yuga-*.

⁸ From *manyū-* 'zeal'.

⁹ This is Śāyana's explanation (*vividhe nne*) of the word in VIII. 52⁹.

¹⁰ From *āntika-* 'front'.

¹¹ *sām* in this compound expresses completeness.

¹² Cp. *śundam* 'with success'. On the Sandhi see p. 31, note 4.

¹³ Though *vasana-* has a concrete sense here, the compound may have arisen when the word had a verbal meaning.

(Karmadhāraya), less commonly dependent (Tatpuruṣa), and very rarely coordinative (Dvandva). The best name otherwise is 'possessive'¹, as this is their meaning in the vast majority of instances. In a few examples, however, the more general sense of 'connected with' (which may usually be expressed more specifically) is required to explain the relation between the substantive and the Bahuvrīhi which agrees with it; thus *dśva-prṣṭha* 'borne on horse-back', *devā-psaras* 'affording enjoyment for the gods', *parjānya-retas* 'sprung from the seed of Parjanya', *viśvā-kṛṣṭi* 'dwelling with all peoples', *viśvā-nara*² 'belonging to or existing among all men', *vīrā-pastya* 'belonging to the abode of a hero', *śatā-śārada* 'lasting a hundred autumns', *śīra-vīra* (AV.) 'characterized by heroic men' = 'making men heroic' (amulet).

286. Attributive Bahuvrīhis.—The commonest form of Bahuvrīhi is that in which an attributive noun is the first member. It is most frequently an adjective, as *ugrā-bāhu* 'powerful-armed', *urvy-ūti*³ 'giving wide aid', *jīvā-putra* 'having living sons', *śukrā-varṇa* 'bright-coloured'⁴. The first member is also often a past passive participle in *-ta* or *-na*, the action expressed by which is usually performed by the person denoted by the substantive with which the Bahuvrīhi agrees; e. g. *prāyata-dakṣiṇa* 'he by whom the sacrificial fee has been presented', *rātā-havis* 'who offers an oblation'⁵. The action is, however, not infrequently supposed to be performed by others, always in the case of *hata* 'slain'; e. g. *hatā-vṛṣṇ* 'whose husband has been slain', *hatā-mātṛ* 'whose mother has been slain'. Both senses appear in *rātā-havya* 'he by whom' and 'to whom offerings have been made'. An outside agent is sometimes expressed by an additional member at the beginning of the compound, as *jīvā-pīta-sarga* 'whose streams have been drunk by the living'⁶. A present participle occasionally occurs as first member; e. g. *āyād-vasu* (AV.) and *saṃyād-vasu* (AV.) 'to whom wealth comes', *bhrājad-ṛṣi* 'having glittering spears', *riśad-vatsa* 'having a shining calf', *śucād-ratha* 'having a brilliant car'⁷; also a perfect-participle in *dadṛś-ānā-pari* 'whose felly is visible', *yuyujānā-sapti* 'whose steeds are yoked'.

a. The first member is further often a substantive used predicatively; e. g. *āśva-parṇa* 'horse-winged' = 'whose wings are horses' (car); *indra-śatru*, whose foe is Indra'; *tad-īd-ārtha*⁸ 'having just that as an aim', *drōṇāhava*, whose pail (*āhāvā*) is a trough', *śiśnā-deva* 'whose god is a phallus', *śirodaka* (AV.) 'whose water is spirit' (*śūrā*). The final member is here sometimes a comparative or superlative (including *pāra*) used substantively: *avaras-parā*⁹ (VS.) 'in which the lower is higher' = 'topsy-turvy'¹⁰, *āsthī-bhūyāms* (AV.) 'having bone as its chief part' = 'chiefly bone', *indra-jyeṣṭha* 'having Indra as chief', 'of whom Indra is chief', *yamā-śreṣṭha* (AV.) 'of whom Yama is best', *sōma-śreṣṭha* (AV.) 'of which Soma is best'.

¹ For other names see WACKERNAGEL 21, p. 273 (107 a, note).

² For several other examples formed with *viśvā*- see WHITNEY 1294 b.

³ Cp. p. 145, note 3.

⁴ Cp. WHITNEY 1298.

⁵ The sense is thus identical with verbal determinatives or verbally governing compounds such as *vājam-bharā* and *bharād-vāja* 'bearing booty'. In *vīti-hotra* 'having an invitation sacrifice' = 'inviting to sacrifice', a stem in *-ti* is used almost like a past participle in *-ta*; cp. *vītā-havya* as a name.

⁶ Cp. WHITNEY 1299 a.

⁷ Cp. WHITNEY 1299 b.

⁸ Here a pronoun appears instead of a substantive in the first member.

⁹ Here the first member retains the *-s* of the nom. surviving from the use of the two words in syntactical juxtaposition; the first member also is used substantively in this compound.

¹⁰ On *eka-parā* (said of dice) see now LÜDERS, Das Würfelspiel im alten Indien (Abh. d. K. Ges. der Wiss. zu Göttingen 9, 2) p. 64.

A comparison is sometimes implied between the first substantive and the second: *varṣājya* (AV.) 'whose rain is like butter', *vrkṣā-keśa-* 'tree-haired' = 'whose trees are like hair' = 'wooded' (mountain).

The first member further sometimes expresses the material of which the second consists; e. g. *rajaṭā-nābhi-* (VS.) 'whose naval is (made of) silver'; *hiraṇya-nemi-* 'whose felines are (made of) gold'; or something closely connected with and characteristic of it, as *niyūḍ-ratha-* 'whose car is (drawn by) a team'.

287. Dependent Bahuvrīhis.—The first member is dependent on the last in the sense of a case-relation, the case-ending being sometimes retained.

a. It has often a genitive sense¹, as *pāti-kāma-* (AV.) 'having desire for a husband'; with genitive ending, *rāyās-kāma-* 'having a desire of wealth'. Here the first member often implies a comparison (when it never has the case-ending): *agni-tejas-* (AV.) 'having the brightness of fire', 'fire-bright', *ṛkṣa-grīva-* (AV.) 'having the neck of a bear' (demons), *gō-vapus-* 'having the form of a cow', *jñāti-mukha-* (AV.) 'having the face of (= like) relatives', *māno-javas-* 'having the swiftness of thought' = 'swift as thought', *mayūra-roman-* 'having the plumes of peacocks' (Indra's steeds).

b. In a few instances it has the sense of, and then always the ending of, the instrumental: *ā-giraukas-* 'not to be kept at rest (*śkas-*) by a song (*girā*)', *krātṛā-magha-* 'constituting a reward (gained) by intelligence', *bhāsā-keṭu-* 'recognisable by light'².

c. The locative sense is more frequent, being often accompanied by the case-ending: *āsānu-īṣu-* 'having arrows in his mouth', *divi-yoni-* 'having origin in heaven'; also several formed with *dūre-* 'in the distance', as *dūr-anta-* 'ending in the distance', *dūr-gavyūti-* (AV.) 'whose sphere is far away'³.

There are further examples in which the last member has the locative sense when it is a part of the body and what is expressed by the first member appears in or on it: *asru-mukhī-* (AV.) 'having tears on her face', 'tear-faced', *kīlālodhī-* (AV.) 'having sweet drink in her udder', *ghṛtā-prṣṭha-* 'butter-backed', *pātra-hasta-* (AV.) 'having a hand in which is a vessel', *maṇi-grīvā-* 'having pearls on the neck', *mādhu-jihva-* 'having a tongue on which is honey', *vājra-bāhu-* 'having an arm on which is a bolt'.

288. Coordinate Bahuvrīhis.—No example is found in the RV. and hardly any in the other Samhitās of the first and last members of Bahuvrīhis being coordinated in sense. The VS. has *stōma-prṣṭha-* 'containing Stomas and Prṣṭhas'; also *āhar-divā-* (xxxviii.12) 'daily', which is a kind of Dvandva Bahuvrīhi, being formed from the adverb *āhar-dīvi* 'day by day'. The form *somendrā-* 'belonging to Soma and Indra', occurs only in B. passages of later Samhitās (TS. MS. K.).

289. Indeclinables as first member.—In a number of Bahuvrīhis the first member is not a noun, but an indeclinable word, either a preposition or an adverb.

a. **Prepositions** are common as first member of Bahuvrīhis, expressing the local position of the final member in relation to the substantive with which the Bahuvrīhi agrees. Some sixteen prepositions are thus used, the most frequent being *vi* which occurs as often in the RV. as all the rest put together. They are *āti* 'beyond', *ādhi* 'on', *antār* 'within', *āpa* 'away', *abhi*

¹ An accusative in sense and form appears in *vām-kāma-* 'having a desire for thee'.
not a Bahuvrīhi with *āpas-* 'work'; cp. 278 a and 91 B.

² The compound *vidmānāpas-* 'working with skill' (*vidmānā*) is probably a determinative formed with the adj. *āpas-* 'working',
³ On a few doubtful instances of such locative compounds see WACKERNAGEL 21, p. 278 (bottom).

'around' and 'toward', *áva* 'down', 'away', *ā* 'near', *ūd* 'upward', *ūpa* 'near', *nī* 'down', *nīs* 'away', *pāri* 'around', *prī* 'in front', 'very', *prāti* 'against', *vī* 'apart', *sām* 'together'. Of these *ūpa* is used thus in the RV. only, while *antār*, *áva*, *nī* appear in the later Samhitās only. The following are examples of compounds thus formed in the alphabetical order of the prepositions: *āty-ūrmi* 'overflowing', *āti-cchandās-* (VS.) 'having redundant metres' (verse); *ādhi-nirñij-* 'having a garment on', *ādhy-akṣa-* 'having an eye on', 'overseer'; *antar-dīrā-* (AV.) 'having fire within'; *āpodaka-* 'waterless', *apa-rth-* (AV.) 'unseasonable'; *abhi-vīra-* and *abhi-satvan-* 'having heroes around', *abhi-rūpa-* (AV.) 'beautiful', *abhi-ṣeṇā-* 'directing arrows'; *ava-keśī-* (AV.) 'having hair hanging down', *áva-toka-* (AV. VS.) 'miscarrying'; *ā-deva-* 'having the gods near', 'devoted to the gods', *ā-manas-* (AV. TS.) 'kindly disposed'; *ūt-saktha-* (VS.) 'having the thighs raised', *ūd-ojas-* 'highly powerful'; *upa-manyi-* 'having zeal at hand', 'zealous', *ūpā-vasu-* 'bringing riches near'; *nī-manyu-* (AV.) 'whose anger has subsided', *nī-vakṣas-* (TS. v. 6. 23¹) 'having a sunken breast', *nī-kulā-* (VS.) 'going down hill', *nī-kilbiṣā-* 'deliverance from sin' ('that in which sin has subsided'); *nīr-jarāyu-* (AV.) 'having cast its skin', *nīr-māya-* 'powerless', *nīr-hasta-* (AV.) 'handless'; *pari-marā-* (TS. v. 6. 21¹) 'having death around' = 'round whom people have died', *pari-manyi-* 'very angry'; *prā-śṛṅgā-* (VS. TS.) 'having prominent horns', *prā-tvakṣas-* 'very energetic'; *prā-manas-* (AV.) 'very thoughtful'; *prāti-rūpa-* 'having a corresponding form', 'like', *prati-vartmān-* (AV.) 'having an opposite course', *prāti-veśa-* 'neighbour' ('living opposite'); *vī* = 'apart': *vī-karṇā-* (AV.) 'having ears far apart', *vī-śakha-* (AV.) 'branched', *vy-āṃsa-* 'having the shoulders apart', 'broad-shouldered'; = 'extensive': *vī-manas-* 'wide-minded', 'sagacious', *vī-hāyas-* 'of extensive power'; = 'divided': *vy-adhvā-* (AV.) 'having a divided course' = 'being midway between zenith and earth'; = 'various': *vy-āilaba-* (AV.) 'making all kinds of noises'; = 'divergent': *vī-pathi-* 'following wrong paths', *vī-vrata-* 'refractory'; = 'distorted': *vī-grīva-* 'having a twisted neck', *vy-āṅga-* (AV.) 'having distorted limbs'; = 'different': *vī-rūpa-* 'having a different form', *vī-vācas-* (AV.) 'speaking differently'; = 'devoid of', 'less': *vī-māya-* 'devoid of magic', *vy-ēnas-* 'guiltless'; *sām-hanu-* (AV.) 'striking the jaws together'.

b. Adverbs with a local meaning, which are akin to prepositions, also frequently appear as first member of Bahuvrīhis, being generally speaking equivalent in sense to predicative adjectives. Examples of such Bahuvrīhis in the alphabetical order of the adverbs are the following: *adhās* 'below': *adhā-varcas-* (AV.) 'powerful below'; *ānti* 'near': *ānti-mitra-* (VS.) 'having friends at hand', *ānti-sumna-* (AV.) 'having benevolence at hand', *ānty-ūti-* 'having aid at hand'; *avās* 'down': *avā-deva-* 'attracting the gods down'; *ārī* 'afar': *ārī-āgha-* 'having evil far-removed', *ārī-śatru-* (AV.) 'whose foes are far away'; *itās* 'hence': *itā-ūti-* 'helping from hence'; *ihā* 'here': *ihā-mātr-* 'whose mothers are, the one here, the other there'; *ihā-kratu-* (AV.) 'whose will is hitherward', *ihā-citta-* (AV.) 'whose thought is hitherward'; *īdhak* 'apart': *īdhan-mantra-* (AV.¹) 'having a special sacred text'¹; *kuhayā* 'where?': *kuhayā-kṛti-* (only voc.) 'where active?'; *dakṣiṇa-tās* 'on the right': *dakṣiṇatās-kaparda-* 'having a coil of hair on the right'; *nīcā* 'downward': *nīcā-vayas-* 'whose strength is low'; *purās* 'in front': *puro-rathā-* 'whose car is in front', *puro-vasu-* (TS. III. 2. 5¹) 'preceded by wealth' (only voc.); *prācā* 'forward': *prācā-tihva-* 'moving the tongue forward', *prācā-manyu-* (only voc.) 'striving forward'.

¹ According to WHITNEY on AV. v. 1¹; BR., pw. 'lacking speech'; LUDWIG 'of distinguished meditations'.

a. Bahuvrīhis are also formed with a few adverbs of another kind as first member: *itthā-dhī-* 'having such thought', 'devout', *nānā-sūrya-* 'illuminated by various suns', *pinar-magha-* (AV. TS.) 'repeatedly offering oblations', *purudhā-pratika-* 'having various aspects', *śaśya-ūti-* 'helping at once'. There are also several formed with *sahā*, *sumā*, *smād*² 'together with', as *sahā-gopa-* 'having the cowherds with them', *sahā-purusa-* (AV.) 'accompanied by the men', *sumā-jāni-* 'accompanied by his wife', *sumād-gu-* (AV.) 'accompanied by the cows', *smād-abhīnu-* 'provided with reins', *smād-iṣṭa-* 'having an errand', *smād-ūdhan-* 'provided with an udder'.

c. Certain particles frequently appear as the first member of Bahuvrīhis. These are the privative *a-* or *an-*, *ku*³ expressing depreciation, *dus-* 'ill', *su-* 'well'; e. g. *a-pād-* 'footless', *a-sapatnā-* 'having no rivals', *an-udakā-* 'having no water', 'waterless'; *kū-yava-* 'causing a bad harvest', *dus-pād-* 'ill-footed'; *su-parṇā-* 'having beautiful wings'.

290. Bahuvrīhis are very frequently used as m. (sometimes f.) substantives in the sense of Proper Names, in many instances without the adjectival sense occurring at all; thus *brhād-uktha-* m., as the N. of a seer and adj. 'having great praise'; *brhād-dīva-* m., N. of a seer (*brhād-dīvā-* f., N. of a goddess) and adj. 'dwelling in high heaven'; but *priyā-medha-* m. ('to whom sacrifice is dear') and *vāmā-deva-* m. ('to whom the gods are dear') only as the names of seers.

a. Bahuvrīhis are further not infrequently used as neuter substantives with an abstract and a collective sense, especially when the first member is the privative particle *a-* or *an-* and *sārva-* 'all'; e. g. *a-śatṛī-* 'free from foes', n. (AV.) 'freedom from foes', *a-sapatnā-* 'having no rivals', n. (AV.) 'peace', *a-sambādhd-* (AV.) n. 'non-confinement', *a-skambhā-* (AV.) n. 'lack of support', *an-apatyā-* 'childless' (AV.), n. 'childlessness', *an-amitrā-* (AV.) 'foeless', n. (AV. VS.) 'freedom from foes'; *sarva-rathā-* 'the whole line of chariots', *sarva-vedasā-* (AV. TS.) 'whole property'; *nī-kilbiśā-* n. 'deliverance from sin', *pitr-bandhū-* (AV.) 'paternal kinship', *mātṛ-bandhū-* (AV.) 'maternal kinship', *rikta-kumbhā-*⁴ (AV.) 'empty-handedness', *su-mṛgā-* (AV.) 'good hunting'⁵.

b. A special category of Bahuvrīhis used as substantives are those in which the first member is a numeral from *dvī-* 'two' upwards⁶. They express a collection or aggregate and are singular neuter⁷ except those formed with *-ahā-* 'day', which are singular masc.; e. g. *tri-yugā-* n. 'period of three lives', *tri-yojanā-* (AV.) n. 'distance of three Yojanas', *try-udāyā-* n. 'threefold approach to the altar', *daśāṅgulā-* n. 'length of ten fingers', *daśāntarusyā-* n. 'distance of ten stations', *dvī-rājā-* (AV.) n. 'battle of two kings', *pañca-yojanā-* (AV.) n. 'distance of five Yojanas', *ṣaḍ-ahā-* (AV. TS.) m. 'series of six days'. These numeral collectives always end in accented *-ā*⁸.

291. Origin of Bahuvrīhis.—Considering that Bahuvrīhis, which are adjectives, are far commoner than the corresponding determinatives, which are substantives, it cannot be assumed that the former always passed through

¹ The Bahuvrīhi compound *āvir-ṛjika-* is of uncertain meaning; see WACKERNAGEL 2f, p. 287 (middle).

² Compounds formed with these three words might also be explained as belonging to the 'governing' class.

³ Also the cognate *kim-* in *kim-bīlā-* (VS. TS.) (land) 'having small stones'.

⁴ See WHITNEY's note on AV. XIX. 8⁴.

⁵ Accentuation of the final syllable (as in the cognate singular Dvandvas) prevails in these n. Bahuvrīhis; exceptions are *ā-bhaya-*,

n. 'safety' (adj. 'free from danger'), and *vi-hṛdaya-* (AV.) 'lack of courage'.

⁶ These are called Dvigu by the Hindu grammarians, and are classed by them as a subdivision of Tatpuruṣas.

⁷ A few numeral collectives are determinatives used in the pl. and the original gender: *ṣaptarṣaya-* 'the seven seers', *ṣapta-grdhṛā-* 'seven vultures' (AV.); *tri-kadrū-* ka-pl. 'three soma-vessels' (from *kadrū-* f.).

⁸ With the suffix *-ya-* is formed *saahasrāṇy-yā-* n. (AV.) 'a thousand days' journey'.

the process of transmutation from the latter. They must in the vast majority of instances have been formed directly and independently in conformity with the type of these secondary adjectives which had come down from the IIr. period¹. WACKERNAGEL (2¹, 112) adopts the view that the origin of Bahuvrīhis is not to be explained by transmutation from determinatives, but from the predicative or appositional use of groups of words characterizing a substantive². This use he exemplifies by the following quotations from the RV.: *urīḥ kākṣo nā gāṅgyāḥ* (vi. 45³¹) 'like the broad shoulder dwelling on the Ganges', that is, for **urīḥ-kākṣaḥ* 'Broad-shoulder' as a Proper Name; *sā iāyase sāho mahāt* (v. 11⁶) 'thou art born a great power' (= **mahā-sahūḥ* 'one having great power'); *tvācam kṛṣṇām arandhayat* (i. 130⁸) 'he delivered over the black skin' (that is, 'those having a black skin', 'the black-skins'); *drīghāya cid vācasa ānavāya* (vi. 62⁹) 'to Ānava, deceitful speech', that is, 'who utters deceitful speech'³; and *narām . . sāṃsaḥ* (ii. 34⁶) 'praise of men' as representing an earlier stage than *nārā-sāṃsa-* 'receiving the praises of men' as a Bahuvrīhi. Appositional Bahuvrīhis, he thinks, similarly arose from explanatory clauses, as *indra-jyēsthā devāḥ* 'the gods having Indra as their mightiest' from *devāḥ indro jyēsthāḥ* 'the gods — Indra their mightiest'. The first step here would have been assimilation in case and number to the main substantive, involving change to a compound (with stem-form and single accent), followed by assimilation in gender. The change to the Bahuvrīhi had already become the rule in the pre-Vedic period.

5. Governing Compounds.

292. In a considerable number of compounds the first member governs the last in sense, being either a preposition (prepositional adverb) or a verbal noun. These compounds being adjectives are allied to Bahuvrīhis.

i. In the **prepositional** group the first member is a preposition or adverb capable of governing a case. There are about twenty examples in the RV. In some instances they seem to have arisen from the corresponding syntactical combination, as *ādhi-ratha-* n. 'wagon-load' from *ādhi rāthe* (x. 64¹²) 'on the wagon'. In other instances they seem to have originated from the corresponding adverb; thus the adjective in *pra-dīv-ā ketinā* (v. 60⁸) 'with long-existing light' has been changed from the adverb *pra-dīvas* 'from of old' to agree with a substantive in the instrumental. The ending of the second member has been preserved for the most part only when it was -a; otherwise the suffix -a or -ya is generally added. Like Bahuvrīhis, compounds of this type may become neuter substantives; thus *upānas-ā-* 'being on the wagon', n. (AV.) 'space in a wagon'.

a. All prepositions which govern cases (except *āva*) as well as *prī* (though it never governs a case), besides several adverbs capable of being used with a case, are employed as first member in these compounds⁴. The following are examples of prepositional governing compounds: *ati-mātrā-* (AV.) 'beyond measure', *ati-rātrā-* 'lasting overnight', *aty-āpahas-* (VS.) 'beyond the reach of distress', *aty-avi-* 'running over the wool'; *ādhi-gart-ya-* 'being on the car-seat', *adhi-gav-ā-* (AV.) 'derived from cows'; *adhas-pad-ā-* 'being

¹ Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 88; IF. 18, 63 ff.

² On substantives used instead of adjectives cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 89.

³ Cp. *drogḥa-vāc-* 'uttering deceitful speech'.

⁴ This type of governing compound is

similar in form to the prepositional Bahuvrīhis; the meaning, however, is quite different, as in the latter the preposition does not govern the following member, but refers adverbially to the substantive with which the Bahuvrīhi agrees.

under the feet', *adho-akṣá-* 'remaining below the axle'; *anu-path-a-* and *anu-vartman-* (AV. VS.) 'along the road', *anu-kāmd-* 'according to wish', *anu-vrata-* 'obedient'; *antas-path-a-* 'being within the path'; *api-prāna-* 'being on (= accompanying) the breath', *api-sarvará-* 'bordering on night' (*sarvará-*); *abhi-dyu-* 'directed to heaven', *abhi-rāṣṭra-* 'overcoming dominion'; *ā-jaras-á-* 'reaching to old age', *ā-pathi-* and *ā-pathi-* 'being on the way', *ā-bhaga-* 'taking part in', 'participator'; *upa-kakṣá-* 'reaching to the shoulder', *upānas-á-* 'being on a wagon', *upa-tṛṇ-ya-* (AV.) 'lurking in the grass', *upa-mās-ya-* (AV.) 'occurring every month'; *upāri-budhna-* 'raised above the ground', *upāri-martya-* 'being above men'; *ūrdhvā-nabhas-* (VS.) 'being above the clouds', *ūrdhvā-barhis-* (VS.) 'being above the litter'; *tiró-ahn-ya-* ('being beyond a day' =) 'belonging to the day before yesterday'; *pari-panth-in-*² ('lying around the path') 'adversary', *pari-hastá-* (AV.) ('put round the hand') 'hand-amulet'; *paró-mātra-* ('being beyond measure') 'excessive', *paró-ks-a-* (AV.) ('lying beyond the eye') 'invisible'; *puro-gav-á-* ('going before the cows') 'leader'; *prati-kāmyā-* (AV.) 'being in accordance with desire'; *saṃ-gayá-* 'blessing the household'.

2. In verbal governing compounds the first member is either an agent noun or an action noun governing the last member as an object. The abnormal position of the verbal form before the object in this class is probably to be explained by the first member having originally been an imperative, which usually has this position. These compounds are an old formation, two types going back to the Indo-European period, and one to the Indo-Iranian. They are adjectives, but the final member never adds a compositional suffix except in *śikṣā-nar-á-* 'helping men'. Three types are to be distinguished.

a. The first member consists of a present stem or the root, which probably represents an imperative³; of this type there are few examples: *trasá-dasyu-* m., N. of a man ('terrify the foe'), *radā-vasu-*⁴ (only voc.) 'dispensing wealth', *śikṣā-nar-á-*⁴ 'helping men', *sthā-raśman-*⁵ 'loosening bridles'⁶.

b. Examples of the second type are more numerous. Here the first member ends in *-át*, but the participle, being formed from present stems in *-a*, *-á* or *-aya*, which appears in these compounds, in a few instances does not occur in independent use. This type, which is almost entirely restricted to the RV., is also Iranian. It seems to have taken the place of the older one (a), which owing to its form was apt to be confused with Bahuvrīhis though differing from them in meaning. The form which they assumed was probably aided by the analogy of Bahuvrīhis with a present participle as their first member, like *śuccā-ratha-* 'having a brilliant car', which are formed from intransitive verbs, while those in the governing compounds are of course transitive. Examples of this type are the following: *ṛdhád-ray-*⁷ ('increasing wealth') m., N. of a man, and *ṛdhád-vāra-*⁷ 'increasing goods', *ksayád-vīra-*⁸ 'ruling men', *codayán-mati-*⁹ 'stimulating devotion', *jamád-*¹⁰

¹ Occurs only in the dative as an adverb meaning 'up to old age'.

² Formed with the suffix *-in* which is not properly attached to compounds; cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, 53 (p. 121 bottom).

³ See BRUGMANN, IF. 18, 76; DELBRÜCK, Vergleichende Syntax 3, 174; JACOBI, Compositum und Nebensatz (1897), 46—82; WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 315.

⁴ Rhythmically lengthened for *radā*, *śikṣā*.

⁵ The *Radā* has *sthāp-raśman-*. The meaning

is doubtful; it may be a simple Bahuvrīhi, 'having firm bridles' (GRASSMANN).

⁶ *kṛpā-niḍa-* would be another example if it means 'arranging his abode', but the meaning of the first member is doubtful.

⁷ *ṛdhāt-* is an aorist participle of *ṛdh-* 'increase'.

⁸ From *ksayati* 'rules'.

⁹ From *codāyati* 'urges'.

¹⁰ *jamád-* a palatalized form from *gam-* 'go'.

agni- ('going to Agni'), N. of man, *tarād-dveṣas-*¹ 'overcoming foes', *drāvayāt-sakha-*² 'speeding the comrade', *dhārayāt-kari-* 'supporting the wise' and *dhārayāt-kṣiti-*³ 'supporting men', *bharād-vāja-* ('carrying off the prize') m., N. of a man, and *ā-bharād-vasu-*⁴ 'bringing wealth', *manhayād-rayi-*⁵ 'lavishing wealth', *mandād-vīra-*⁶ 'gladdening men', **vidād-aśva-*⁷ 'possessing steeds', *vidād-vasu-*⁸ 'winning wealth', *śrāvayāt-pati-* 'making his lord famous', and *śrāvayāt-sakhi-*⁹ 'making his friend famous', *sanād-rayi-* 'bestowing possessions' and *sanād-vāja-*¹⁰ 'bestowing booty', *sādād-yoni-*¹¹ 'sitting in one's place', *śprhayād-varṇa-*¹² 'striving after lustre'. Two such governing compounds are once combined in such a way that the final member common to both is dropped in the first: *patayān mandayāt-sakham* (I. 4⁷) 'causing his friend to fly (*patāya-*) and to be glad' (*mandīya-*)¹³.

c. In the third type, which goes back to the Indo-European period¹⁴, the first member is a noun of action variously accented. There are some half-dozen examples in the RV.: *dāti-vāra-* 'giving treasures', *piṣṭi-gu-* ('rearing kine') m., N. of a man, *rīty-āp-*¹⁵ 'causing waters to flow', *vīti-rādhas-* 'enjoying the oblation', *vīti-hotra-* 'enjoying the sacrifice', *vṛṣṭi-dyāv-* 'causing the sky to rain'¹⁶.

6. Syntactical Compounds.

293. There are some irregular formations in which words not in coordinate, attributive, dependent or governing relation are compounded owing to constant juxtaposition in the sentence.

i. The relative word *yāt* (abl.) 'in so far as' is compounded with a superlative in RV. III. 53²¹: *utībhīḥ ... yāc-chreṣṭhābhīḥ*¹⁷ 'with the best possible aids', lit. 'with aids in so far as (they are) the best'. The adverb *yād-rādhyām* (II. 38⁸) 'as quickly as possible', lit. 'in so far as possible', is analogous.

2. The initial words of a text begin to be compounded in the later Samhitās as a designation of that text; thus *ye-yajāmahā-* (VS.) in the nom. pl. m. means the text beginning with the words *ye yajāmahe*¹⁸.

3. Phrases, almost always consisting of two words, used in connexion with certain actions are compounded; thus *aham-uttarā-*¹⁹ (AV.) 'dispute for precedence', from the phrase used by each disputant *aham ūttaraḥ* 'I (am) higher'; *mama-satyēṣu* 'in disputes as to ownership', in which every one says *māma satyām* '(it is) certainly mine'; *mām-paśyā-* (AV.) as the name of a plant used by a woman to secure the love of a man with the words *mām paśya* 'look at me'²⁰. Similarly in connexion with persons, as *kuvit-sa-* 'some

¹ From *tāra-ti* 'overcomes'.

² From *drāvāya-* causative of *dru-* 'run'.

³ From *dhārāya-* causative of *dhr-* 'support'.

⁴ From *bhāra-ti* 'bears'.

⁵ From *manhāya-* causative of *manh-* 'be great'.

⁶ From *mānda-ti* 'gladdens'. The SV. has the wrong variant *vandād-vīra-*.

⁷ To be inferred from the patronymic *vādidadaśvi-*.

⁸ From *vidād-ti* 'finds'.

⁹ From *śrāvāya-* causative of *śru-* 'hear'.

¹⁰ From *sāna-ti* or *sanā-ti* 'wins'.

¹¹ Lengthened for *sādād-* from *sāda-ti* 'sits'.

¹² From *śprhaya-ti* 'desires'.

¹³ On the doubtful examples *arcād-dhūma-*, *kṛtād-vasū-*, *pratād-vasū-*, *dhuvad vāsūḥ* (VIII. 1937), *vṛṣād-añji-* (voc.) see WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 319 note.

¹⁴ See WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 320 (bottom).

¹⁵ This is the only example recognized by BR. as belonging to this type; GRASSMANN explains them all as Bahuvrīhis.

¹⁶ BRUGMANN, IF. 18, 70 f., explains these compounds as having originated in imperatives, while JACOBI, *Compositum und Nebensatz* p. 64 f., thinks the first member represents an original 3. pers. sing.

¹⁷ In AV. VII. 31¹ *yāvāc-chreṣṭhābhīḥ* is a corrupt variant. Compounds formed with *yāvāt-* do not otherwise occur till the Sūtras.

¹⁸ In the TS. also occurs *idām-madhū-* m. as a designation of the text *idām evā sāvaghām madhū*. This kind of compound becomes common in the ancillary literature when particular hymns are referred to.

¹⁹ Used in the locative only.

²⁰ One or two doubtful examples are discussed by WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 327 (top).

one' from the phrase *kuvīt śa* 'is it he?'. This type is more commonly based on phrases used by people about themselves; thus *āhaṇi-sana*¹ (voc.) 'rapacious', that is, one who says *āhāṇi saneyam* (*dhānāni*) 'may I obtain (wealth)'; *āhaṇi-pūrvāt* 'eager to be first', that is, one who says *āhāṇi pūrvah* (*syām*) 'I (should be) first'; *kiṇ-tvā* (VS.) 'asking garrulously' that is, one who continually says 'what (are) you (doing)?'.

VI. DECLENSION.

BENFEY, Vollständige Grammatik 707—780. — WHITNEY, Grammar 261—526.

294. General character.—Declension means the inflexion of nominal stems by means of endings which express the various relations represented by what are called cases. The stems belonging to the sphere of declension are most conveniently divided, owing to difference of meaning, form, and use, into **nouns, pronouns, and numerals**. Pronouns have to be treated separately because they have certain peculiarities of inflexion, besides to some extent lacking the distinction of gender. Numerals again show other peculiarities of form as well as partial lack of gender. Nouns are divided into substantives as names of things and adjectives as names of attributes. But as no definite line of demarcation can be drawn between substantive and adjective in any of the classes of declension in the Vedic language, these two categories are nowhere treated separately in the present work.

I. Nouns.

LANMAN, Noun-inflection in the Veda, JAOS. vol. x (1880), p. 325—600.

295. Owing to considerable divergencies of inflexion, nominal stems are best grouped in the **two main divisions** of **consonant and vowel declension**. Stems ending in semivowels form a transition from the former to the latter. The stems contained in the two main classes have further to be sub-divided, owing to difference of derivation and, in part, consequent variety of inflexion, into **radical and derivative stems**.

a. Like other Aryan tongues, the Vedic language distinguishes in declension the **three genders**, masculine, feminine, and neuter. It also distinguishes **three numbers**, the singular, dual, and plural, the dual being in full and regular use².

b. There are **eight cases**: nominative, vocative, accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive, locative, all in regular and unrestricted use. The same ending, however, is to a limited extent employed to express the sense of two and sometimes of three cases. Thus the eight cases of the dual have among them only three endings; in the plural the single ending *-bhyas* does duty for both dative and ablative; while in the singular the same ending *-as* appears for both ablative and genitive in all but the *a*-declension.

c. The **normal endings** of cases are the following:

Singular: nom. m. f. *-s*, n. none; voc. of all genders, none; acc. m. f. *-am*, n. none; inst. *-ā*, dat. *-e*, abl. gen. *-as*, loc. *-i*.

Dual: nom. voc. acc. m. f. *-ā*, *-au*, n. *-ī*, inst. dat. abl. *-bhyām*, gen. loc. *-os*.

Plural: nom. voc. acc. m. f. *-as*, neut. *-i*; inst. *-bhis*, dat. abl. *-bhyas*, gen. *-ām*, loc. *-su*.

¹ RV. viii. 61⁹; cp. *āhāṇi sánā* v. 75².

² But while the employment of the dual is generally strict, the plural is often used instead of the dual of natural pairs in

the 'hieratic' parts of the RV.; see BLOOMFIELD, Johns Hopkins University Circular for 1905, p. 18 f., OLIPHANT, *ibid.* p. 22—31.

d. A distinction is often made in the stem between strong (or full) and weak (or reduced) case-forms. It appears in its full development only in derivative consonant stems, affecting the suffixes *-añc*¹; *-an*, *-man*, *-van*; *-ant*, *-mant*, *-vant*; *-tar*; *-yāñs*; *-vāñs*. The strong form of the stem appears in the masculine nom. voc.² acc. singular and dual, and in the nom. voc. plural; and in the neuter nom. voc. acc. plural only. The weak form of the stem appears in the remaining cases. But in the first four and in the last of the above suffixes the weak stem which appears before endings with initial consonant is further weakened before endings with initial vowel.

e. The way in which the normal endings are attached to the strong and the weak stem with accompanying shift of accent, may be illustrated by the inflexion of the stem *ad-ant-* 'eating' in the masc.:

Singular: N. *ad-ām*. V. *ād-an*. A. *ad-āntam*. I. *ad-at-ā*. D. *ad-at-ī*. Ab. G. *ad-at-ās*. L. *ad-at-ī*.

Dual: N. A. *ad-ānt-ā*, *-au*. V. *ād-ant-ā*, *-au*. I. D. Ab. *ad-ād-bhṛāṃ*. G. L. *ad-at-ōs*.

Plural: N. *ad-ānt-as*. V. *ād-ant-as*. A. *ad-at-ās*. I. *ad-ād-bhis*. D. Ab. *ad-ād-bhyas*. G. *ad-at-ām*. L. *ad-āt-su*.

The neuter differs only in the N. A. V. of all numbers: Sing.: N. A. *ad-āt*; V. *ād-at*. Du.: N. A. *ad-at-ī*. Pl.: N. A. *ad-ānt-i*.

A. Consonant Stems.

296. Among these stems there are none ending in gutturals³ and only two ending in the cerebral *ḍ*. Those which end in the labials *p*, *bh*, *m* are fairly numerous. The majority end in dentals, the only class of consonants in which every sound contained in the group (*t*, *th*, *d*, *dh*, *n*) is represented. Of the semivowels, *y* is represented by one stem, *v* by three stems, and *r* by a large number of stems. There are many stems ending in the sibilants *ś*, *s*, *ṣ*, and several in the breathing *h* as representative of both a new and an old palatal.

i. Palatal Stems.

297. 1. Radical stems in *-c*. — All uncompounded stems (being of course monosyllabic) are, with very few isolated exceptions, feminine substantives. The exceptions are: *tvāc-* 'skin', otherwise f., occurs twice in the L. sing. *tvact* as a m.; *ārc-*, in its only occurrence, I. sing. *arc-ā*, is a m. adj. in the sense of 'shining'; and *krūñc-*, 'curlew' (VS.) is a m. substantive.

Compounds, as being adjectives, are often m.; but excepting those formed with *añc-* the only n. is *ā-pīk* (from *pīc-* 'mix'), used adverbially. Compounds ending in *-añc*⁴ regularly distinguish strong and weak forms. This distinction elsewhere appears to a limited extent only in compounds ending in the three roots *vyac-* 'extend', *vac-* 'speak', *sac-* 'accompany': the first by nasalization in *uru-vyūñcam*⁵ 'far-extending', the other two by lengthening the radical vowel in several compounds.

¹ Though in origin a radical element, *-añc* is practically a suffix; cp. 293. (as distinguished from the old palatals *j*¹ and *ḥ*²).

² The voc. sing., however, generally assumes a somewhat shortened form owing to the accent invariably shifting to the initial syllable in this case.

³ The gutturals as finals of nominal stems having become the new palatals *c*, *j*² and *ḥ*²

⁴ These compounds formed with the root *añc-* will, owing to the peculiar changes which the stem undergoes, be treated apart from other words ending in radical *c*.

⁵ Through the influence of compounds formed with *-añc*, like *praty-āñcam*.

Inflexion.

The forms actually occurring, if made from *vāc*-f. 'speech', would be the following:

Sing.: N. V. *vāk*. A. *vācam*. I. *vācā*. D. *vācā*. Ab. G. *vācās*. L. *vācā*. — Dual: N. A. V. *vācā* and *vācau*. I. *vāgbhyām* (VS.). — Plur.: N. V. *vācas*. A. *vācas* and *vācās*. I. *vāgbhis*. D. *vāgbhyās* (VS). Ab. *vāgbhyās* (AV.). G. *vācām*.

a. The forms actually occurring are:

Sing. N. f. *ṛk* (AV.) 'stanza', *tvāk* 'skin', *vāk* 'speech', *śīk* (AV. VS.) 'flame', *srīk* 'ladle'; *ni-mrīk* (AV.) 'sunset', *puruṣa-vāk* (VS. xxiv. 33) 'human-voiced', *puro-rīk* (TS. vii. 3. 13¹) 'forward light', *saṃ-vāk* (VS. ix. 12) 'argument'. — m. *krīn* (VS. xix. 43) 'curlew'; *anyta-vāk* (AV.) 'speaking untruth', *upa-ṛk* 'adhering to', *tri-śīk* (VS. xxxviii. 22) 'having triple light', *yatā-sruk* 'extending the ladle', *sūrya-tvāk* (AV.) 'having a covering (bright) as the sun', *hiraṇya-tvāk* 'coated with gold'.

A. f. *ṛcam*, *tvācam*, *rīcam* (VS. TS.) 'lustre', *vācam*, *śīcam* (AV.), *sīcam* 'hem', *srīcam* (AV.); *ā-sīcam* 'oblation', *vi-mīcam* 'unyoking', *sūrya-tvācam*. — m. *amho-mīcam* 'delivering from distress', *dādrogha-vācam* 'free from treacherous speech', *kṛīya-vācam* 'speaking ill', *tanū-rīcam* 'brilliant in person', *dhānarcam* 'shining (*ṛcam*) with booty', *puro-rīcam* 'shining in front', *madhu-ṛcam* 'dispensing sweetness', *mṛdhrā-vācam* 'speaking injuriously', *su-rīcam* 'shining brightly', *su-vācam* 'very eloquent', *sūrya-tvācam* (Kh. iv. 63). With strengthened stem: *uru-vyāñcam*; *satya-vācam* 'truth-speaking'; *apatya-sācam* 'accompanied with offspring', *abhi-sācam* 'accompanying', *drona-sācam* 'clinging to the trough', *dhāma-sācam* 'keeping his place', *rāti-sācam* 'bestowing gifts'. — n. (adv.) *ā-ṛk* 'in a mixed manner'.

I. f. *ṛcā*, *tvacā*, *mṛcā* 'injury', *rucā*, *vācā*, *śucā*, *sicā*, *srucā*; *puro-rīcā* (VS. xx. 36) 'forward light', *su-rīcā*. — m. *arcā* 'shining'; *uru-vyācā*, *sūrya-tvācā*.

D. f. *ṛcē* (VS. xiii. 39), *tvacē* 'offspring', *tvacē* (AV.), *rucē*, *vācē* (VS. xxii. 23), *śucē* (VS. xxxix. 12); *uru-vyācē* (AV.). — m. *amho-mīcē* (TS. i. 6. 12³), *udāyata-sruce* 'extending the ladle', *yatā-sruce*, *viśva-śīcē* 'all-enlightening'.

Ab. f. *tvacās*, *srucās* (AV. VS.); *ni-mrīcas*.

G. f. *ṛcās*, *tvacās*, *vācās*; *vi-mucas* (*napāt*, V.). — m. *puru-rīcas* 'shining brightly', *su-rīcas*.

L. f. *tvacī*, *vācī*, *srucī*; *ā-tīcī* 'evening', *ud-ṛcī* 'end', *ni-mrīcī*, *vī-vācī* 'crying aloud'. — m. *tvacī* 'skin' (ix. 69³, 101¹⁶).

V. m. *ākṛtta-ruk* 'possessing unimpaired lustre' (x. 84⁴).

Du. N. A. V. f. *vācau*, *sīcau*; *ghṛta-ṛcā* 'sprinkling fatness', *tanū-rīcā*. — With strengthened stem: *satya-vācā*. — m. *krīñcau* (VS. xxx. 6); *tanū-rīcā*, *yatā-sruca*, *su-vācā*; *saṃ-ṛcāu* (VS. ix. 4) 'united'.

I. m. *ati-rigbhyām* (VS. xxv. 3) 'fetlocks'.

Pl. N. f. *ṛcas*, *ṛcas* 'food', *rīcas*, *vācas*, *sīcas* (AV.), *srīcas*¹; *ā-ṛcas* 'filling' (viii. 40⁹)², *divo-rīcas* 'shining from heaven', *ni-mrīcas* (AV. VS.), *vi-mīcas* (AV.), V. *bhadra-vācas* 'speaking auspiciously'. — m. *dudhrā-vācas* 'speaking confusedly', *yatā-srucas*, *vasu-rīcas* 'bright as the Vasus', *vi-ṛcas* (VS. xix. 11) 'parted', *vi-vācas*, *saṃ-sīcas* (AV.) 'shedding together', *saṃ-ṛcas* (VS. xix. 11), *su-rīcas*, *su-vācas*, *sūktā-vācas* 'uttering good speech', V. *sūrya-tvacas*. — With strengthened stem: *abhi-sācas*, *āyajña-sācas* 'not performing sacrifice', *drogha-vācas* 'speaking maliciously', V. *ṇ-ṣācas* 'befriending men',

¹ AV. once (xix. 42²) with wrong accent *srucās*.

² According to BR., infinitive of *ā-ṛc-* 'satisfy oneself'.

raṇya-vācas 'speaking agreeably', *raṇi-śācas* 'possessing wealth', *rāṇi-śācas*, *saiya-vācas*, *smād-rāṇi-śācas* 'attended by liberal men', *hari-śācas* 'occupied with the tawny (Soma)'.

A. f. *rīcas*, *vācas* and (once) *vācās*, *śīcas* (AV.), *śīcas* (AV.), *srīcas* and (once) *srucās* (AV.); *dur-vācas* (AV.) 'having a bad voice', *mydhṛā-vācas*, *su-rīcas*. — m. *an-īcas* 'hymnless', *a-rīcas* 'lustreless', *mydhṛā-vācas*, *vādhri-vācas* 'talking idly', *vī-vācas*.

I. f. *ṛgbhīs*. — D. f. *srugbhīd*s (VS. II. 1). — Ab. f. *ṛgbhīd*s (AV.) — G. f. *ṛcām*, *tvacām* (AV.); *madhu-ṛcām* (AV.).

298. Stems in *-āñc*. A considerable number of compounds is formed by adding as final member the root *añc* 'bend', which almost assumes the character of a suffix¹ expressing the meaning of 'ward'; e. g. *prāñc* (= *prā-āñc*) 'for-ward'. Strong and weak forms are regularly distinguished, the nasal which appears in the former being always lost in the latter. If *-āñc* is preceded by a word ending in *i* or *u*, the syllables *ya* and *va* thus produced are further weakened to *ī* and *ū* before vowel endings, and if bearing the accent, shift it to those endings²; e. g. Sing. A. m. *pratyāñcam*, N. n. *pratyāk*, G. *pratyācās*.

In these compounds *-āñc* is added to words ending in *ī*, *ū*, with which it coalesces: *adharañc* 'tending downward' (*adhara*)³, *āpāñc* 'backward' (*āpa*), *arvāñc* 'hitherward' (*arvā*), *āvāñc* 'downward' (*āva*), *asmatrāñc* 'turned toward us', *ghṛtāñc*+ 'filed with ghee' (*ghṛtā*), *devāñc* 'directed toward the gods' (*devā*), *pārāñc* 'turned away' (*pārā*), *prāñc* 'forward' (*prā*), *viśvāñc* 'universal' (*viśva*)⁵, *satrāñc* 'going together' (*satrā*)⁶. 2. -i: *akudhryāñc*-7 'going nowhere' (*aku-dhri*), *asmadryāñc* 'turned towards us' (*asmad-ri*)⁷, *ūdāñc*-8 'turned upward' (*ūdā*), *kadryāñc*-7 (turned towards what' (*kādā*), *tiryāñc* 'going across' (*tīri*)⁹, *dadhryāñc* 'sprinkling curds' (*dādhi*), *devadryāñc*-7 'turned towards the gods' (*devā*), *nyāñc* 'turned down' (*ni*), *pratyāñc* 'turned towards' (*prā*), *mauryāñc*-7 'turned towards me' (*mad-ri*), *viśvadryāñc* 'going everywhere' (*viśva-a-dri*), *śvītyāñc* 'whitish' (*śvit-i*), *sadhryāñc*-7 'coming together' (*sa-dhri* 'the same goal'), *samyāñc* 'going together' (*sam-i*). 3. -u: *anvāñc* 'going after' (*anu*), *ṛjvāñc* 'moving straight forward' (*ṛjū*), *vṛvāñc* 'going in all directions' (*viśu*), *svāñc* 'going well' (*sū*). The two feminines *purīñc*-7 'abundant' and *urūñc*-7 'far-reaching' presuppose similar stems (**puru-āñc* and **uru-āñc*).

Inflexion.

299. These stems are inflected in the m. and n. only, as they form a f. in *-ī* from the weak or contracted stem, e. g. *prāñc*, f. *prāc-ī*; *pratyāñc*, f. *pratic-ī*. The only cases occurring in the pl. are the N. A. and in the du. the N. A. and L.

The forms actually found, if made from *pratyāñc*, would be as follows: Sing. N. m. *pratyāñi*, n. *pratyāk*. A. m. *pratyāñcam*. I. *pratyācā*. D. *pratyācā*. Ab. G. *pratyācās*. L. *pratyācī*. — Du. N. A. m. *pratyāñcā*, *pratyāñcau* (AV.), n. *pratyācī*. L. m. *pratyācās*. — Pl. N. m. *pratyāñcas*. A. m. *pratyācās* and *pratyācās* (AV.).

a. The forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. m. *adharāñi* (AV.), *āpāñi*, *arvāñi*, *āvāñi* (TS. III. 2. 5³), *ūdāñi* (AV.),

¹ Cp. WHITNEY 407; LINDNER, Nominalbildung, Addenda p. 167, prefers to treat *-āñc* as a suffix.

² The accent is similarly shifted to the suffix *-ī* with which the f. of these stems is formed (cp. 86 B 11, p. 87). This rule of accentuation applies to the RV. only, not to the later Samhitās; cp. A. pl. below (p. 182).

³ With shifted accent.

⁴ In this and some other of these compounds only the weak unnasalized form of the stem occurs.

⁵ With shift of accent.

⁶ The f. *narīc-ī* (AV.), N. of a plant, is doubtless based on a similar stem formed from *narā* 'man', with shift of accent.

⁷ The suffix *-ri* in these compounds perhaps spread from *sadhri-āñc* (the *dh* also to *akudhryāñc*), while the *d* of *deva-dryāñc* and *viśvadryāñc* may be due to the pronominal forms *mād* and *asmād*.

⁸ The weak stem *udīc* being formed as if from **ūd-i-āñc*.

⁹ *tīri* appearing instead of *tīrās* 'across' from which the weak stem *tīrāc* (= *tīrās-ac*) is formed.

tiryān (AV.), *dadhyān*¹, *nyān*, *pārān* (AV.), *pratyān*², *prān*, *viśvan*, *sadhryān* (AV.), *su-prān*. — n. Nearly all the following forms are used adverbially: *akudhryāk*, *adharāk* (AV.), *āpāk*, *drvāk* and *arvāk* (AV.), *asmadryāk*, *īdāk*, *tiryāk* (AV.), *nyāk*, *pārāk* (AV.), *pratyāk*, *prāk*, *madryāk*, *viśvak*, *viśvadryāk*, *sadhryāk*, *samyāk*³.

A. m. *adharāñcam* (AV.), *arvāñcam* (AV.), *āpāñcam* (AV.), *arvāñcam*, *īdāñcam*, *tiryāñcam* (VS. x. 8), *nyāñcam*, *pārāñcam* (AV.), *pratyāñcam*, *prāñcam*, *madryāñcam*, *viśvañcam*, *samyāñcam*, *svāñcam*.

I. m. *arvācī*. — n. *devadrīcā*, *satrācī*; used adverbially with shifted accent: *tiraścā*, *nīcā*, *prācā*⁴.

D. m. *dadhīcī*, *svitīcī*. — Ab. m. *praticās*. — G. m. *dadhīcās*, *viśvācās*⁵. — L. m. *prācī*.

Du. N. A. m. *āpāñcau* (AV.), *arvāñcā* and *arvāñcau* (AV.), *viśvañcau* (AV.), *sadhryāñcā*, *samyāñcā* and *samyāñcau* (AV. VS.). — n. *praticī*, *samīcī* (VS. I. 31, TS. iv. i. 3²). — L. m. *viśūcos*.

Pl. N. m. *adharāñcas* (AV.), *āpāñcas* (AV.), *arvāñcas*⁶, *asmadrāñcas*, *asmadryāñcas*, *īdāñcas*, *ṛjvāñcas*, *tiryāñcas* (AV.), *pārāñcas*, *pratyāñcas*, *prāñcas*, *viśvañcas*, *svitryāñcas*⁷, *sadhryāñcas*, *samyāñcas*, *svāñcas*.

A. m. *adharācas*, *anūcas* and *anūcas* (AV.), *āpācas*, *arvācas*, *dvācas*, *īdīcas*, *nīcas* (AV.), *pārācas*, *praticās* and *praticas* (AV.), *prācas*, *viśūcas*, *satrācas*.

300. Radical stem in *-ch*. — Only one stem ending in *ch*, which occurs in a single form as a noun, has been found. This is made from the root *pr̥cch-* 'ask', in the compound N. du. m. *bandhu-pr̥cch-ā* 'asking after kinsmen'. The D. and A. of the same stem also appear as infinitives in the forms *pr̥cchē* 'to ask', *sam-pr̥cche* 'to greet'; *vi-pr̥ccham* and *sam-pr̥ccham* 'to ask'.

301. Stems in radical *-j-*. — These stems are inflected in all three genders alike. The neuter would of course differ in N. A. V. dual and plural, but these forms do not occur. When uncompounded these stems are f. substantives except *yīj-* and *rāj-*, which appear as m. also; *bhrāj-*, which occurs as a m. adj. as well as a f. substantive; *īj-*, which is found once (AV.)⁸, and *vīj-* twice as a m. only. Neuter cases occur from *bhāj-*, *yīj-*, *rāj-* and *vīj-* as final members of adj. compounds, but no distinctively neuter forms (N. A. V. du. pl.) are met with even here.

The only stem showing traces of the distinction of strong and weak cases is *yīj-*, which has the nasalized form *yījñi-* beside the unaltered stem in the N. A. sing. and du.

In the N. sing. the *j*, when derived from a guttural, appears as *k*, but when it represents an old palatal, it becomes the cerebral *ṭ* except in *ṛtv-īj*⁹ 'priest'; but before the *-su* of the L. pl. both alike¹⁰ become *k*.

¹ On the doubling of the *n* before vowels, see LANMAN 456.

² *pratyāñik-* before *s-* in TS. I. 8. 21¹.

³ The forms *tvadrīk*, *madrik* and *madryadrīk*, *jvadrīk*, 'towards thee, — me, — you', are doubtless shortened forms of *-dryāk*, which pronunciation is favoured by the metre in some instances: LANMAN 456 (bottom).

⁴ *prācā* is probably used adverbially in III. 31⁵ also. As an adj. the form, being a compound, would be accented *prācā*.

⁵ N. of a demon, formed with *-āñc*, from *viśva-*, an extension of *viśu-*, as in *viśva-dryāñc-*.

⁶ The weak form *arvācas* seems to be used for *arvāñcas* in VII. 48¹.

⁷ A transition form, N. m. *svitīcāyas* (x. 46⁷) = *svitryāñcas*, is made from an *i-* stem *svitīcī-* based on the regular f. *svitīcī*.

⁸ In AV. XIX. 50⁸, where the reading *ājam* is somewhat doubtful; see WHITNEY's note.

⁹ Which is derived from *yaj-* 'sacrifice': *ṛtv-īj-* 'sacrificing in due season'.

¹⁰ See above 34, I.

Inflexion.

302. Sing. N. 1. with *-k*: m. *yūn*¹ (VS. x. 25) 'associate'; *a-bhūk* 'not having enjoyed', *ardha-bhāk* (AV.) 'sharer', *ṛta-yūk* 'duly harnessed', *ṛti-lk* 'priest', *ghṛtā-nirūk* 'having a garment of fat', *candrā-nirūk* 'having a brilliant garment', *parā-vūk* 'outcast', *bhī-śāk*² 'healing', *śatī-bhīśak* (AV.) 'requiring a hundred physicians', *sam-vūk* 'overpowering', *sa-yūk* 'companion', *hiraṇya-srak* (AV.) 'having a golden garland'. — f. *ūr*k (VS. iv. 10) 'vigour', *nir-pūk*³ 'bright garment', *hiraṇya-nirūk*. — n. N. A. *sv-ā-tyk* 'easily acquired', *su-yūk* 'well-joined' (adv.).

2. with *-t*: m. *bhrāt*⁴ 'shining', *rāt* 'king'; *eka-rāt* 'monarch', *jana-rāt* (VS. v. 24) 'lord of men', *vanc-rāt* 'shining in a wood', *vi-bhrāt* 'resplendent', *vi-rāt* 'ruling far and wide', *viśva-bhrāt* 'all-illuminating', *satra-rāt* (VS. v. 2) 'king of a Soma sacrifice', *sam-rāt* 'universal ruler', *sarva-rāt* (VS. v. 24) 'ruler of all', *sva-rāt* 'self-ruler'. — With anomalous loss of the final of the root and retention of the N. *-s*: *āva-yās*⁵ (I. 162⁵), a priest who offers the share of the oblation (*ava-yāj*). — f. *rāt* 'mistress'; *vi-rāt*. — With anomalous loss of the final of the root (*yaj*) and retention of the N. *-s*: *ava-yās*⁶ 'share of the sacrificial oblation' (I. 173¹²).

A. m. *ājam* (AV.) 'driver', *yūñjam*⁷, *yūjam*; *ṛta-ljam*, *jyeṣṭha-rājam* 'sovereign', *tri-bhūjam* (AV.) 'threefold', *deva-yūjam* (VS. i. 17) 'sacrificing to the gods', *parā-vījam*, *piśkara-srajam* (VS. ii. 33) 'wearing a lotus wreath', *pūrva-bhājam* 'first sharer', *pṛtanājam* 'rushing (*-ājam*) to battle', *prathama-bhājam* 'receiving the first share', *pṛtar-yūjam* 'yoking early', *bhī-śājam* (VS. xxviii. 9), *yuvā-yūjam* 'yoked by both of you', *ratha-yūjam* 'yoking to a chariot', *vi-rājam*, *śaphā-rūjam* 'destroying with hoofs', *satya-yūjam* 'worshipping truly', *sam-rājam*, *sa-yūjam*, *su-tyājam* 'easily letting loose', *su-yūjam* 'worshipping well', *su-yūjam* 'well-yoked', *su-srājam* (AV.) 'wearing a beautiful garland', *sva-rājam*, *sva-vījam* 'appropriating to oneself'. — f. *ūrjam*, *rūjam* 'offspring', *bhūjam* 'enjoyment', *bhrājam* (VS. iv. 17) 'splendour', *srājam* 'garland'; *upa-spijam*⁸ (x. 88¹⁰) 'emulation', *nir-ūjam*, *pari-vījam* 'avoiding', *pra-yūjam* (VS. xi. 66) 'impulse', *mano-yūjam* 'yoked by thought', *vi-rājam*, *sahāsra-nirūjam* 'having a thousand adornments', *sva-rājam* (AV.).

I. m. *yujā*; *bhī-śājā* (VS. AV.), *mano-yūjā*, *vaco-yūjā* 'yoked by a mere word', *sa-yūjā* (AV.), *sahāsra-nirūjā*, *su-yājā* (VS. TS.) 'good sacrifice', *su-yūjā*. — f. *ūrjā*, *tujā*, *bhrājā* 'lustre'; *nir-ūjā*, *mano-yūjā* (AV.), *vi-rājā*. — n. *svātra-bhājā* 'strengthening'.

D. m. *yujé* (AV.); *mṛtā-bhrajé*⁹ (AV.) 'whose virility is dead', *raṅso-yūje* 'associated with demons', *vi-rāje* (VS. AV.), *sam-rāje*, *sva-rāje*¹⁰. — f. *ūrjé*, *tujé*¹¹, *bhujé*; *nir-ūje*. — Ab. m. *yujás*; *vi-rājas*. — f. *nir-ūjas*.

G. m. *sam-rājas*, *sva-rājas*. — f. *ūrjás*, *bhrājás*¹² (AV.) 'virility', *yujás*; *pra-yūjas* 'team', *ratna-bhājas* 'dispensing gifts', *vi-rājas* (AV.) — n. *sva-rājas*.

¹ For *yūn*k; cp. VPr. iv. 104.

² Probably 'one who conjures', cp. in the later language, *abhi-sajati* 'utters an imprecation'; cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 8, bottom; UHLENBECK, Etymologisches Wörterbuch, rejects this etymology in favour of a derivation connected with Av. *biš* 'healing'.

³ From *nir-nij* 'wash out'.

⁴ There is also the transition form *bhrājās* (ix. 170³).

⁵ See LANMAN 463.

⁶ See above 66 c β (p. 61).

⁷ Strong form (301).

⁸ According to Sāyaṇa, used adverbially in the sense of 'emulously'.

⁹ *bhrāj* is probably a reduced form of *bhrāj*:- cp. the later meaning of *tūjas* 'lustre'.

¹⁰ There is also the transfer form *bhrājāya* (VS. viii. 40) 'for the bright one'.

¹¹ There is also the transfer form *tujāye* (v. 46⁷) from *tujā*.

¹² Probably a reduced form of *bhrāj*:- 'lustre'. Cp. WHITNEY on AV. vii. 90².

L. m. *dśva-nirñijī* 'adorned with horses'. — f. *saṃ-sṛjī* 'collision'.

V. m. *ghṛta-nirñik*, *saṃ-rāt*.

Du. N. A. V. m. *yūñjā*¹, *yūjā*; *ṛtv-ijā*, *tanu-tyājā* 'risking one's life', *puru-bhujā* (V.) 'enjoying much', *pūskara-srajā*, *pratar-yūjā*, *brahma-yūjā* 'harnessed by prayer', *bhi-śājā*, *mano-yūjā* (VS. AV.), *vacō-yūjā*, *saṃ-rājā*, *sa-yūjā*, *sakam-yūjā* 'joined together', *su-yūjā*; *anū-vṛjau* (AV.) a part of the body near the ribs, *apna-rājau* 'ruling over wealth' (*apna* = *apnas*), *bhi-śajau* (V.), *saṃ-rājau*, *sa-yūjau* (AV.), *su-yūjau* (AV.). — f. *aśva-yūjau* (AV.) 'harnessing horses'.

D. m. *bhi-sāgbhyām* (AV.). — G. m. *saṃ-rājas*.

Pl. N. m. *yūjas*; *ā-yūjas* (AV.) 'joining on', *ṛtv-ijas*, V. *ṛtv-ijas* (AV.), *kṛtā-dhvasas* 'furnished with banners', *giri-bhrājas*² 'glittering on the mountains', *ghṛtā-nirñijas*, *tanu-tyājas*, *divi-yājas* 'worshipping in heaven', *dur-yūjas* 'difficult to be yoked', *niḥ-sṛjas* 'pouring out', *pitu-bhājas* 'enjoying food', *pūrva-bhājas*, *pṛtanājas* (-*ajas*), *pra-yūjas* (AV.), *brahma-yūjas*, *bhi-śājas*, *mano-yūjas*, *mitra-yūjas* 'joined in friendship', *ratha-yūjas*, *varsā-nirñijas* 'clothed with rain', *vāma-bhājas* 'partaking of goods', *viśva-sṛjas* (AV.) 'all-creating', *saṃ-rājas*, V. *saṃ-rājas*, *su-yūjas*, *sva-yūjas* 'allies', *sva-rājas*, *hārta-srajas* (AV.) 'wearing yellow garlands'. — f. *ūrjas*, *tūjas*, *bhūjas*; *abhi-yūjas* 'assailants', *go-bhājas* 'bestowing cows', *nir-ñijas*, *prkṣā-prayajas* 'in which oblations begin to be offered', *pra-yūjas*, *vi-rājas* (VS. XVII. 3), *stanā-bhūjas*³ 'enjoying the udder', *sv-ā-yūjas* 'easy to yoke'.

A. m. *vījas* 'stakes' (at play); *dāhi-nirñijas* 'covered over', *aśva-yūjas*, *catur-yūjas* 'yoked as (a team of) four', *śaphā-rūjas*, *sa-yūjas*, *su-yūjas*. — f. *tūjas*, *bhūjas*, *srajas*; *abhi-yūjas*.

I. m. *aruna-yūgbhis* 'furnished with ruddy (rays)', *ṛta-yūgbhis*, *vi-yūgbhis*⁴ (AV.), *su-yūgbhis*, *sva-yūgbhis*.

D. f. *pra-yūgbhyas* (VS. xxx. 8) 'impulses'. — Ab. m. *bhi-sāgbhyas* (AV.) — G. m. *ṛtv-ijām*, *bhi-śājām*. — f. *ūrjām*, *bhujām*; *nir-majām*⁵. — L. f. *sraḥśū*; *pra-yāḥśū* (AV.) 'offerings'⁶.

303. Stems in derivative -*j*. — There are seven m. and f. adjectives or substantives formed with the suffixes -*aj* and -*ij*: *ā-svapnaj* 'sleepless', *tr̥ṣṇāj* 'thirsty', *dhr̥ṣāj* 'bold', *sanāj* 'old'; *uś-ij* 'desiring', *bhur-ij* f. 'arm', *van-ij* m. 'trader'. There is also the n. *āsryj*⁷ 'blood', which is of obscure etymology, but the -*j* of which is probably a reduced suffix. The forms occurring are the following:

Sing. N. m. *uśik*, *vanik*. — n. *āsryk*. — A. m. *uśijam*, *tr̥ṣṇajam*, *vanijam* (AV.) — I. *uśijā* (VS. xv. 6) 'ghee'. — D. m. *tr̥ṣṇāje*, *vanije*. — G. m. *uśijas*.

Du. N. f. *sanijā*. — G. f. *bhurijos*. — L. f. *bhurijos*.

Pl. N. m. *uśijas*, *tr̥ṣṇajas*, *dhr̥ṣajas*, *ā-svapnajas*. — f. *uśijas*. — A. m. *uśijas*. — I. m. *uśigbhis*. — D. m. *uśigbhyas*. — G. *uśijām*.

2. Cerebral Stems.

304. There is only one doubtful derivative stem in -*t*, *raghdāt*, which occurs in the single form *raghdātas* (AV. VIII. 7²⁴), possibly a mistake for *raghdāvas*⁸ 'swift'.

¹ Strong form (301).

² Occurring once (x. 68¹), *bhraj*- being a reduced form of *bhrāj*-; cp. D. m. *mytā-bhrāje*, G. f. *bhrājas* (AV.); cp. p. 183, notes 9 and 12.

³ The Pada text reads *stanā-bhūjas*.

⁴ See WHITNEY's note on AV. VII. 4¹.

⁵ A word of doubtful derivation and meaning, occurring only once (VIII. 4²⁰).

⁶ The corresponding form is *pra-yātsu* in TS. iv. 1. 8^t and VS. XXVII. 14.

⁷ Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 559, 560.

⁸ See LANMAN 466, and WHITNEY, note on AV. VIII. 7²⁴.

There are besides only two radical stems ending in *-ḍ*, *iḍ¹* 'praise', and *iḍ²* 'refreshment'. Of the former occurs only the sing. I. *iḍā*; of the latter only the sing. I. *iḍā* and the G. *iḍās*³.

3. Dental Stems.

305. Stems ending in all the dental mutes as well as the nasal are of frequent occurrence except those in *-th*. There are radical stems ending in each of the dentals, but no derivative stems in *-th* or *-dh*. The distinction of strong and weak appears with slight exceptions only in the derivative stems in *-ant* and *-an*.

306. Stems in radical *-t*. — The only four monosyllabic stems occurring are feminine substantives: *dyūt* 'splendour', *nyt* 'dancing', *pīt* 'battle', *vīt*⁴ 'hostile array'. There are also two reduplicated stems, which are primarily adjectives: *cikīt* 'knowing' (*√cit*) and *didyūt* 'shining'. The rest are compounds, used mostly in the masculine or feminine. Neuter cases occur from only four of them: *akṣi-pāt* 'falling into the eye', *ān-apū-vṛt* 'not turning away', *tri-vīt* 'three-fold', *saṃ-yāt*⁵ 'continuous'.

Inflexion.

The forms occurring would, if made from *tri-vīt*, be as follows:

Sing. N. m. f. *tri-vīt* (also n.). — A. m. f. *tri-vītam*. — I. m. f. *tri-vītā* (also n.). — D. m. f. *tri-vīte*. — Ab. G. m. f. *tri-vītas*. — L. n. *tri-vīti* (AV.).

Du. N. A. m. f. *tri-vītā*, *tri-vītau*. — L. f. *tri-vītos*.

Pl. N. A. m. f. *tri-vītas*. — I. n. *tri-vīdbhis* (AV.). — G. m. f. *tri-vītām*. — L. f. *tri-vītsu*. — V. m. f. *tri-vītas*.

The forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. m. *anā-vīt* 'not returning', *ābandhu-kr̥t*⁶ (AV.) 'not cutting off kin', *eka-vīt* (AV.) 'one-fold', 'simple', *cikīt* 'knowing', *tri-vīt* (VS. x. 10) 'triple', *pra-vīt* (VS. xv. 9), *manas-clt* 'thinking in the mind', *mūla-kr̥t* (AV.) 'cutting roots', *vipaś-clt* 'inspired', *vi-vīt* (VS. xv. 9), *viṣū-vīt* 'rolling in various directions', *sa-vīt* (VS. xv. 9), *su-vīt* 'turning well'. — f. *clt* (VS. iv. 19) 'thought'; *apa-clt* (AV.) a noxious insect, *didyūt* 'shining', *vi-dyūt* 'flashing'. — n. *eka-vīt* (AV.), *tri-vīt*: as adv. *akṣi-pāt* 'a little' and *ānāpū-vīt* 'unremittingly'.

A. m. *a-cltam* 'unthinking', *eka-vītam* (AV.), *ghṛta-ścltam* 'sprinkling ghee', *tri-vītam*, *duś-cltam* (AV.) 'thinking evil', *madhu-ścltam* 'distilling sweetness', *vipaś-cltam*, *viṣū-vītam*, *su-vītam*, *huraś-cltam* 'plotting deceit'. — f. *dyūtām*, *vītām*; *ā-vītam* 'turning home', *ghṛta-ścltam*, *vi-cltam* 'loosening', *vi-dyūtām*, *vipaś-cltam*, *saṃ-yātām*, *saṃ-vītam* (AV.) 'approach', *saṃ-cltam* 'union'.

I. m. *tri-vītā*, *vipaś-cltā* (VS. iv. 32), *su-vītā*. — f. *dyūtā*, *vītā*; *ā-cltā* 'attention', *ghṛta-ścltā*, *tri-vītā*, *pra-cātā* 'with concealment' (adv.), *vi-dyūtā*. — n. *saṃ-yātā*, *tri-vītā* (AV.).

D. m. *a-clte*, *tri-vīte* (VS. xv. 9), *pra-vīte* (VS. xv. 9), *vipaś-clte*, *vi-vīte* (VS. xv. 9), *sa-vīte* (VS. xv. 9), *su-dyūte*. — f. *vi-dyūte*.

Ab. m. *tri-vītas* (VS. XIII. 54), *vi-dyūtas*⁷. — f. *didyūtas*.

¹ Cp. above 17, 5.

² Derived from *iṣ-* 'refreshment' which is of very frequent occurrence; cp. above p. 35, note ¹.

³ This form is regarded by GRASSMANN in one passage (VII. 47¹) as an A. pl.: cp. LANMAN 466.

⁴ *vīt* occurs once in the 'dual as a fem. adjective.

⁵ From *yāt* 'unite'.

⁶ From *kr̥t* 'cut'; but it may be 'not relative-making' (*kr̥t*); see WHITNEY's note on AV. IV. 19¹.

⁷ The Ab. *didyūt* (TS. I. 8. 14¹) and *vidyūt* (VS. XX. 2) are probably irregular formations due to parallelism; cp. LANMAN 468.

G. m. *tri-vṛtas*, *vipaś-citas*, *sa-citas* 'wise', *su-dyūtas* 'shining beautifully'. — f. *vi-dyūtas*. — L. n. *tri-vṛti* (AV.).

Du. N. A. V. m. *vipaś-citā* (V.), *iṣu-kṛtā*¹ (I. 1843). — f. *vṛtau*; *ā-vṛtā*, *madhu-ścitā*, *vi-cṛtau* (AV.). — L. f. *vi-cṛtos* (AV.).

Pl. N. m. *ā-vṛtas*, *ṛṣti-vidyūtas* 'glittering with spears', *eka-vṛtas* (AV.), *ghṛta-ścitas*, *duś-citas* (AV.), *vi-dyūtas*, *vipaś-citas*, *saṃ-yūtas*, *sūrya-ścitas* 'bright as the sun', *svā-vidyūtas* 'self-lightning', *hrādunī-vṛtas* 'bringing hail'. — V. *ṛṣti-vidyūtas*, *vi-dyūtas*. — N. f. *apa-citas* (AV.), *ā-vṛtas* (AV.), *upā-vṛtas* (VS. AV.) 'return', *ghṛta-ścitas*, *ghṛta-ścyūtas* (VS. XVII. 3), *madhu-ścitas*, *madhu-ścyūtas* (VS. XVII. 3), *vi-dyūtas*, *saṃ-yūtas*. — V. *āpa-citas* (AV.).

A. m. *a-citas*, *a-dyūtas* 'lacking brightness', *ghṛta-ścitas*, *vipaś-citas*, *huraś-citas*. — f. *ñtas* (AV.), *vṛtas*; *tri-vṛtas* (AV.), *dakṣiṇā-vṛtas*, *didyūtas*, *purū-vṛtas* (AV.) 'moving in various ways', *madhu-ścitas*, *vi-dyūtas*, *viṣṇu-vṛtas* (AV.), *saṃ-yūtas*, *saṃ-vṛtas* (AV.).

I. n. *tri-vṛdbhis* (AV.). — G. m. *vipaś-citām*. — f. *apa-citām* (AV.), *vi-dyūtām* (AV.). — L. f. *prtsū*².

307. Stems in determinative *-t*. — Derivative nominal stems are formed from nearly thirty roots ending in the short vowels *i*, *u* and *r* by means of the suffix *-t*³. The roots adding it are *i*- 'go', *kṛ*- 'make', *kṣi*- 'dwell', *gu*- 'sound', *ci*- 'pile', 'note', *cru*- 'move', *ji*- 'conquer', *dhṛ*- 'hold', *dhṛ*- 'injure', *pi*- 'swell', *pru*- 'flow', *bhṛ*- 'bear', *mi*- 'fix', *yu*- 'join' and 'separate', *ri*- 'flow', *ṛi*- 'cover', *sri*- 'resort', *śru*- 'hear', *su*- 'press', *sy*- 'flow', *stu*- 'praise', *spr*- 'win', *sru*- 'flow', *hu*- 'sacrifice', *hṛ*- 'take', *hṛ*- or *hru*- 'be crooked'. Two other roots, *gam*- 'go', and *han*- 'strike', are modified so as to end in short *a* (representing the sonant nasal) before adding the suffix: *-gā-t* and *-hā-t*.

These stems are mostly m. and f. Neuter cases are very rare, occurring from five or six stems only. The inflexion is exactly the same as that of the stems in radical *-t*.

Inflection.

308. Sing. N. m. with *-kṛt*: *anukāma-kṛt* 'acting according to desire', *abhiṣṭi-kṛt* 'giving help', *āji-kṛt* 'instituting a contest', *iśāna-kṛt* 'acting as a lord', *ṛṣi-kṛt* 'making into a seer', *khaja-kṛt* 'causing the din of battle', *ijyotiś-kṛt* 'causing light', *tanu-kṛt* 'preserving life', *pathi-kṛt* 'path-making', *puru-kṛt* 'doing much', *pūrva-kṛt* (VS. xx. 36) 'active from of old', *bhadra-kṛt* 'bestowing blessings', *uloka-kṛt* 'procuring free space', *vayas-kṛt* 'creating youthful vigour', *varivo-kṛt* 'bestowing freedom', *vijēṣa-kṛt* 'procuring victory', *su-kṛt* 'acting well', *steya-kṛt* 'committing theft', *syona-kṛt* 'causing comfort', *sviṣṭa-kṛt* (VS. II. 9) 'offering right sacrifice'; with *-jit*: *apsu-jit* 'conquering in the waters', *ab-jit* 'winning waters', *abhimāti-jit* (VS. xxvii. 3) 'conquering foes', *aśva-jit* 'winning horses', *ṛta-jit* (VS. xvii. 83) 'winner of right', *go-jit* 'winning kine', *dhana-jit* 'winning booty', *raṇya-jit* 'winning in battle', *ratha-jit* 'winning chariots', *viśva-jit* 'all-conquering', *samsṛṣṭa-jit* 'conquering combatants', *satya-jit* (VS. xvii. 83) 'winner of truth', *saṭrā-jit* 'wholly victorious', *samarya-jit* 'winning battles', *sahasra-jit* 'conquering a thousand', *sena-jit* (VS. xv. 19) 'conquering armies', *sva-jit* 'winning heaven', *hiranya-jit* 'winning gold'; with other roots: *acyuta-kṣit* (VS. v. 13) 'dwelling immovably'; *acyuta-cyūt* 'shaking what is firm'; *d-dāra-sṛt* (AV.) 'not falling into a crack'; *ā-kṣit* 'dwelling'; *ṛṇa-cit* 'avenging guilt', *ṛta-cit* 'observing sacred order';

¹ *iṣu-kṛteva* here may, however, be a D. sing. for *iṣukṛte va*; see LANMAN 468.

² With double ending once (I. 129+) *prtsū-gu*.

³ This suffix *-t* partakes of the character of a root determinative, as roots in *-i* *-u* *-r* are hardly ever used without it as nominal stems.

kilbiṣa-sṛīt 'removing sin'; *kṣatra-bhīt* (VS. xxvii. 7) 'holder of sway'; *carṣaṇī-dhīt* 'preserving men'; *dirgha-srīt* 'heard afar', *deva-srīt* (VS. xxxvii. 18) 'heard by the gods'; *dhana-sṛīt* 'winning booty'; *dhruva-kṣīt* (VS. v. 13) 'dwelling firmly'; *pari-hrīt* 'overthrowing'; *pāta-bhīt* (VS. xviii. 21) a kind of soma vessel; *bhāra-bhīt* 'bearing a load'; *mada-cyūt* 'reeling with excitement'; *madhu-sīt* 'emitting sweetness'; *yakṣa-bhīt* 'supporting pursuers' (?), *vajra-bhīt* 'wielding a thunderbolt'; *vāja-sīt* 'running for a prize'; *sapatna-kṣīt* (VS. i. 29) 'destroying rivals'; *suparṇa-clt* (VS. xxvii. 45) 'heaped up like the bird Suparṇa'; *soma-sīt* 'pressing Soma'; *sva-sīt* 'going one's own way'; *havana-srīt* 'hearing invocations'. — f. *upa-bhīt* (VS. ii. 6) 'sacrificial ladle'; *upa-mīt* 'prop'; *ṛta-clt*; *pari-srīt* (VS. xix. 15) 'fermented liquor'; *prāsta-kīt* 'bestowing praise'. — N. A. n. *viśva-jit*; *dirgha-srīt*, *nava-gīt* (AV. TS.) 'first-bearing', *purūtīt*¹ (VS. xxxix. 9) 'pericardium'; as adverbs: *upa-sīt* 'invoked', *dyu-gīt* 'going to heaven', *sa-kīt* ('one-making') 'once'.

A. m. *adhi-kṣītam* 'ruler', *adhvara-kṣtam* (VS. i. 24) 'performing sacrifice', *arṇo-cyām* 'enclosing the waters', *uktha-bhītam* 'offering verses', *uda-prītam* 'swimming in water', *ṛṇa-cyām* 'inciting to (fulfil) obligations', *carṣaṇī-dhītam*, *tīra-sītām* 'pressing pungent (juice)', *trṣu-cyām* 'moving greedily', *dirgha-srītam*, *duṣ-kṣtam* 'acting wickedly', *deśo-yītam* 'removing hostility', *dhana-jitam* (VS. xi. 8), *dhana-sṛitam*, *nadī-cyām* 'stream-obstructing', *pari-srītam* 'flowing around', *prātar-jitam* 'conquering early', *mada-cyītam*, *mithū-kṣtam* 'fallen into trouble', *vayas-kṣtam* (VS. iii. 18), *vāja-jitam* (VS. ii. 7) 'winning spoil', *śravo-jitam* 'winning renown', *saṃ-jitam* 'conqueror', *satya-dhītam* 'perverting truth', *satrā-jitam* (VS. xi. 8), *sahas-kṣtam* (VS. iii. 18) 'bestowing strength', *sāma-bhītam* 'bringing chants', *su-kṣtam*, *sva-jitam*, *śiṣṭa-kṣtam* (VS. xxi. 47), *havana-srītam*, *haviṣ-kṣtam* 'preparing the oblation'. — f. *araṇi-kṣtam* 'making ready', *upa-prītam* 'flowing near', *deva-srītam*, *ni-yītam* 'team', *pari-srītam*.

I. m. *abhi-jītā* (VS. xv. 7) 'victorious', *upari-prītā* (VS. vii. 3) 'falling from above', *carṣaṇī-dhītā*, *brahma-kṣtā* 'offering prayers', *soma-sītā*. — f. *ni-yītā*, *pari-srītā* (VS. xix. 83), *pari-hvītā*² (viii. 47⁶) 'deceiving'.

D. m. *araṇi-kṣte*, *duṣ-kṣte*, *dharma-kṣte* 'establishing order', *brahma-kṣte*, *su-kṣte*; *ab-jīte*, *aśva-jīte*, *urvarā-jīte* 'winning fertile fields', *go-jīte*, *dhana-jīte*, *nr-jīte* 'conquering men', *viśva-jīte*, *satrā-jīte*, *sva-jīte*; *giri-kṣīte* 'dwelling in mountains', *parvata-cyīte* 'shaking mountains', *soma-bhīte* (VS. v. 1) 'bringing Soma'.

Ab. m. *pari-srītas* (VS. xix. 75) 'foaming', *brahma-kṣtas*, *sarva-hītas* 'offered completely'. — f. *abhi-hrītas* 'injurious'.

G. m. *carṣaṇī-dhītus*, *vāja-jītas* (VS. ix. 13), *vīrya-kṣtas* (VS. x. 25) 'doing mighty deeds', *saṃ-jītas*, *su-kṣtas*, *haviṣ-kṣtas*. — f. *īṣa-stītas*³, *deva-stītas* 'praising the gods', *pari-srītas* (AV.).

L. m. *mada-cyīti*, *go-jīti*, *vasu-jīti* (AV.) 'winning goods', *saṃ-dhanā-jīti*⁴ (AV.) 'winning booty together'.

V. m. *acyuta-cyut*, *uru-kṛt* 'making wide', *ṛta-cit*, *khaja-kṛt*, *puru-kṛt*, *rana-kṛt* 'causing joy', *vandana-srūt* 'listening to praise', *vāja-jit* (VS. ii. 7), *sahasra-jit*, *haviṣ-kṛt* (VS. i. 15). — f. *upa-bhṛt* (AV.), *rāstra-bhṛt* (AV.) 'bearing sway'.

¹ The second part of the word may be derived from *tan-* 'stretch' like *-ga-* from *gam-* 'go'.

² With anomalous accent; but the form may be L. of *pari-hvītā*, the normal accent of which would be *pāri-hvītā*; see LANMAN 502 (bottom).

³ *īṣa* = *īṣ-* 'refreshment', BR.; but the Pada text reads *īṣaḥ-stītas*, and GRASSMANN regards *īṣa* = *īṣaḥ* (before *st-*) as G. of *īṣ-*.

⁴ Instead of **dhana-saṃ-jīti*.

Du. N. A. V. m. *go-jīta*, *divi-ksīta* 'dwelling in the sky', *pari-ksīta* 'dwelling around', *mada-cyīta*, *su-śrīta* 'hearing well', *havana-śrīta*, V. *pāthi-krīta* (AV.); *d-dus-krītau*, *krīna-prītau* 'moving in darkness', *sa-krītau* (AV.) 'acting at once', *sa-ksītau* 'dwelling together', *su-krītau* (AV.), *bhadra-krītau* (AV.), *su-śrītau* (AV.). — f. *ugra-jītau* (AV.) 'fierce-conquering' (name of an Apsaras). — G. f. *su-ksītos*, *pari-ksītos*.

Pl. N. V. m. *cītas* (VS. I. 18) 'heaping up', *hrītas* 'stumbling-blocks'; with -*krī*: *aram-krītas*, *īśāna-krītas*, *karma-krītas* (VS. III. 47) 'skilful in work', *dudhra-krītas* 'boisterous', *dus-krītas*, *dhānya-krītas*¹ 'preparing grain', *brahma-krītas*, *yajña-niṣ-krītas* 'preparing the sacrifice', *vayas-krītas*, *su-krītas*, *haviṣ-krītas*; with -*cyūt*: *dhanva-cyītas* 'shaking the ground', *dhruva-cyītas* 'shaking the immovable', *parvata-cyītas*, *mada-cyītas*; with -*ksīt*: *apsu-ksītas* 'dwelling in the waters', *upa-ksītas* 'dwelling near', *vraja-ksītas* (VS. X. 4) 'resting in their station', *sa-ksītas*; with other roots: *adhva-gītas* (AV.) 'travellers', *arhītas*² (VS. X. 3) 'swift', *uda-prītas*, *ūrdhva-cītas* (VS. I. 18) 'piling up', *krēcchre-śrītas* 'undergoing danger', *grāma-jītas* 'conquering troops', *carṣaṇi-dhītas*, *jana-bhītas* (VS. X. 4) 'supporting people', *divi-śrītas* (AV.) 'going to heaven', *deva-śrītas* (VS. VI. 30), *dveṣo-yītas*, *ni-gītas* 'enemies', *pari-cītas* (VS. XII. 46) 'piling up around', *pitu-bhītas* 'bringing food', *pūrva-cītas* (VS. XXVII. 4) 'piling up first', *mano-dhītas* 'intelligent', V. *vāja-jītas* (VS. IX. 9), *vi-cītas* (VS. IV. 24) 'sifting', *viśva-bhītas* (VS. X. 4) 'all-nourishing', *satya-śrītas* 'hearing the truth', *sairā-jītas*, *su-krītas* (VS. XXXIII. 16), *su-śrītas*, *soma-sītas*, *sva-sītas*, *havana-śrītas*. — f. *mītas* 'posts', *stūtas* 'praises'; *uda-prītas*, *ni-yītas*, *pari-śrītas*, *pitu-bhītas*, *saṃ-hātas* 'layers', *sa-śrītas* 'streaming'. — N. A. n. *dirgha-śrūt* 'far-renowned' appears to be used as a n. pl. in agreement with *vrātā* (VIII. 25¹⁷)³.

A. m. *hrītas* and *hrutās*⁴ (AV.); *a-pītas* 'not swelling', *go-jītas*, *jyotiṣ-krītas*, *dus-krītas*, *ni-gītas*, *mada-cyītas*, *su-krītas*. — f. *ritas* 'flowing'; *līpa-stutas* 'invocations', *dirgha-śrītas*, *ni-yītas*, *bali-krītas* 'paying tribute', *varuṇa-dhrītas* 'deceiving Varuṇa', *vi-sītas* 'flowing asunder', *sa-śrītas*.

I. m. *soma-sūdbhis*. — f. *antarikṣa-prūdbhis* 'floating over the atmosphere', *ni-yūdbhis*.

D. m. *iṣu-kṛdbhyas* (VS. XVI. 46) 'arrow-makers', *dhanuṣ-kṛdbhyas* (VS. XVI. 46) 'bow-makers', *pathi-kṛdbhyas*, *bandhu-ksīdbhyas* 'dwelling among kinsmen'. — Ab. n. *tanū-kṛdbhyas*.

G. m. *agni-hotra-hūtām* (AV.) 'offering the oblation to Agni', *iṣu-bhītām* (AV.) 'archers', *mantra-kṛtām* 'composers of hymns', *su-kṛtām*. — f. *abhi-hrītām*, *upa-cītām* (VS. XII. 97) a kind of disease, *upa-mītām* (AV.), *ni-yūtām*, *pari-mītām* (AV.) 'rafters', *prati-mītām* (AV.) 'props', *ratha-jītām* (AV.).

L. m. *su-kṛtsu*.

Derivative Stems in -*vat*, -*tāt*, -*it*, -*ut* and secondary -*t*.

309. The following stems are formed with the suffix (1) -*vat*⁵: *arvā-vdt* f. 'proximity', *ā-vāt* (AV.) f. 'proximity', *ud-vdt* f. 'height', *ni-vāt* f. 'depth', *parā-vdt* f. 'distance', *pra-vāt* f. 'height', *saṃ-vdt* f. 'region'; (2) -*tāt*⁶: *uparā-tāt* f. 'vicinity', *devā-tāt* f. 'divine service', *vrkā-tāt* f. 'wolfishness', *satyā-tāt* f. 'reality', *sarvā-tāt* f. 'totality'; (3) -*it*: *taḍ-it* f. 'contiguous', *dir-it*⁷

¹ *dhānya-krītas* in the Pada text.

² That is, 'going (-t) to the goal' (*ārtha*).

³ See LANMAN 503 (bottom), and 474 on the N. A. pl. n.

⁴ With irregular accent.

⁵ See above, secondary nominal derivation, 233.

⁶ Cp. above 215 a.

⁷ In this word the suffix -*it* probably consists of the root *i-* 'go' with the primary (determinative) -*t* (307).

'going to the sky', *yos-ít* f. 'young woman', *roh-ít* f. 'red mare', *sar-ít* f. 'stream', *har-ít* f. 'fallow'; (4) *-ut*: *mar-út* m. 'storm-god'; (5) with secondary *-t*: the two neuters *yákr-t*¹ (AV.) 'liver', *śákr-t*² 'excrement', and perhaps the etymologically obscure m. *nápāt*³ 'descendant', all three of which are supplemented in the weak cases by the stems *yakān-*, *śakān-* and *nápṛ-* respectively. The inflexion of this group of *-t* stems is the same as that of the radical *-t* stems.

Inflexion.

310. Sing. N. m. *taḍít*, *tānū-nápāt* 'son of himself', *nápāt*, *prá-nápāt* 'great-grandson'. — f. *parāvát*, *pravát*, *rohít*, *sarít* (VS. XXXIV. 11). — n. *yákr-t* (VS. AV.), *śákr-t*.

A. m. *tānū-nápātam*, *nápātam*. — f. *arvāvátam*, *parāvátam*, *pravátam*, *yoṣítam*, *rohítam* (AV.), *saṃvátam* (AV.).

I. m. *divítā*. — f. *udvátā*, *devátātā*⁴, *nivátā*, *pravátā*, *satyátātā*⁴, *sarvátātā*⁴, *harítā*.

D. f. *devátāte*. There is also the transfer form *avírat-e* (from *a-víra-tā* 'lack of sons').

Ab. f. *arvāvátas*, *udvátas*⁵, *nivátas*⁵, *parāvátas*, *pravátas*, *saṃvátas*. — G. f. *pravátas*.

L. f. *arvāvāti*, *uparátāti*, *devátāti*, *parāvāti*, *vṛkátāti*.

V. m. *tanū-nápāt*, *nápāt*⁶.

Du. N. A. V. m. *nápātā*. — f. *harítā*. — G. f. *harítas*.

Pl. N. m. *nápātas*, *marútās*, *harítās*. — f. *āvátas* (AV.), *udvátas*, *taḍítas*, *parāvátas* (AV.), *pravátas*, *yoṣítas* (AV.), *sarítas*, *harítas*.

A. m. *marútās*. — f. *udvátas*, *nivátas*, *parāvátas*, *pravátas*, *yoṣítas* (AV.), *rohítas*, *saṃvátas*, *sarítas*, *harítas*.

I. m. *marúdbhis*. — f. *pravádbhis*. — D. m. *marúdbhyas*.

Ab. m. *marúdbhyas*. — G. m. *marútām*. — f. *pravátām*.

L. m. *marútsu*. — f. *udvátasu*, *nivátasu*, *pravátasu*.

V. m. *indrā-marutas* 'O Indra and the Maruts', *nápātas*, *marutas*.

Participial Stems in *-at* and *-ant*.

311. Participles in *-at* are almost limited to the present active form of stems made with reduplication, viz. those of the third class (457) and of intensives (545). The old reduplicated participle (from *gā-* 'go') *jágat-* 'going', 'living', is used chiefly as a n. substantive meaning 'the animate world'. The analogy of these participles is followed by a few others formed from unreduplicated stems: *dās-at-* 'worshipping', *śās-at-* 'instructing'⁷; also *dīkṣat-* and *dhákṣat-*, the aor. participle of *dhā-* 'burn'. A few others, again, originally participles, having come to be used as substantives, have shifted the accent to the suffix: *vāh-át-*⁸ 'stream', *veh-át-*⁹ (AV. VS.) f. 'barren cow', *vāgh-át-*¹⁰ m. 'sacrificer', *śrav-át-*¹¹ f. 'stream'; like the regular participle *śāśc-at-* (from *sac-* 'accompany'), which as a substantive becomes *śāśc-át-* m. 'pursuer'. In

¹ Cp. Lat. *jecur*.

² Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 559.

³ The suffix may here have been a primary *-t* added to the root *pā-*: cp. LEU-MANN's etymology (1888), Festgruss an Böhtlingk 77 f.; BRUGMANN 2, p. 366.

⁴ These forms might be locatives of *devátāti*, *sa'yátāti*, *sarvátāti*.

⁵ These forms might be A. pl.

⁶ Perhaps *marut* in *evayā-marut*.

⁷ LANMAN 505, would place *dāsat-* 'injuring' here, but there is no evidence, as only a weak case, *dāsatas* G. sing., occurs.

⁸ But *vāh-ant-* 'carrying'.

⁹ The derivation of this word is obscure.

¹⁰ In one or two passages *vāghāt-* still retains its participial sense.

¹¹ But *śrav-ant-* 'flowing'.

this class masculines are frequent, but only about half a dozen neuter forms occur, and the feminines are limited to three substantives¹ and the adjective *a-sāscāt* 'unequalled'². The inflexion is like that of the radical *-t* stems, the accent never shifting to the endings.

Inflection.

312. Sing. N. m. 1. reduplicating class³: *cikyāt, jāhat, jūhvat, dādāt, dādhat, bāpsāt* (√*bhas-*), *bibhyāt, bibhrāt*. — 2. intensives: *kānikradāt* and *kānikrat*, *kārikrāt* (*kṛ-* 'do') and (*ā-*)*cārikrāt* (AV.), *ghānighnat* and *jānghānat* (√*han-*), *cāniścādāt* (√*śand-*), *cārkeṣāt, cākaṣāt* (√*kāṣ-*), *cēkitāt* (√*cit-*), *iārbharāt, jāgrāt, tāvīvat, dārdrat, dādīsat, dīdyāt, dāvidyutāt, dādhuvat, dāvidhvat, nānadāt, nānnamat, pānīphaṇāt, bhāribhāt, mārṁrjāt, mārṁrsāt, mēmyāt, rārajāt, rērihat, rūruvat, vārīrjāt, vāvadāt, vēvidāt, vēviṣāt, śūsucāt, sāniṣyadāt* (√*syand-*), *śīsidhat*. — 3. non-reduplicating verbs: *vāghāt, śīsat*; aor. *dāḥṣāt* and *dhāḥṣāt*. — N. A. n. 1. *jāgat, dāvidyutāt, pīpīsat, yōyuvāt* (AV.). — N. f. *vehāt* (AV. VS.).

A. m. 1. *ā-sāscatām* (I. 1129), *dādātām, bibhrātām*. — 2. *kārikrātām* (AV.), *gānigmatām, dīdyātām, nānadātām, pānīpnātām, rūruvatām* (AV.). — f. *a-sāscātām* (II. 323); *vehātām* (AV.).

I. m. *dādātā, śūsucatā*. — f. *a-sāscātā*. — n. *jāgatā* (AV.).

D. m. 1. *jūjōṣate, jūhivate, dādāhate, bibhrate, sāscate*. — 2. *ghānighnate*. — 3. *vāghāte*. — n. 1. *jāgate* (AV.).

Ab. m. 2. *kānikradatas*.

G. m. 1. *jīgatas, dādātas, dādhatas, bāpsatas*. — 2. *jānghnatas, tāritratas, dādhatas, vēviṣatas*. — 3. *vāghātas, śāsatas, dhāḥṣatas* (aor.). — n. 1. *jāgatas*. — 2. *ā-vārīrjatas* (AV.), *vāvadatas*. — L. n. *jāgatī*.

Du. N. A. V. m. *a-sāscātā, bāpsatā, bibhratā, tāritratā, śāsatā, dādhatāu, bibhratāu*. — f. *a-sāscātā*. — G. m. *pīpratōs*.

Pl. N. m. 1. *jūhvatās, tītratas, dādātas, dādhatas, pīpratās, bāpsatas, bibhratas, śīsratas*⁴. — 2. *kārikratas, jāgratas, jūhuvatas, dāvidhvatās, dādhyatas, dādhatas, nōnūvatās, mārṁrjatas, śūsucatas*. — 3. *dāṣatas, vāghātas*. — f. *a-sāscātās, vahātas, sravātas*.

A. m. 1. *jāḥṣatas* (√*ghas-*). — 2. *jāgratas* (AV.), *dādhatas* (AV.), *śāśvasatas, śūsucatas* (AV.). — f. *sāscātās; sravātas*.

I. m. 2. *nānadadbhis, pīpruthadbhis, vāvadadbhis, śāśvasadbhis*. — 3. *vāghādbhis*. — G. m. *jāgatām, bibhyatām* (AV.); *vāghātām*. — f. *sravātām*.

V. m. *jagatas, vāghatas*.

313. Participles in *-ant* are formed from all present stems (except those of the reduplicating class and of intensives and the few others that follow their analogy), from all future stems, and from aorist stems. Their analogy is followed by *rāhant* 'weak', *pīṣant* 'spotted', *brāhant* 'great', *rīṣant* 'brilliant', which have lost their participial function; also by *dānt*⁵ m. 'tooth'. The adjective *māhant* 'great', having lost its original participial meaning deviates from the participial declension in lengthening the vowel of the suffix in the strong forms. In the inflexion of this group the distinction between

¹ The f. of the regular participles is formed by the suffix *-ī*.

² But *ā-sāscant-ī* from *sāscāt*.

³ See below, Verb, 461.

⁴ There occurs once an anomalous N. pl. with *-ant* from a reduplicated stem: *vavṛdhāntas*. See below, Perfect, 492, note on *vavṛdhvāms-*.

⁵ This word is probably an old pres. participle of *ad-* 'eat', with prehistoric loss of the initial *a* like *sānt* 'being' from *as-be* (25, 1). The RV. has one transfer form, N. *dāntas* (starting from the A. *dānt-am*); the AV. has others, *dāntās* and *dāntais*.

strong and weak forms is regularly made, *-ant* appearing in the former only and being reduced to *-at* in the latter, which shift the accent, if resting on the suffix, to the ending. These participles are declined in the m. and n. only, as they form a special f. stem in *-t*¹. The m. and n. forms are the same, except of course in the N. A.; the former are very frequent, the latter rare.

Inflexion.

314. The forms occurring, if made from *bhāvat* 'being', would be as follows:

Sing. N.m. *bhāvan*². — n. *bhāvat*. — A.m. *bhāvāntam*. — I.m.n. *bhāvātā*. — D. *bhāvate*. — Ab.m.n. *bhāvatas*. — G.m.n. *bhāvatas*. — L. *bhāvati*.

Du. N. A. V. m. *bhāvāntā* and *bhāvāntau*. — n. *bhāvātī*. — D. *bhāvadbhyām*. — G.m.n. *bhāvatos*.

Pl. N.m. *bhāvāntas*. — n. *bhāvāntī*. — A.m. *bhāvatas*. — I. *bhāvadbhis*. — D.m. *bhāvadbhyas*. — Ab.m. *bhāvadbhyas*. — G.m.n. *bhāvātīm*. — L.m.n. *bhāvatsu*.

Forms actually occurring are the following. It is unnecessary to enumerate all the m. N. and A. forms, as in the RV. alone 228 forms of the N. sing., 121 of the A. sing., and 166 of the N. pl.³ occur.

Sing. N. m. Examples are: *ārcan*, *sīdan*; *ghnān*, *yān*, *sān*; *pāśyan*; *icchān*; *krnvdn*, *sunvdn*; *bhāñjdn*; *jāndn*; *jāndyan*; *yhyutsan*; *karisydn*. Also *dān*, 'tooth'⁴; *māhān*⁵. — n. *andāt*, *āsata*⁶, *iṣṇāt*, *ḥjat*, *ḥsat*⁷, *kulāyḥyat*, *cārat*, *citāyat*, *trpāt*, *dhrṣāt*, *pātāt*, *patḥyat*, *mināt*, *yāt*, *raghuyāt*, *vārūhat*, *sāmsat*, *śikṣat*, *śvāyat*, *sāt*, *sunvāt*; adj. *brhāt*, *mahāt*, *rīṣat*; aor. *sāksat* (*√sah-*); fut. *bhaviṣyāt* (AV.). As adv. with shift of accent: *dravāt* 'swiftly' (*dru-* 'run'), *drahyāt* 'firmly' (irregular formation from *drh-* 'be firm').

A. m. Examples are: *cārantam*; *yāntam*, *uśāntam*, *sāntam*; *yūdhhyantam*; *vidhāntam*; *krnvdntam*; *prūcāntam*; *grṇāntam*; *dītsantam*; *dāntam*; *brhāntam*, *mahāntam*.

I. m. *ā-ghnatā*, *āvatā*, *ā-sunvatā*, *cāratā*, *jānatā*, *tujatā*, *pāśyatā*, *bhīndatā*, *vanuṣyatā*; *datā*, *śyāvā-datā* (AV.) 'dark-toothed', *brhatā*, *mahatā*, *rīṣatā*. — n. *ā-dṛpyatā*, *ā-sredhatā*, *ā-heḍatā*, *āsata*⁸, *uṣatā*, *gavyatā*, *tvāyatā*, *dhrṣatā* (adv.), *śucatā*, *śravasyatā*, *samaryatā*, *sumnāyatā*; *brhatā*, *mahatā*, *rīṣatā*.

D. m. 1. from stems accented on the suffix: *avasyatē*, *āśvāyatē*, *iṣayatē*, *iṣudhyatē*, *iṣūyatē*, *uṣatē*, *rjūyatē*, *rtāyatē*, *krnvatē*, *gavyatē*, *grṇatē*, *juratē*, *jānatē*, *tvāyatē*, *devayatē*, *dvīṣatē*, *dhiyāyatē*, *dhūnvatē*, *prṇatē*, *prcchatē*, *brahmanyatē*, *mahayatē*, *mānavasyatē*, *yajñāyatē*, *yātē*, *vanvatē*, *vidhatē*, *śrṇvatē*, *śravasyatē*, *sakhīyatē*, *sātē*, *siñcatē*, *sunvatē*, *stuvātē*; *ṛhatē*, *brhatē*, *mahatē*; fut. *aviṣyatē*. — n. *śucatē*, *sanāyatē*.

2. from stems accented on the radical or the penultimate syllable: *ā-ghnate*, *a-codāte*⁹, *ā-minate*, *ārcate*, *ārhate*, *īyakṣate*, *cārate*, *cātate*, *tārate*,

¹ On the difference in the form of this f. stem see 201, 377, 455, 461, etc.

² On the Sandhi of such nominatives see LANMAN 506.

³ Lists of the participle stems will be found below under each of the conjugational classes, under the secondary conjugations, and under the future.

⁴ Occurring also in several compounds *a-dān* 'toothless', etc.; *ubhayā-dam* (AV. v. 19²) must be emended to *-dann*.

⁵ *māhām* in II. 24¹¹, IV. 23¹, IX. 109⁷ is

regarded by BENFEY as N. sing. m. (Göttinger Nachrichten 1878, p. 190).

⁶ For *ā-sat* (VII. 104¹²); the Pada reads *āsat*.

⁷ The Pada reads *ā-ṣat* (X. 89¹⁴).

⁸ Once (IV. 5¹⁴) with lengthened initial for *ā-sat-ā* 'not being', also once *āsatas* (VII. 104⁸); the Pp. has *āsata* and *āsataḥ*. See GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch, under *ā-sat*.

⁹ Wrong accentuation (in v. 44²) for *ā-codate*; see LANMAN 508 (top).

*tīṣyate, dāṣate, pācate, pīpīṣate, pīṣyate, yājate, yūdhhyatē, rājate, riṣate, vādāte, śāṃsate, śārdhate, śiṣāsate, hāryate; a-dāte*¹ 'toothless'.

Ab. i. m. *kṛṇvatīs, prṇatīs, vanuṣyatīs; brhatīs*. — n. *brhatīs, mahatīs*. — 2. m. *ā-bhuñjatas, ā-vadatas, jighāṃsatas, riṣatas*. — n. *ā-satas*.

G. m. i. *arātīyatās, undatīs, uṣatās, ṛghāyatās, ṛtīyatās, kṛṇvatīs, kṣīyatās, grṇatīs, tujatīs, turatīs, turanyatās, tvāyatās, durhañyatās, dviṣatīs, dhṛṣatīs, pītūyatīs, prṇatīs, brahmanyatīs, minatīs, miṣatās, yatīs, rudhatīs, vapuṣyatīs, vidhatīs, śucatās, satīs, saparyatās, sunvatīs, stuvatās, huvatīs; brhatīs, mahatīs; fut. karīṣyatīs*.

2. *ā-ghnatas, ā-jūryatas, ā-bhuñjatas, ārcatas, ā-sunvatas, ānakṣatas, āratas, cātatas, jāyatas, jāratas, jighāṃsatas, jīṣyāsatas, jīvatas, tīrvatas, tīṣyatas, didāsatas, drāvatas, dhāmatas, dhṛdījatas, pīyatas, bhūṣatas, yūdhhyatas, rīriṣatas, rēbhatas, vdyatas, vārdhatas, vēnatas, śārdhatas, śēcatas, śiṣāsatas, śīdātas, hārsatas; rīṣatas*.

n. i. *kṛpayatās, prṇyatās*², *miṣatīs, yātās, satīs; brhatīs, mahatīs*. — 2. *āsatas*³, *cāratas, bhāvatas, vēnatas, śiṣāsatas; rīṣatas*.

L. m. i. *yati, sunvati; mahati*. — 2. *īrīyati, ubhayā-dati* (AV.). — n. i. *mahati*. — 2. *ā-sati*.

Du. N. A. V. a) forms in -ā. i. accented on the suffix: *āśnāntā, irāyāntā, uśāntā, gmāntā*⁴, *garvāntā, daśasyāntā, diśāntā, duhāntā, pāntā, pundāntā, prīcāntā, bhuñjāntā, mināntā, miśāntā, yāntā, yāntā, vanvāntā, vasnāyāntā, vājāyāntā, vyāntā, vrhāntā, śṛṇvāntā, sāntā, saparyāntā, sunvāyāntā; brhāntā, brhāntā* (V.), *mahāntā*. — 2. accented on the penultimate or antepenultimate: *ā-mardhāntā, ā-yatāntā, ārhāntā, īṣāyāntā, kṣāyāntā, cārāntā, codāyāntā, jandāyāntā, jārantā, drāvāntā, dhāmāntā, pārāyāntā, pīpāntā, mādāntā, rādāntā, vādāntā, vāpāntā, vāhāntā, vājāyāntā, vēnāntā, śādāntā, śāpāntā, sāhāntā, sādāntā, hāyāntā*.

b) forms in -au. i. *āśnāntau, tīrāntau, yāntau, vrhāntau, sāntau; mahāntau*. — 2. *īṣāyāntau, kṛdīdāntau, kṣāyāntau, mādāntau* (AV.), *yājāntau, rājāntau*.

N. A. n. *yati; brhati*. — D. m. *mṛḍayādbhyām; mahādbhyām*. — G. m. *jāratos*. — n. *saṃ-yatīs* (AV.) 'going together'.

Pl. N. m. From the very numerous forms occurring the following may be quoted: *mādāntas; ghnāntas, yāntas, sāntas; pāśyāntas; icchāntas; bhindāntas; kṛṇvāntas; grṇāntas; devayāntas, vājāyāntas; dīpsāntas*⁵; aor. *krāntas*⁶, *bhidāntas*⁷; *pīṣatas* (VS. XXIV. 11), *mahāntas*⁸. — V. *uśāntas; mahāntas*. — N. A. n. *sānti*⁹; *brhānti* (AV. VIII. 9³), *mahānti*.

A. m. i. *uṣatīs, ṛghāyatīs, grṇatīs, taruṣyatīs, tvāyatīs, prṇatīs, prṇanyatīs, bhandanāyatīs, manāyatīs, yatīs, rudatīs, vanuṣyatīs, vājāyatīs, vidhatīs, śṛṇvatīs, śravasyatīs, śrudhīyatīs, sakhīyatīs, satīs, sasatīs, stuvatīs; brhatīs, mahatīs; datīs*.

2. *ā-prṇatas, ā-prayucchatas, ārcatas, kṣāyatas, dhāvatas, dhṛdījatas, pātatas, rāyatas, riṣatas, rīruṣṣatas* (Vṛuh-), *vādatas, vārdhatas, śārdhatas, śiṣṛpsatas; śyāvā-datas* (AV.).

¹ On the accent see 90 B c. The dative of *ad-ant* 'eating', would be *ad-at-ē*.

² That is, *pra-anatīs*.

³ For *āsatas* according to the Pada text.

⁴ Aor. participle of *gam-* 'go'. In one passage (I. 122¹¹) the Pada reads *gmānta*; the sense seems to require the pl. *gmāntas*. See LANMAN 509.

⁵ Desiderative of *dabh-* 'injure'; cp. LANMAN 508 (gen. masc.).

⁶ *gmāntas* should perhaps be read for *gmānta* in I. 122¹¹.

⁷ On the anomalous N. pl. perf. participle, *vavṛhāntas*, see above p. 190, note 4.

⁸ *ubhayā-datas* in X. 90¹⁰ is perhaps a metrical shortening for *-dantas*; cp. LANMAN 509 (bottom). The AV. has the transfer form *dāntās*; cp. p. 190, note 5.

⁹ The Pada text reads *sānti*; see RPr. IX. 25.

I. m. *ā-nimiṣadbhis*, *ā-prayucchadbhis*, *ā-sredhadbhis*, *uśādbhis*, *cittiyadbhis*, *tujāyadbhis*, *devayādbhis*, *dhr̥vadbhis*, *patāyadbhis*, *rībhadbhis*, *vādadadbhis*, *vājayadbhis*, *vṛjāyadbhis*, *śucādbhis*, *śucāyadbhis*, *śubhāyadbhis*, *śōcadbhis*; *brhāadbhis*, *mahāadbhis*, *rīśadbhis*; *dadbhis*¹. — n. *śucāyadbhis*, *stanāyadbhis*; *brhāadbhis*, *mahāadbhis*, *rīśadbhis*.

D. m. *uśādbhyas*, *kṣāhāyadbhyas*, *gr̥hādbhyas*, *tv̥jāyadbhyas*, *pūjāyadbhyas*, *prāyādbhyas*, *vādadābhyas*, *vāhadābhyas*, *sunvādbhyas*; *brhādābhyas*, *mahādābhyas*; *dadbhyas* (AV.). — Ab. m. *parā-yādbhyas*.

G. m. 1. *adhvarīyatām*, *uśatām*, *r̥jāyatām*, *gr̥hātām*, *ghnatām*, *juratām*, *devayātām*, *dvīṣātām*, *yātām*, *yātām*, *vanuṣyatām*, *vājayātām*, *śatrūyatām*, *śr̥ṇvatām*, *śr̥avasyatām*, *sakhīyatām*, *satām*, *sasatām*, *sunvatām*, *stuvātām*, *sthātām*², *brhatām*, *mahatām*; *datām* (AV.). — 2. *ā-sunvatām*, *cīratām*, *jāyatām*, *nītyatām*, *pātātām*, *vīvāsātām*, *śārdhatām*. — n. *rathirāyātām*³.

L. m. *gr̥hātsu*, *devayātsu*, *patāyātsu*, *mahātsu*. — n. *jāryātsu*.

Stems in *-mant* and *-vant*.

315. As these two suffixes have the same sense, that of 'possessing', and are inflected exactly alike, the stems formed with them are best treated together in declension. These stems are used in the m. and n. only⁴, as they form a separate f. by adding *-ī* to the weak stem. They are inflected like the participles in *-ant* except that they lengthen the vowel of the suffix in the N. sing. m. and never shift the accent from the suffix to the ending in the weak cases. Strong and weak forms are as strictly distinguished as in the *-ant* stems⁵. The regular vocative of these stems ends in *-mas* and *-vas* in the RV., but the AV. has neither⁶ in any independent passage, and the VS. has only *bhagavas* and *patnivas*. The RV. has also three vocatives in *-van*, and the AV. adds five others; but no voc. in *-man* occurs.

Three stems in *-vant* and one in *-mant* have case-forms supplementing the inflexion of stems in *-an* and forming transitions from the latter declension to the former. Thus from *maghāvant-* 'bountiful' alone are formed the pl. I.: *maghāvadbhis*, D. *maghāvadbhyas*, L. *maghāvātsu*; also the N. sing. *maghāvān* beside the usual *maghāva* from *maghāvan-*; from *sāhāvant-* the N. *sāhāvān* beside *sahāva*; from *yūvant-* 'young', the A. n. *yūvat* beside the N. m. *yūvā*; from *varimānt-* the I. m. sing. *varimātā* beside forms from *varimān-* 'width'.

Inflexion.

316. Sing. N.m. 1. from stems in *-vant*: *akṣānvān*⁸, *agnivān*, *āṅgirasvān*, *ānnavān*, *ā-pavīravān*, *āmavān*, *ārvān*, *āśīrvān*, *idāvān*, *iśdvān*, *tghāvān*, *etāvān*, *kakṣivān*, *kṣapāvān* and *kṣāpāvān*, *ghṣṇivān*, *jānivān*, *tāpasvān*, *taryādvān*, *tāvasvān*, *tāvīṣvān*, *tāvān*, *tuṣīrdvān*⁹, *tuāvān*, *daṁśānvān*, *dākṣiṇvā-*

¹ The AV. (XI. 337) has the transfer form *dāntais*.

² From the aor. stem *sthāt-* 'standing'.

³ With irregular accent on the suffix instead of the ending, from *rathirā-yāt-*.

⁴ In two or three instances the m. form seems to be used for the f., as *haviṣmatā* (I. 1282) and *rāthavate* (I. 1221¹); see LANMAN 515 (bottom).

⁵ There seem, however, to be two or three instances of a weak form used instead of a strong: *kṣumāti* (IV. 218), A. pl. n.,

krātumatā (x. 59¹), N. du. m., *indrāvatas* (IV. 27¹), N. pl.; see LANMAN 516.

⁶ In AV. XIX. 34⁸ the Mss. read *bhagavas* which is emended to *saṁābhavas* in the printed text.

⁷ On the other hand, *ārvant-* 'steed', has two forms representing a transition to the *-an* declension: N. *ārvā*, A. *ārvānam*.

⁸ On the Sandhi of these forms, see LANMAN 517.

⁹ Probably for **tuṣī-rāva-vān*.

*vān*¹, *dātravān*, *dānavān*, *dāsavān*, *durhāpavān*, *devāvān*, *devāvān*, *dyumnāvān*, *nāmasvān*, *niyūtavān*, *nīlavān*, *pāyasvān*, *pavitravān*, *pāvitravān*, *pastyāvān*, *pūramdhāvān*, *pūṣavān*, *prajāvān*, *prāyasvān*, *pravātavān*, *prahāvān*, *bhāgavān*, *maghāvān*, *matāvān*, *maṣarāvān*, *mānasvān*, *marūtavān*, *māhasvān*, *māyāvān*, *māhināvān*, *mehināvān*, *yāsavān*, *yātumāvān*, *rābhasvān*, *rāsavān*, *revān*, *vājavān*, *vājīnāvān*, *vivakāvān*, *vivāsvān*, *vīṣaṇvān*, *vīṣṇyāvān*, *śāctvān*, *śarādāvān*, *śāsavān*, *śīpravān*, *śīprīnāvān*, *śīmāvān*, *sākhivān*, *sabhāvān*, *sārasvān*, *sāhasvān*, *sahāvān* and *sāhāvān*, *sutāvān*, *sūnṛtāvān*, *stavān*², *svadhāvān*, *svādhitvān*, *svārāvān*, *hārivān*, *hitāvān*, *hemyāvān*.

2. From stems in -mant: *abdimān*, *āvimān*, *āsānimān*, *iṣumān*, *udanīmān*, *ṛbhumān*, *kakūdmān*, *krātumān*, *garūtman*, *gōmān*, *tvīṣmān*, *tvāṣṭrmān*, *tvīṣtmān*, *dyumān*, *dhrājīmān*, *nadanumān*, *parasumān*, *paṣumān*, *pitumān*, *barhiṣmān*, *mādhumān*, *vāsumān*, *virūkmān*, *vṛṣṭimān*, *sārumān*, *soḍiṣmān*, *suṣumān*, *haviṣmān*, *hīrtmān*.

N. A. n. 1. *apāsthāvat*, *āmavat*, *arcivāt*, *āsvavat*, *āsvāvat*, *ātmanvāt*, *āvītvat*, *īrāvat*, *īghāvat*, *etāvāt*, *kṣātavāt*, *gopāvāt*, *grābhanāvāt*, *ghṛtāvāt*, *candrāvāt*, *tāvāt*, *tokāvāt*, *tvāvāt*, *dāksīnāvāt*, *dyumnāvāt*, *dhānāvāt*, *dhasmanvāt*, *nāmasvat*, *nīlavāt*, *nrvāt*, *padvāt*, *pāyasvat*, *pastyāvāt*, *pīśadvāt*, *prajāvāt*, *barhāpāvāt*, *yīvāt*, *yīvat*³, *rāthavāt*, *rāsavāt*, *revāt*, *vayīnavāt*, *vayīnāvāt*, *vājavāt*, *vīpīkvāt*, *vivāsvāt*, *viṣāvāt*, *vīrāvāt*, *śatāvāt*, *śaphāvāt*, *śāsāvāt*⁴, *sahāsravāt*, *sāhasvat*, *sinavāt*, *svāravāt*, *hīranyavāt*.

2. *abhiṣtmāt*, *ṛbhumāt*, *ketumāt*, *krātumat*, *kṣumāt*, *gōmat*, *iyōṣtmāt*, *tvīṣtmāt*, *dasmāt*, *dānumāt*, *dyumāt*, *nidhimāt*, *paṣumāt*, *pitumāt*, *puṣṭimāt*, *mādhumat*, *mānyumāt*, *yūvamāt*, *rayimāt*, *vāsumāt*, *svastimāt*.

A. m. 1. *apīdhānavantam*, *apūpāvāntam*, *ārvāntam*, *āsvāvāntam*, *asthanvāntam*, *ātmanvāntam*, *īndrasvāntam*⁵, *ūrjasvāntam*, *ūrjāvāntam*, *etāvāntam*, *ēnasvāntam*, *ōjasvāntam*, *ōmanvāntam*, *omyāvāntam*, *kakṣīvāntam*, *ghṛtāvāntam*, *dāsvāntam*, *devāvāntam*, *dhanāvāntam*, *dhīvāntam*, *nrvāntam*, *padvāntam*, *pārasvāntam*, *prajāvāntam*, *bhāsvāntam*, *marūtāvāntam*, *māhiṣvāntam*, *rāthnavāntam*, *revāntam*, *vapāvāntam*, *vayāvāntam*, *vājāvāntam*, *vārāvāntam*, *vīvasvāntam*, *vīrāvāntam*, *vīṣārvāntam*, *śatāvāntam*, *śāsāvāntam*, *sacandāvāntam*, *sārasvāntam*, *hārivāntam*, *hāstāvāntam*, *hīranyāvāntam*.

2. *ṛbhumāntam*, *kāṇvamāntam*, *ketumāntam*, *kṣumāntam*, *gōmāntam*, *iyōṣimāntam*, *tvīṣimāntam*, *dyumāntam*, *nidhimāntam*, *pitumāntam*, *bāndhumāntam*, *bhānumāntam*, *mādhumāntam*, *vāsumāntam*, *vāṣimāntam*, *vṛṣṭimāntam*, *śruṣṭimāntam*, *haviṣmāntam*, *hōtymāntam*.

I. 1. m. *ārvāt*, *āsvāvāt*, *udānvāt*, *īkvāt*, *kakṣīvāt*, *niyūtavāt*, *nrvāt*, *marūtavāt*, *yāsavāt*, *revāt*, *vīśvādevyāvāt*, *viśvāt*, *subhṛvāt*, *sāhasvāt*. — n. *etāvāt*, *candrāvāt*, *prajāvāt*, *barhāpāvāt*, *vivāsvāt*, *sūnṛtāvāt*, *hāritvāt*, *śāsavāt*.

2. m. *gōmat*, *iyōṣimāt*, *divitmat*, *dyumāt*, *bhrṣṭimāt*, *varimāt*⁶, *vāsumāt*, *virūkmāt*, *haviṣmāt*. — n. *divitmat*, *virūkmāt*, *haviṣmāt*; as adv. *śāsavāt*⁷.

D. 1. m. *ārvate*, *āsvāvate*, *kakṣīvate*, *dāksīnāvate* 'adroit' and 'bestowing gifts', *datvate*, *dāsvate*, *niyutvate*⁸, *pūṣavate*, *marūtivate*, *māvate*, *yuvāvate*, *rāthavate*⁹,

¹ Representing two words: 1. 'dexterous' (*dāksīṇa* 'right hand'); 2. 'possessing sacrificial gifts' (*dāksīṇa*).

² To be read *stāvān* 'thundering', from *Ystan*; see GRASSMANN, s. v.

³ Transfer form from the -an stem *yīvan*.

⁴ Also the *Āmredita* compound *śāśvacchāsvat*.

⁵ With the N. -s anomalously retained.

⁶ Transfer form from the -an stem *varimān*.

⁷ See LANMAN 518 (bottom).

⁸ Erroneously unaccented (I. 135¹).

⁹ The f. *rāthavatyai* should perhaps be read for *rāthavate* in I. 122¹¹, as the latter form agrees with a f. substantive, and the former is favoured by the metre; cp. LANMAN 519.

vivāsvate and *vivasvate*, *śācivāte*, *śāśvate*, *sāhasvate*, *sūnṛtīvate*, *svārivate*, *hādivate*. — n. *padvāte*, *revāte*, *śāśvate*.

2. m. *gōmate*, *cākṣuṣmate*, *tuṣṭimate*, *divṛtimate*, *dyumāte*, *barhīṣmate*, *haviṣmate*.

Ab. i. m. *tvāvatas*, *vivāsvatas*, *vṛṣṇyāvatas*.

G. i. m. *ārvatas*, *āśvāvatas*, *kakṣivatas*, *jāvatas*, *tvāvatas*, *dadhanvatas*¹, *dāsvatas*, *devāvatas*, *dhīvatas*², *niyūtvatas*, *nṛvatas*, *prajāvatas*, *marūtivas*, *māvatas*, *mehānāvatas*, *yāśasvatas*, *revātas*, *vāyasvatas*, *vājāvatas*, *vivāsvatas* and *vivasvatas*, *vīrāvatas*, *śācivatas*, *śāśvatas*, *sārasvatas*, *sāhasvatas*, *sūtīvatas*, *sūrāvatas*, *svadhāvatas*, *hṣivatas*. — n. *etīvatas*, *yāvatas*, *viṣtvātas*, *śāśvatas*.

2. m. *kṣumātas*, *gōmatas*, *dyumātas*, *haviṣmatas*. — n. *gōmatas*.

L. i. m. *ārvati*, *dāksināvati* 'bestowing gifts', *nṛvati*, *pastyāvati*, *yāśasvati*, *vānanvati*, *vivāsvati* and *vivasvati*, *śaryānvati*. — n. *āśvāvati*, *śīmivati*, *svārivati*. — 2. m. *gōmati*.

V. m. i. The normal form in *-vas*³ occurs in sixteen examples: *ṛṣvas*, *gnāvas*⁴, *taviṣvas*, *niyutvas*, *patnivas* (VS.), *bhagavas* (VS. TS.), *marutvas*, *rayivas*, *vajrivas*, *vīravas*, *śaktivas*, *śacivas*, *sarasvas*, *sahasvas*, *svadhivas*, *harivas*. — Of the later V. ending in *-van*, the RV. has three examples: *arvan*, *śatāvan*⁵, *śarasāvan*. In the AV. the following five additional forms occur: *marutvan*⁶, *vājintvan*, *vṛṣṇyāvan*, *svadhāvan*, *harivan*⁶. The MS. has *patnivan*⁷. — 2. There are six examples of the form in *-mas*: *tuviṣmas*, *dyumas*, *bhānumas*, *mantumas*, *śuciṣmas*, *haviṣmas*. — No vocative form in *-man* occurs.

Du. N. A. V. m. i. with *-ā*: *āngirasvantā*, *ānasvantā*, *ārvantā*, *Indravantā*, *kāśvantā*, *kēśvantā*, *dhārmavantā*, *nāmasvantā*, *niyūtvantā*, *pavītravantā*, *marūtivantā*, *mītrāvaruṇavantā*, *vājavantā*, *viṣṇuvantā*, *vyācasvantā*, *śāśvantā*⁸, *śāptivantā*; with *-au*: *aṣṭhīvāntau*, *yāvāntau* (AV.), *rōmaṇvantau*, *sāhasvantau* (AV.), *V. svādhāvāntau* (AV.). — 2. *arcimāntā*, *ṛbhumāntā*, *krātumāntā*⁹, *vadhīmāntā*.

Ab. i. m. *aṣṭhivādbhyām*. — G. i. m. *vājīnīvatos*, *śīmīvatos*, *sārasvatīvatos*.

Plur. N. V. m. i. *akṣaṇvāntas*, *ānasvāntas*, *ānavāntas*, *ārvāntas*, *āśvāvantās*, *āśīrvāntas*, *idāvāntas*, *Indravāntas*, *Indrāvāntas* (TS. IV. 7. 14¹)¹⁰, *ūrjāsvāntas*, *ēnasvāntas*, *kakṣīvāntas*, *kārnavāntas*, *ghṛtāvāntas*, *caśālāvāntas*, *dāksīnīvāntas* 'bestowing gifts', *dāmanvāntas*, *dīvasvāntas* (VS. XVI. 63), *drāviṇasvāntas*, *dhīvāntas*, *nāmasvāntas*, *niyūtvāntas*, *nṛvāntas*, *pātīvāntas*, *padvāntas*, *pāyasvāntas* (VS. XXI. 42), *pavītravāntas*, *pājasvāntas*, *puṣṭāvāntas*, *pūṣaṇvāntas*, *prajāvāntas*, *prāyasvāntas*, *pravātīvāntas*, *bhāgavāntas*, *marūtīvāntas*, *māhasvāntas* (VS. XXI. 42), *yajñāvāntas*, *vacanāvāntas*, *vāyasvāntas* (VS. III. 18), *vārmaṇvāntas*, *vīrāvāntas*, *vṛcīvāntas*, *śāktīvāntas*, *śāśvāntas*, *śīmīvāntas*, *śāptīvāntas*, *sūtīvāntas*, *srkāāvāntas* (TS. IV. 5. 11²), *svadhāvāntas* (V.), *svārāvāntas*, *himāvāntas*, *hṣīvāntas*.

2. *añjīmāntas*, *āyusmāntas* (TS.), *īṣumāntas*, *ṛṣṭīmāntas*, *kṣumāntas*, *jyōtiṣmāntas*, *tvāṣṭīrmāntas* (VS. XXVII. 20), *tuṣṭīmāntas*, *dyumāntas*, *mādhūmāntas*,

¹ 'containing curds'; cp. LANMAN 513.

² Also the Ātreṇḍita compound *dhīvato-dhīvatas*.

³ Elsewhere ten vocatives in *-vas* and *-mas* occur: five from perfect participle stems in *-vāms*: *khiḍvas*, *cikītvās*, *utīrvās*, *dīdivās*, *mīḍhvas*; four from stems ending in *-van*: *ṛtāvas*, *evayāvas*, *ṛtātarīvas*, *mātārīvas*; and *pūmas* from *pūmāms*. There are also two in *-yas* from comparative stems in *-yāms*: *ojīyas* and *jyāyas*.

⁴ In II. 15 *gnāvas* should probably be read *gnāvas* as a vocative.

⁵ The Pada text reads *śata-van*; cp. RPR. IX. 10.

⁶ These two forms occurring in passages taken from the RV. are substituted for *marutvas* and *harivas* of the RV.

⁷ That is, *patnīvān*.

⁸ The mysterious form *śātāvanā* (X. 106³) should perhaps be corrected to *śātāvanā* = *śata-vantā*?

⁹ The weak form *krātumātī* seems to be used for *krātumāntā* in X. 59¹.

¹⁰ The weak form *Indrāvāntas* seems to be used for *Indrāvāntas* in IV. 27¹.

māhīṣmantas, *yāvamantas*, *rayimantas*, *vadhūmantas*, *vāśimantas*, *śīsumantas*, *sthivimantas*, *harṣumantas*, *haviṣmantas*.

N. A. n. 1. *ghṛtāvānti*. — 2. *paśumānti*. The Padapāṭha reads *-anti*¹ in these forms, and the lengthening of the vowel seems to be metrical². — The weak form *kṣumāti* (used with *yūthā*) seems to be used for *kṣumānti* in IV. 2¹³.

A. m. 1. *ārvatas*, *indrāvatas*, *ṛivlyāvatas*, *kṛṣanāvatas*, *jānivatas*, *tāpasvatas*, *trṣyāvatas*, *tvāvatas*, *nrvatas*, *pātnīvatas*, *pārasvatas* (VS. XXIV. 28) 'wild asses', *paśyāvatas*, *pośyāvatas*, *prajāvatas*, *bhaṅgurāvatas*, *yāśasvatas*, *yātumāvatas*, *rābhasvatas*, *rayivatas*, *revatas*, *vānanvatas*, *vṛcīvatas*, *śaryanāvatas*, *śāśvatas*, *śimīvatas*, *sutāvatas*, *sūnṛtāvatas*, *hiraṇyavatas*, *hēśasvatas*. — 2. *ṛtumātas* (VS. XIX. 61), *gōmatas*, *jyōtismatas*, *dyumātas*³, *prāṣṭimatas*, *mādhumatās*, *vadhūmatas*, *virikmatas*, *sūnumātas*, *svastimātas*.

I. 1. m. *ārvadbhis*, *dāksīṇāvadbhis*, *pātnīvadbhis*, *maghāvadbhis*⁴, *rābhasvadbhis*, *revadbhis*, *vājavadbhis*, *śāśvadbhis*, *śimīvadbhis*, *sutāsomavadbhis*. — n. *ghṛtāvadbhis*. — 2. m. *ṛṣṭimadbhis*, *kṛṣṭimadbhis*, *gōmadbhis*, *barhīṣmadbhis*, *bhānumadbhis*, *vidyūnmadbhis*, *haviṣmadbhis*. — n. *mādhumadbhis*.

D. 1. m. *dīvasvadbhyas* (VS. IX. 35), *bhāgavadbhyas* (AV.), *maghāvadbhyas*⁴, *mūjavadbhyas* (AV.), *sōmaradbhyas* (AV.). — 2. m. *asimadbhyas* (VS. XVI. 21), *īsumadbhyas* (VS. XVI. 22), *māṛmadbhyas* (AV.), *yātumadbhyas*. — n. *vibhumadbhyas*.

G. m. 1. *ārvatām*, *dāksīṇāvatām*, *datvātām* (AV.), *bhaṅgurāvātām*, *yātumāvātām*, *śāśvatām*, *śimīvātām*, *sutāvātām*, *himdvātām* (AV.). — 2. *gōmatām* (AV.).

L. m. 1. *āmavatsu*, *ārvatsu*, *maghāvatsu*⁴, *yusmāvatsu*. — 2. *dyumātsu*.

Stems in radical -th.

317. There are only three stems in *-th*: *kāpṛth*⁵ n. 'penis', *path*⁶ m. 'path', with its compound *su-path* 'fair path', and *abhi-śnāth* adj. 'piercing'. Among them these three furnish examples of all the cases in the singular, but there are no dual forms, and in the plural only the A. and G. occur.

Sing. N. *kāpṛt*; A. *kāpṛt*⁷; I. *pathā*⁸, *supāthā*; D. *pathé* (VS.); Ab. *pathās*, *abhi-śnāthas*; G. *pathās*⁹; L. *pathi*. — Pl. A. *pathās*¹⁰; G. *pathām*¹¹.

Stems in radical -d.

318. About a hundred stems ending in *d* are made in the form of compounds (only seven being simple stems) from the twenty roots *ad* 'eat', *kṣad* 'divide', *chad* 'cover' and 'please', *pad* 'go', *mad* 'be exhilarated', *sad* 'sit', *syad* 'move on'; *chid* 'cut off', *nid* 'revile', *bhid* 'cleave', *vid* 'know', *vid* 'find'; *ud* 'wet', *nud* 'push', *mud* 'rejoice', *rud* 'weep', *sud* 'enjoy', *sūd*

¹ As also in the only N. pl. n. of the present part. in *-ant*, *sānti* (314). The SV. also has the short *ā*.

² Cp. LANMAN 521.

³ In VI. 17¹⁴ the Padapāṭha reads *dyumātā* *indra* as *dyumātāḥ*; GRASSMANN explains it as a D. *dyumāte* agreeing with *rāyē*. On the other hand *dyumāntā[h]* in AV. XVIII. 15⁷ should probably be emended to *dyumātāḥ*; cp. WHITNEY's note, and LANMAN 521⁴.

⁴ Forms transferred from the *-van* declension.

⁵ The derivation of this word is uncertain: the *-th* is radical if the word is derived from *prath* 'extend' (see GRASSMANN, s. v.);

but it is suffixal if the word is connected with Lat. *caper* (cp. UHLENBECK, Etymologisches Wörterbuch, s. v.). With this possible exception there are no derivative stems in *-th*.

⁶ This stem supplements *pānthā* and *pathi*.

⁷ *kāpṛthā-m* occurs once as a transfer form.

⁸ Once (I. 1299) nasalized before a vowel *pathām a-*.

⁹ Once (II. 24) with the radical vowel lengthened, *pāthās*.

¹⁰ Accented as a weak form.

¹¹ The transfer form *pathīmām* also occurs in TS. IV. 2. 55.

'put in order'; *tr̥d-* 'pierce', *mr̥d-* 'crush'¹. Of these roots only seven occur as monosyllabic substantives: *n̥d-* 'contempt', *bh̥d-* 'destroyer', *v̥d-* 'knowledge', *śd-* 'wave', *m̥ld-* 'joy', *mr̥d-* 'clay', being f., and *p̥d-* 'foot', m. There is also the monosyllabic n. *h̥d-* 'heart'².

Strong and weak forms are not distinguished except in *p̥d-*; and the inflexion is the same in all genders except, of course, the N. A. n. du. and pl.

a. The following peculiarities or irregularities of this declension are to be noted. 1. The weak reduplicated present stem *dād-* of *dā-* 'give', is once treated as a root in the form *āyur-dād-am* (AV.) 'giving long life'. — 2. The vowel of *mād-* is lengthened in *sadha-mād-* 'drinking companion', and *soma-mā-* 'intoxicated with Soma', of both of which, however, only strong cases occur. The vowel of *pād-* is lengthened not only in the strong cases, but occasionally in others also: *devipāt*, N. sing. n., beside *devipā*, D. *devipādeṣ*, L. pl. *devipātsu*, while the N. pl. m. is once *devipādas* (AV.). — 3. The euphonic combination is irregular in the I. pl. of *pād-* which is *padbhis*⁴ beside the Ab. du. *pad-bhyām*. — 4. The stem *h̥d-* is found in weak cases only⁵. Its place is taken in the N. A. sing. pl. by *h̥d-aya-*, which is also used in other cases (*h̥dāyāt*, *h̥dāye*, *h̥dayesu*), though in the RV. almost entirely in late passages. — 5. There are a few transitions to the *a*-declension in the inflexion of these stems. Starting from the strong A. *pād-am* are formed the N. sing. *pādās* and the N. pl. *pādās*, both in late passages of the RV.⁶ Similarly, starting from the A. *sadha-mād-am* are formed the locatives *sadha-māte* and *sadha-mānesu*. Beside *n̥d-ās*, the ordinary Ab. of *n̥d-*, the form *n̥dāyās* occurs once.

Inflexion.

319. The inflexion of these stems is identical with that of the radical *-t* stems. The forms actually occurring, if made from *pād-* 'foot', and *-v̥d-* m. f. n. 'finding', would be as follows:

Sing. N. *pāt*, *-vīt*. — A. *pādam*, *-vidam*. — n. *-vīt*. — I. *pādā*, *-vidā*. — D. *padē*, *-vide*. — Ab. *padās*, *-vidas*. — G. *padās*, *-vidas*. — L. *padī*, *-vidī*. — V. (*sārva*)-*vīt*.

Du. N. A. V. *pādā*, m. f. *-vidā*. — I. *padbhyām*. — Ab. *padbhyām*. — G. *padās*. — L. *padās*.

Pl. N. *pādās*, m. f. *-vidas*. — A. *padās*, m. f. *-vidas*. — I. *padbhis* (AV.), *-vidbhis*. — D. *-vidbhyas*. — G. *padām*, *-vidām*. — L. *patśh*, *-vitsu*.

a. The forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. m. 1. with lengthened vowel: *pād-* with its compounds and *sadha-mād-*: *pāt* (AV.); *a-pāt*, *eka-pāt*, *eka-siti-pāt* (VS. xxix. 58) 'having one white foot', *cātus-pāt*, *tri-pāt*, *dvī-pāt* and *dvī-pāt* (AV.), *viśvātas-pāt*, *siti-pāt* (AV.), *sārva-pāt* (AV.), *sahasra-pāt*; *sadha-mā* (iv. 21¹) and the abnormal *sadha-mās*⁷ (vii. 187).

2. with unchanged vowel, being compounds ending in various roots: from *ad-*: *agdhāt* (TS. iii. 3, 8²), *karambhāt*, *kravyāt*, *viśvāt*, *haryāt*; from *chad-*: *prathama-ccāt*³; from *pad-*: *anu-pāt* (VS. xv. 8) 'coming to pass'; from *chid-*: *ukha-ccāt*; from *bhid-*: *adri-bhāt*, *ud-bhāt*, *gotra-bhāt*, *pūr-bhāt*; from *vid-*: *ā-kṣetra-vīt*, *aśva-vīt*, *kratu-vīt*, *kṣetra-vīt*, *gātu-vīt*, *go-vīt*, *draviṇo-vīt*,

¹ Compounds formed with *-vid* and *-sad* are the commonest.

² The strong form of this word, *hārd-*, appears in composition with *dus-* and *su-*. Another word for 'heart', *śrād-* (Lat. *cor*)-n. occurs only in the A. sing. with the verbs *kr-* and *dhā-*.

³ The lengthening here is, however, metrical.

⁴ Owing to the confusing influence of the I. pl. *padbhis* from *pās-* 'look'.

⁵ Its high grade form *-hārd* occurs in the N. sing. m.

⁶ Probably also the A. sing. m. *pāka-pādam*; see LANMAN 471².

⁷ See above 55.

⁸ 'appearing first', 'typical' (x. 81¹); according to Sāyaṇa from *chad-* 'cover' = 'covering first'.

nabho-vit, *nātha-vit* (AV.), *paśu-vit* (AV.), *purāṇa-vit* (AV.), *prajā-vit* (AV.), *rayi-vit*, *vaco-vit*, *rayunā-vit*, *varivo-vit*, *vasu-vit*, *viśva-vit*, *vīra-vit* (AV.), *śruta-vit*, *sarva-vit* (AV.), *svar-vit*, *hiranya-vit*; from *sad-*: *adma-sāt*, *antarikṣa-sāt*, *upastha-sāt*, *ṛta-sāt*, *turanya-sāt*, *dakṣiṇa-sāt* (VS. xxxviii. 10), *durona-sāt*, *duṛanya-sāt*, *prāgharma-sāt*, *vara-sāt*, *vyoma-sāt*, *su-saṃ-sāt*; *camū-sāt*, *ḍru-sāt*, *nr-sāt*, *vedī-sāt*, *śuci-sāt*. Also *su-hārt*¹ (AV. II. 7⁵) 'friendly'.

f. 1. *a-pāt*. — 2. *ā-cchāt* (VS. xv. 5), *pra-cchāt* (VS. xv. 5) 'covering'; *sū-yavasāt* (-ad); *saṃ-vit*; *saṃ-sāt*, *su-ā-sāt* (AV.)².

N. A. n. 1. *-pad-* appears with both unaltered and lengthened vowel: *div-pāt*, *cātus-pat* and *tri-pāt*, *dvi-pāt*, *cātus-pāt*.

2. *hīt* (TS. IV. 4. 7²); *prakala-vit* 'knowing very little'; *raghu-syāt* 'moving quickly' (*√syad-*).

A. m. 1. *pādam*; *a-pādam*, *tri-pādam*³, *dvi-pādam* (VS. XIII. 47), *ṣitipādam* (AV.), *sahśra-pādam*; *sadha-mādam*; *dur-hārdam* (AV.). — 2. from *ad-*: *kravyādam*, *viśvādam*; from *pad-*: *dvi-pādam* (VS. xxviii. 32) a metre; from *chid-*: *pra-cchidam* (VS. xxx. 16) 'cutting to pieces'; from *bhid-*: *ud-bhidam*, *gotra-bhidam*, *pūr-bhidam*; from *vid-*: *ahar-vidam*, *kratu-vidam*, *kṣetra-vidam*, *gātu-vidam*, *go-vidam*, *varivo-vidam*, *vasu-vidam*, *viśva-vidam*, *saci-vidam*, *svar-vidam*, *hotra-vidam*; from *sad-*: *garta-sādam*, *su-saṃ-sādam*; *apsu-sādam*, *ḍru-sādam*, *dhūr-sādam*, *barhi-sādam*⁴, *vanar-sādam*; from *-syad-*: *raghu-syādam*, *havana-syādam*. — f. 2. *nīdam*⁵, *mīdam* (VS. XI. 55; TS. IV. 1. 5²); *āyur-dādam* (AV.)⁶, *upa-sādam*, *go-vidam* (AV.), *nī-vidam*, *pari-pādam* 'snare', *pari-sādam* (AV.), *pitṛ-sādam*, *barhi-sādam*⁴, *vaco-vidam*, *viśva-vidam*, *saṃ-vidam*, *saṃ-sādam*, *sa-mādam* 'battle' ('raging together').

L. m. *padā*⁷; *āpa-duṣ-padā*, *cātus-padā*, *dvi-pādā*; *kṣetra-vidā*, *varivo-vidā*, *svar-vidā*, *su-sāda* (AV.). — f. *udā*, *mudā*, *vidā*; *upa-vidā*, *nī-vidā*, *nī-sāda*, *pra-mīdā* (VS. xxxix. 9), *pra-vidā*, *saṃ-sāda*, *svar-vidā*. — n. *hrdā*; *cātus-padā* (AV.), *duṣ-padā*, *dvi-pādā*. With adverbial shift of accent: *sarva-hrdā*.

D. m. *a-pāde*, *kuhacid-vide*, *kravyāde*, *cātus-pade*, *tad-vide* (AV.), *vedī-śāde*, *sadanā-sāde*, *sarva-vide* (AV.), *svar-vide*. — f. *nīde*, *mudē*; *pitṛ-śāde*, *pra-māde* (VS. xxx. 8), *pra-mīde* (VS. xxx. 10), *saṃ-pāde* (VS. xv. 8). — n. *hrdē*; *cātus-pade*, *dvi-pāde*⁸.

Ab. m. *padās* (AV.); *dvi-pādas*. — f. *nīdās*⁹; *uttānā-padas*, *saṃ-vidas* (AV.). — n. *hrdās*; *śāt-padas* (AV.).

G. m. *eka-padas* (AV.), *dur-hārdas* (AV.), *nr-śādas*, *yavādas* (-adas), *raghu-syādas* (AV.), *svar-vidas*. — f. *pra-mīdas*, *saṃ-sādas* (AV.). — n. *hrdās*; *cātus-padas*, *dvi-pādas*.

L. m. *padī*; *svar-vidī*. — f. *nī-sādī*, *saṃ-sādī*. — n. *hrdī*¹⁰.

V. m. *viśva-vit*, *sārva-vit* (AV.).

Du. N. A. V. m. 1. *pādā*; *pādan*. — 2. V. *ahar-vidā*, *kavi-cchāddā* 'delight

¹ This seems to be the preferable reading (*sihārt tēna*); the Pada has *su-hāh*. Otherwise the N. appears as *su-hār* in MS. IV. 2⁵ (p. 26, l. 19) in *sihār nah*; see LANMAN's note in WHITNEY's AV. Translation on XIX. 45², and Grammar 150 b.

² Perhaps also *niṣāt* in AV. XX. 1326. 7, where the edition has *vanisād*.

³ *pāṇca-pāda-m* (I. 164¹²) is probably a transfer to the *a*-declension; see LANMAN 471².

⁴ For *barhiṣ-sādam*; see above 62.

⁵ In the *Amṛgita* compound *nīdam-nīdam*.

⁶ From a secondary root *dad-* formed from the present stem of *dā-* 'give'.

⁷ BR. take *sāda* in AV. IV. 47 as I. of *sād-* 'position', but owing to the accent it must be taken as an adv. 'always', see WHITNEY's note on the passage.

⁸ Beside *dvi-pāde* occurring eleven times, *dvi-pāde* occurs once (I. 121³), when the lengthening is metrical.

⁹ The transfer form *nīdāyās* occurs once.

¹⁰ On the possibility of *hrdī* representing an A. sing. n. in two or three passages, see LANMAN 473⁴.

ing in sages', *kratu-vīdā*, *vasu-vīdā*, *viśva-vīdā*, *sva-vīdā*¹; *ātma-sāda*. — f. *ud-bhīdā*, *barhi-śādā*²; *śrānta-sāda* (AV.).

I. m. *padbhyām* (AV.). — Ab. m. *padbhyām*. — G. m. *padīs* (AV.)³. — L. m. *padīs*. — f. *prā-pados* (AV.).

Pl. N. V. m. 1. *a-pādas*, *cātus-pādas*, *dvi-pādas*⁴, *śiti-pādas*⁵; *sadhā-mādas*, *soma-mādas*; *su-hārdas* (AV.). — 2. *īrjādas*, *pāru-sādas*, *madhu-sādas*, *yavasādas*, *somādas*, *haviṛ-sādas*; *ā-tīdas*⁶, V. *pra-trādas*; *deva-nīdas*; *ud-bhīdas*; *abhīmōda-mūdas* (AV.), *svādīl-sam-mudas* (AV.); *anna-vīdas* (AV.), *ahar-vīdas*, V. *gātu-vīdas* (AV.), *nī-vīdas* (AV.), *nī-vīdas* (AV.), *nīthā-vīdas*, *brahma-vīdas* (AV.), *yajur-vīdas* (AV.), *vaco-vīdas*, *varīṇo-vīdas*, *vasu-vīdas*, *viśva-vīdas* (AV.), *sva-vīdas*, *hotrā-vīdas*; *adma-sādas*, *antarikṣa-sādas* (AV.), *apsu-śādas* (TS. I. 4. 10⁷), *upa-sādas* (AV.), *paścāt-sādas* (VS. IX. 36), *purāṇ-sādas*, *śarma-sādas*, *sabhā-sādas* (AV.), *svādu-saṃ-sādas*; *camū-śādas*, *divi-śādas* (AV.), *dhūr-śādas*, *barhi-śādas*, V. *barhi-śādas*, *vanar-śādas*, *vedī-śādas* (VS. II. 29); *raghu-śādas*. — f. 1. *dur-hārdas* (AV.); *nīdas*, *mūdas*; *aḥa-vīdas* (AV.), *āmādas* (-ādas), *upa-sādas* (AV.), *nī-śādas*, *pra-mūdas*, *viśva-su-vīdas*, *saṃ-sādas*, *suhutādas* (-ādas), *sva-vīdas*.

A. m.⁷ *padīs*; *dur-hārdas* (AV.), *su-hārdas* (AV.); *apsu-śādas* (AV.), *kravyādas*, *cātus-pādas* (AV.), *tvā-nīdas*, *deva-nīdas*, *dvi-pādas* (AV.), *pari-śādas*, *pastya-sādas*, *bāhu-kṣādas*, *sattrā-sādas* (AV.). — f. *nīdās*, *bhīdās*; *nī-vīdas*, *pra-mūdas*, *vasu-vīdas*, *vī-nīdas*, *sa-mādas*, *sa-syādas*, *haviṛ-sādas*.

I. m. *padbhis* (AV. TS. VS.), *padbhis* in RV. and VS.⁸; *gharma-sādbhis*, *śatā-padbhis*. — n. *hydbhis*.

D. m. *antarikṣa-sādbhyas* (AV.), *dakṣiṇā-sādbhyas* (VS. IX. 35), *divi-śādbhyas* (AV. TS.), *paścāt-sādbhyas* (VS. IX. 35), *prthivi-sādbhyas* (AV.).

G. m. *su-hārdām* (AV.); *adma-sādam*, *cātus-pādām* (VS. TS. AV.), *dvi-pādām*, *barhi-śādām* (VS. XXIV. 18), *svā-pādām* (AV.), *su-śādām* (AV.). — f. *upa-sādam* (VS. XIX. 14) a kind of ceremony, *pari-pādām*, *śrānta-sādam* (AV.), *sa-mādam*.

L. m. *patsī*. — f. *sa-mātsu*. — n. *hytsī*.

Stems in derivative -d.

320. There are some six stems formed with suffixal -d, seemingly all feminines⁹, which with one exception (*śarād-*) are of rare occurrence. They are *dr̥śād-* and *dhṛśād-* (RV.¹) 'nether millstone', *bhasād-* 'hind quarters', with its compound *su-bhasād-* 'having beautiful buttocks', *vanād-*¹⁰ (RV.¹) 'longing', *śarād-* 'autumn'; *kakūd-*¹¹ 'summit', with its compound *tri-kakūd-* (AV.) 'three-peaked', *kākūd-* 'palate'. The inflexion is like that of radical -t stems. The forms occurring are the following:

Sing. N. f. *kakūt*, *kakūt*, *dhṛśāt*, *bhasāt*, *śarāt*. — m. *tri-kakūt* (VS. AV.).

¹ In AV. XVIII. 2¹⁴ occurs the ungrammatical form *pathi-śādī* an imitation of *pathi-rākṣī* of RV. x. 14¹¹.

² The form *rapsīdā*, occurring once, is of uncertain meaning and origin.

³ This form is used with an ablative sense in AV. I. 18².

⁴ AV. x. 26 has *dvi-pādas*.

⁵ The transfer form *pādās* occurs once in the RV. (I. 163⁹).

⁶ Used as ablative infinitive.

⁷ There are no N. A. V. forms in the n. pl. Cp. LANMAN 474.

⁸ Four times in RV. and once in VS.

(XXIII. 13) owing to confusion with *padbhis*, I. pl. of *pās-* 'look'.

⁹ Except the adj. *tri-kakūd-* (AV.), *śiti-kakūd-* (TS.) 'white-humped' and possibly *vanād-*.

¹⁰ This stem occurs only once (II. 4⁵) in the form *vanādas*, N. pl. m. 'Verlangen' (from *van-* 'desire') according to BR.; G. sing. m. of *van-ād-* 'wood-consuming' according to GRASSMANN.

¹¹ The origin of this -d is obscure. On the relation of this word to *kakūbh-* see LANMAN 471⁴.

A. f. *kākūdam*, *dr̥ṣādam*, *bhasādam* (AV.), *śarādam*. — m. *tri-kākūdam* (AV.).
 I. f. *dr̥ṣādā*, *śarādā* (TS. IV. 4. 12³). — D. f. *śarāde*. — Ab. f. *kākūdas*.
 — L. f. *kākūdi* (AV.), *śarādi*. — Pl. N. f. *vandādas*, *śarādādas*. — A. f. *śarādādas*.
 — I. f. *śarādābhis*. — G. f. *śarādām* (AV.). — L. f. *śarātsu* (AV.).

Stems in radical -dh.

321. Stems ending in -dh are all radical, simple or compound. There are some fifty derived, with only two or three exceptions, from the following sixteen roots: *bādḥ*- 'oppress', *sādḥ*- 'succeed'; *idḥ*- 'kindle', *vidḥ*- 'pierce' (= *vyadh*-), *sidḥ*- 'succeed', *sridḥ*- 'blunder' (?); *kṣudḥ*- 'be hungry', *budḥ*- 'waken', *yudḥ*- 'fight', *rudḥ*- 'grow' and 'obstruct'; *ṛdh*- 'thrive', *mṛdh*- 'neglect', *vṛdh*- 'grow', *spṛdh*- 'contend'.

In this declension there occurs no stem distinguishing strong and weak cases. Masculines and feminines are inflected exactly alike. No distinctively neuter forms (N. A. du. pl.) occur, and only four case-forms (G. L. sing.) are found as neuters. There are two monosyllabic m. nouns: *vṛdh*- 'strengthening' and (perhaps) *bādḥ*-¹; besides seven f. substantives: *nādḥ*-² 'bond'; *sridḥ*- 'foe'; *kṣudḥ*- 'hunger', *yidḥ*- 'fight'; *mṛdh*- 'conflict', *vṛdh*- 'prosperity', *spṛdh*- 'battle'. Neuter cases occur in the sing. (I. G.) of compounds of -*vidḥ*, -*yudḥ*, and -*vṛdh*.

a. Three or four stems are of doubtful origin: *agnidḥ*- is probably to be explained as *agni-dh*- 'priest who prepares (*dā*- 'put') the fire', rather than as a shortened form of *agnidh*- 'fire-kindler' (from *idḥ*- 'kindle') which does not occur in the RV.³; *iṣidḥ*- 'offering' (RV.) is perhaps a shortened form of *niṣ-iṣidḥ*- 'offering'⁴; *pr̥kṣidḥ*- (RV.) is obscure in meaning and origin; *śuridḥ*- f. 'invigorating draught' is perhaps derived from *ṣṛdh*- 'be defiant' with Svarabhakti⁵.

Inflexion.

322. Sing. N. m. *agnit*, *anu-rīt* (VS.) and *anū-rīt* 'loving'; *uṣar-bhūt* 'waking (*budḥ*-) at morn', *yavīryit*⁶ 'eager to fight', *śvā-vīt* (AV. VS.) 'porcupine' ('dog-piercer', *√vidḥ*-), *saṁ-it* 'flaming'. — f. *kṣūt* (AV.); *pra-vīt* 'growth', *vī-rūt* 'plant' (AV.), *saṁ-it* 'fuel'.

A. m. *vṛdham*, and its compounds: *annā-vṛdham* 'prospering by food', *āhuti-vṛdham* 'delighting in sacrifices', *girā-vṛdham* 'delighting in praise', *tugryā-vṛdham* 'favouring the Tugryas', *namo-vṛdham* 'honoured by adoration', *payo-vṛdham* 'full of sap', *parvatā-vṛdham* 'delighting in pressing stones', *mādhuvṛdham* 'abounding in sweetness', *yajña-vṛdham* (AV.) 'abounding in sacrifice', *vayo-vṛdham* 'increasing strength', *sadyo-vṛdham* 'rejoicing every day', *saho-vṛdham* 'increasing strength', *su-vṛdham* 'joyous'; *agnidham*, *anu-rīdham* (VS. XXX. 9), *a-sridham* 'not failing', *uṣar-bīdham*, *goṣu-yīdham*⁸ 'fighting for kine', *marmā-vidham* (AV.) 'piercing the vitals', *yajña-sīdham* 'performing sacrifice', *hṛdayā-vidham* (AV.) 'wounding the heart'. — f. *kṣūdham*, *yūdham*, *sridham*; *a-srīdham*, *uṣar-bīdham*, *niṣ-iṣidham*, *vīrīdham*, *saṁ-rīdham* (AV.) 'check' (in gambling)⁹, *saṁ-idham*.

I. m. *su-vṛdhā*. — f. *kṣudhā* (AV.), *yudhā*, *vṛdhā*; *saṁ-idhā*, *su-bīdhā* (AV.) 'good awakening', *su-vṛdhā* (AV.), *su-saṁ-idhā* 'good fuel'. — n. *payo-vṛdhā*, *yavīryudhā*, *sākāṁ-vṛdhā* 'growing together'.

¹ In *bādhas* A. pl. in VI. 11² (GRASSMANN); BR. do not acknowledge a m. use of *bādḥ*, and in VIII. 45¹⁰, IX. 109⁶ they would join the word with the preceding *pāri*.

² In *nādabhyas* (Ṛ. 60⁶) if derived from *nadh* = *nāh*- 'bind' (BR. s. v. *nāh*); but it is more probably = **nābā-bhyas* from *napt*, weak stem of *nāpāt*, as also indicated by the accent.

³ See above p. 18, note 6.

⁴ Cp. *iṣ-kṛti*- for *niṣ-kṛti*-.

⁵ Cp. above 21.

⁶ From the intensive stem of *yudḥ*- 'fight'.

⁷ In the *Amṛdita samit-samit*.

⁸ With the L. pl. *goṣu* instead of the stem *go*-.

⁹ Cp. WHITNEY's note on AV. VII. 50⁵.

D. m. *uṣar-bīdhe*, *rtā-vīdhe* 'fostering truth', *puru-niṣṣīdhe* 'repelling many (foes)', *mahi-vīdhe* 'greatly rejoicing', *vī-mīdhe* (VS. VIII. 44) 'dispeller of foes', *sam-īdhe* (AV.) 'welfare', *sa-vīdhe* (VS. XVI. 30) 'growing'. — f. *kṣudhē*, *yudhē* (AV.)¹, *vīdhe*, *sam-īdhe*.

Ab. f. *kṣudhās*, *yudhās*, *sridhās*.

G. m. *goṣu-yūdhas*, *vī-mīdhās*² 'foe', *sumatī-vīdhās* (VS. XXII. 12) 'delighting in prayer'. — f. *kṣudhās*. — n. *hṛdayā-vīdhās*.

L. f. *mīdhī*, *yudhī*, *spīdhī*; *pra-bīdhī* 'awaking'.

Du. N. A. V. m. *a-sridhā*, *rtā-vīdhā*, V. *rtā-vīdhā*, *namo-vīdhā*, *puro-yūdha* 'fighting in front'; *rtā-vīdhau*. — f. *rdū-vīdhā* 'increasing sweetness', *ghṛtā-vīdhā* 'rejoicing in fatness', *payo-vīdhā*, *vayo-vīdhā*, *sākaṃ-vīdhā*; *sam-īdhau* (AV.).

Pl. N. V. m. *rtā-vīdhās*, V. *rtā-vīdhās*, *tugryā-vīdhās*, *payo-vīdhās*, *parvatā-vīdhās*, *vayo-vīdhās*, *suge-vīdhās* 'rejoicing in good progress', *su-vīdhās*; *a-sridhās*, *āyur-yīdhās* (VS. XVI. 60) 'struggling for life', *uṣar-bīdhās*, *goṣu-yīdhās*, *jñu-bādhas* 'bending the knees', *pra-yīdhās* 'assailing', *vṛṣā-yīdhās* 'combating men', *śurīdhās*, *soma-pari-bādhas* 'despising Soma'. — f. *kṣīdhās* (AV.), *mīdhās*, *spīdhās*, *sridhās* (VS. XXVII. 6) 'foes'; *amitrā-yīdhās* 'fighting with enemies', *a-sridhās*, *iṣīdhās*, *rtā-vīdhās*, *niṣ-īdhās*, *pari-bīdhās* 'oppressors', *pari-spīdhās* 'rivals', *vī-rīdhās*, V. *vī-rudhās*, *śurīdhās*, *sam-īdhās*.

A. m. *bādhas*; *rtā-vīdhās*, *tamo-vīdhās* 'rejoicing in darkness', *rayi-vīdhās* 'enjoying wealth', *uṣar-bīdhās*, *śurīdhās*. — f. *mīdhās*, *yīdhās*, *spīdhās*, *sridhās*; *vī-rīdhās*, *śurīdhās*, *sam-īdhās*, *sam-īdhās*, *sa-vīdhās* 'increasing together'⁴.

I. f. *sam-īdbhis*, *vī-rīdbhis* (AV.). — D. f. *nāḍ-bhyas*⁵. — Ab. f. *vī-rīdbhyas* (AV.).

G. m. *vydhām*; *rtā-vīdhām*, *pra-bīdhām* 'watchful'. — f. *yudhām*⁶ (AV.), *spīdhām*, *niṣ-īdhām*, *vī-rīdhām*, *vī-rudhām*⁷ (AV.).

L. f. *yutsī*, *vī-rītsī*.

Stems in radical -n.

323. The radical stems ending in -n are formed from half a dozen roots: from *tan-* 'stretch', *ran-* 'rejoice', *van-* 'be pleasant', are formed monosyllabic substantives meaning 'succession', 'joy', 'wood', respectively; from *svan-* 'sound' is formed the adj. *svan-*⁸ 'sounding' and the compound *tuvī-śvān-* 'roaring aloud'; from *san-* 'gain', the compound *go-śān-* 'winning cows'. From these six nouns very few case-forms occur. But from *han-* 'strike' no fewer than 35 compounds are made in the RV., and all the singular cases as well as several of the du. and pl. cases are formed. All the stems formed from these six roots⁹ are m. except *tān-*, which is f.¹⁰, and only a single n. case-form occurs from a compound of *han-* (*dasyu-ghnā*). The distinction between strong and weak forms is made in -han- only. Here in the weak cases a as

¹ The infinitive *yudhāye* is a transition to the *i*-declension, there being no stem *yudhī*.

² With irregular accent; cp. LANMAN 477 (top).

³ Fifteen times accented *sridhās*, once (IX. 71⁸) *sridhās*.

⁴ In VIII. 45¹⁰, IX. 105⁶ *pari-bādhas* should perhaps be read instead of *pāri bādhas*.

⁵ If from *nāḍ-*, according to BR. (cp. *akṣā-nāḥas* (A. p. f.); according to WEBER, IS. 13, 109, from *nap-*. It is probably from *nap-* = *nāpā*. See above 321, note on *nādh-*.

⁶ In the V. *yudhām pate*.

⁷ In the V. *vīrudhām pate*.

⁸ The accent of the monosyllabic stems is irregular in remaining on the radical syllable except *tanā* (beside *tānā*) and *vandm*: cp. LANMAN 479⁴ and above 94, 1 a.

⁹ Other roots in -n used as nominal stems have gone over to the *ā-* or *ī-* declension; thus *jan-* becomes *ja-* or *jā-*.

¹⁰ -han- forms a separate fem. stem in *vī* from its weak form: *-ghn-ī*.

representing the sonant nasal appears for *an* before consonants, while before vowels the root, by syncope of its vowel, assumes the form of *-ghn-*. The N. sing. n. of *-han* is *-hām*, a transition to the *a*-declension¹ (for *-ha*, which does not occur).

Inflexion.

324. All forms are represented in this declension except Ab. sing., the weak cases of the du., and the D. Ab. pl. The forms made from *-han-* are: Sing. N. *-hā²*, A. *-hānam*, I. *-ghnā*, D. *-ghnē*, G. *-ghnās*, L. *-ghnī*, V. *-han*. — Du. N. A. *-hānā*, *-hānau* (VS. TS.), V. *-hanā*. — Pl. N. *-hānas*, A. *-ghnās*, I. *-hābhis*. The G. would be *-ghnām* and the L. *-hāsu* according to the analogy of other stems in this declension. The forms of radical *n*-stems which occur are the following:

Sing. N. m. *aghaśaṃsa-hā* 'slaying the wicked', *adṛṣṭa-hā* 'slaying unseen (vermin)', *abhimāti-hā* 'destroying adversaries', *amitra-hā* 'killing enemies', *amīva-hā* 'destroying pains', *aruśa-hā* 'striking the dark (cloud)', *ā-vira-hā* 'not slaying men', *asasti-hā* 'averting curses', *asura-hā* 'demon-slaying', *ahi-hā* 'killing the serpent', *kṛṣṭi-hā* 'subduing nations', *go-hā* 'killing cattle', *dasyu-hā* 'destroying the Dasyus', *durnāma-hā* (AV.) 'destroying the ill-named', *nṛ-hā* 'killing men', *puro-hā* 'destroying strongholds'³, *pṛṣṇi-hā* (AV.) 'slaying the speckled (snake)', *mano-hā* (AV.) 'mind-destroying', *muṣṭi-hā* 'striking with the fist', *yātu-hā* (AV.) 'destroying witchcraft', *rakṣo-hā* 'destroying demons', *vasar-hā* 'destroying at dawn', *vṛtra-hā* 'Vṛtra-slaying', *śarya-hā* 'killing with arrows', *satrā-hā* 'destroying entirely', *sapatna-hā* 'slaying rivals', *sapta-hā* 'slaying seven'. — n. Only two transition forms occur: *vṛtra-hā-m* and *satrā-hā-m*⁴.

A. m. *ā-pra-haṇam*⁵ 'not hurting', *abhimāti-hānam*, *ahi-hānam*, *tamo-hānam* 'dispelling darkness', *dasyu-hānam*, *rakṣo-hānam*⁵, *valaga-hānam* 'destroying secret spells' (VS. v. 23), *mano-hānam* (AV.), *vīra-hānam*⁵ (VS. xxx. 5) 'homicide', *vṛtra-hānam*⁵, *satrā-hānam*⁵, *sapatna-hānam* (AV.).

I. m. *vṛtra-ghnā*⁶. — n. *dasyu-ghnā*. — f. *tanā* (once) and *tānā*⁷ (19 times).

D. m. *rāne*⁷; *abhimāti-ghnē* (VS. vi. 32), *asura-ghnē*⁶, *ahi-ghnē*, *nṛ-ghnē*⁶, *makha-ghnē* (TS. iii. 2. 4. ^{1, 2}), 'slayer of Makha', *vṛtra-ghnē*⁶. — f. *tāne*⁷.

G. m. *go-śaṇas* (in the V. *goṣaṇo napāt*); *asura-ghnās*⁶, *vṛtra-ghnās*⁶.

L. m. *svāni*⁸ (IX. 669), *tuvi-śvāni*; *bhrūṇa-ghnī* (AV.) 'killer of an embryo'. Without an ending: *rān*⁹.

V. m. *amitra-han*, *ahi-han*, *vṛtra-han*.

Du. N. A. V. *tamo-hānā*, *rakṣo-hānā*⁵, *vṛtra-hānā*, V. *vṛtra-hānā*⁵. With *-au*: *rakṣo-hānau* (VS. v. 25), *valaga-hānau* (VS. v. 25; TS. i. 3. 2²).

Pl. N. V. m. V. *tuvi-śvaṇas*; *a-bhog-ghānas*¹⁰ 'striking the niggardly one', *punar-hānas*⁵ 'destroying in return', *yajña-hānas* (TS.) 'destroying sacrifice', *satru-hānas*⁵ 'slaying enemies'.

A. m. *sāta-ghnās* (AV.) 'gain-destroying'. With strong form: *rakṣo-hānas*⁵ and *valaga-hānas* (VS. v. 25; TS. i. 3. 2²).

I. m. *vṛtra-hābhis*. — G. m. *vanām*. — L. m. *rāṃsu*⁷, *vāṃsu*⁷.

¹ The forms made from *-ghna-*, viz. *-ghnās*, *-ghnām*, *-ghnāya*, *-gnāya*, *-ghne*, are probably to be explained as transition forms starting from the weak stem *-ghn-*.

² Formed like the N. of derivative *-an* stems (327).

³ That is, *purā*, A. pl. of *pūr-*, the 'case termination being retained.

⁴ The normal forms would be **vṛtra-hā* and **satrā-hā*.

⁵ See above 47, A b 2 (p. 39).

⁶ See above p. 38, note 4.

⁷ Against the rule of accentuation in monosyllabic stems (94).

⁸ This form may, however, be the 3. sing. passive aor. See below 501, note on *sādi*.

⁹ With loss of the loc. ending as in the *-an* declension (325).

¹⁰ *-ghānas* for *-hānas*, see above 80, 81.

Derivative stems in *-an*, *-man*, *-van*.

325. This declension embraces a large number of words, the stems in *-van* being by far the commonest, those in *-an* the least frequent. It is almost limited to masculines and neutrals; but some forms of adjective stems serve as feminines, and there is one specifically f. stem, *yīś-an* 'woman'¹.

The distinction of strong and weak forms is regularly made. In the strong cases the *a* of the suffix is usually lengthened, e. g. *ādhvān-am*; but in half a dozen *-an* and *-man* stems it remains unchanged; e. g. *arya-mān-am*. In the weak cases the *a* is often syncopated before vowel endings, though never when *-man* and *-van* are preceded by a consonant², e. g. I. sing. *grā-vn-ā*³ from *grā-van*, 'pressing stone'⁴, while before consonant endings the final *n* disappears⁵, e. g. *rāja-bhis*. In the RV. the syncopation never takes place in the N. A. du. n., nor with one exception (*śata-dīvn-i*) in the L. sing.

As in all other stems ending in *-n*, the nasal is dropped in the N. sing.; e. g. m. *ādhvā*, n. *kārma*. But there are two peculiarities of inflexion which, being common to these three groups, do not appear elsewhere in the consonant declension. Both the L. sing. and the N. A. pl. n. are formed in two ways. The ending of the L. sing. is in the RV. dropped more often than not, e. g. *mūrdhān-i* and *mūrdhān*, the choice often depending on the metre⁶. The N. A. pl. n. is formed with *-āni* from 18 stems and with *-a* from 19 stems⁷ in the RV.; seven of the latter appear with *-ā* in the Samhitā text, but with *-a* like the rest in the Pada text. The evidence of the Avesta indicates that there were in the Indo-Iranian period two forms, *nāmān* and *nāmāni*, the former losing its *-n* as usual when final after a long vowel. On this ground the *-ā* form of the Samhitā, though the less frequent, would appear to be the older⁸.

There are here many supplementary stems and numerous transitions to the *a*-declension.

1. Stems in *-an*.

326. These stems, which are both m. and n., are not numerous. They include some which at first sight have the appearance of belonging to one of the other two groups: *yū-v-an*⁹ 'youth', *śv-dn* 'dog', *rjī-śv-an*¹⁰ N. of a man, *mātari-śv-an*¹⁰ N. of a demi-god, *vi-bhv-an*¹¹ 'far-reaching'; *pāri-jm-an*¹² 'going round'. The n. *śīrṣ-dn* is an extended stem from *śīras* 'head' = *śīr(a)s-dn*.

a. Besides the N. pl. *yōṣan-as* 'women', six or seven forms of this declension appear to be feminine as agreeing with f. substantives: *vṛṣā* 'raining' (*kāśā*, *vāṭ*), *vṛṣaṇam* (*tvācam*), *vṛṣaṇā* (*dyāvā-ṛṣthiṇī*), *pāri-jmānas* 'going round' (*vidyūtas*), *rapśād-ūdhabhis* 'having distended udders' (*āhenūbhis*)¹³, *vāja-karmabhis* (SV. TS.) and *vāja-bharmabhis* (VIII. 1930) 'bringing rewards' (*ūtibhis*).

¹ The stems in *-van* regularly form their f. in *-varī*, e. g. *pī-van*, *pī-varī*; those in *-an* and *-man* by adding *-ī* to the syncopated stem at the end of compounds; e. g. *soma-rājñ-ī*, *pāñca-nāmn-ī* (AV.).

² This exception does not apply when *-an* is preceded by two consonants, e. g. *sakth-nā*.

³ But also G. sing. *vṛṣan-as* (AV.). The syncopation nearly always takes place in *-an* stems and in nearly half of the *-man* and *-van* stems.

⁴ When the accent is on the suffix it is thrown on the ending in these syncopated forms, e. g. *mahnā* from *māh-an*.

⁵ That is, *a* here represents an original sonant nasal, see p. 17, note 2.

⁶ 48 locatives (occurring 127 times) have the *i*, 45 (occurring 203 times) drop it. See LANMAN 535.

⁷ But those in *-āni* occur nearly twice as often.

⁸ Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 483 and LANMAN 538.

⁹ Cp. the comparative *yav-īyān* and the Avestan *yvan*.

¹⁰ *-śvan* in both these compounds is probably derived from *śū-* 'grow'.

¹¹ From *bhū-* 'be'.

¹² From *gam-* 'go'.

¹³ The f. of *-an* stems at the end of compounds is formed with *-ī* in *āchidra-ūdhin-ī* 'having a faultless udder', *sam-rājñ-ī*

b. In the strong forms the stems *ṛbhu-kṣān-* 'chief of the Ṛbhus', *pūśān-*, and the f. *yōśān-*, retain the short *a*, while *ukṣān-* 'ox' and *vṛṣān-* 'bull' fluctuate between *ā* and *ī*. The words *śvān-* and *yūvān-* form their weak stems before vowels with Samprasāraṇa, *śvīn-*, *yūn-*; the latter is once used in the N. du. m. form *yūnā* instead of *yūvānā*. In the weak cases syncope always takes place except in the forms *ukṣānas* and *vṛṣānas*.

c. A number of *-an* stems have supplementary forms from other stems: *akṣān-* from *ākṣi-*; *asthān-* from *ásthi-*; *āhan-* from *āhas-* and *āhar-*; *āsān-* from *āsyā-*, *ās-*, and *āsā-*; *udān-* from *úd-* and *uda-kā-*; *ūdhan-* from *ūdhas-* and *ūdhar-*; *dadhān-* from *dādhi-*; *dosān-* from *dōs-*; *yakān-* from *yákrt-*; *yōśān-* from *yōśānā-* and *yōśā-*; *śākan-* from *śákrt-*; *sakthān-* from *sákthi-*. As no stem in *-an* has been found in the N. A. sing. n., such forms appear to have been avoided and to have been purposely replaced by forms from supplementary stems. These forms are the N. A. n. *ākṣi*, *ásthi* (AV.), *āhar*, *āsyām*, *udakām*, *ūdhar*, *yákrt* (AV.), *śákrt*, *sákthi*; also *yūvat* instead of **yūva*, as well as *śīras* and *śīrṣā-m* (AV.) instead of **śīrṣā²*.

d. There are here several transitions to the *a*-declension. The A. sing. *pūśān-am* is the starting point for the N. *pūśān-a-s* and the G. *pūśānā-śya*.³ The N. A. pl. n. is the starting point in other instances: the two pl. forms *śīrṣā* and *śīrṣāni* give rise to the L. sing. *śīrṣé* (AV.) beside *śīrṣāni*, as well as to the du. N. A. *śīrṣé* and the N. A. sing. *śīrṣā-m* (AV.); similarly the two plurals *āhā* and *āhāni* led to the G. pl. *āhānām* beside *āhnām*; and *yūśāni*, the pl. of *yūśān-*, which has the appearance of a pl. of a stem *yūśā-*, led to the formation of an I. sing. *yūśēna* (TS.) beside the regular *yūśnā* (VS.). Again, the weak forms *āśn-as*, *āhn-ās* etc., gave rise to the transition stems *āśna-* and *āhna-*, from which are formed the I. pl. *āśnais* and the L. sing. *pūrvāhne*.

Transition *a*-stems often take the place of *-an* stems at the end of compounds. Thus *-akṣā-* appears in several compounds for *-akṣān-* and *-vṛṣā-* (AV.) for *-vṛṣān-*; *an-asthān-* once forms the N. sing. m. *an-asthā-s* (VIII. 134); beside the N. sing. m. *brhād-ukṣā* appears the D. *brhād-ukṣāya* (VS.); beside *rājānam* is found the A. m. *adhi-rājā-m* (X. 1289) 'over-lord'; and beside *saptābhis* 'seven', the compound *tri-saptāis*.⁴

Inflexion.

327. The normal forms, if made from *rājan-* 'king' in the m., and from *āhan-* 'day' in the n., would be as follows:

1. m. Sing. N. *rājā*. A. *rājānam*. I. *rājñā*. D. *rājñe*. Ab. *rājnas*. G. *rājñas*. L. *rājani* and *rājan*. V. *rājan*.

Du. N. A. *rājānā* and *rājānau*. I. *rājabhyām*. D. *rājabhyām*. G. *rājños*.

Pl. N. V. *rājānas*. A. *rājñas*. I. *rājabhis*. D. *rājabhyas*. Ab. *rājabhyas* (AV.). G. *rājñām*. L. *rājasu*.

2. n. Sing. N. A. —⁵. I. *āhnā*. D. *āhne*. Ab. G. *āhnas*. L. *āhani* and *āhan*. — Du. N. A. *āhanī*. G. *āhnos* (AV.). — Pl. N. A. *āhāni*. I. *āhabhis*. D. Ab. *āhabhyas*. G. *āhnām*. L. *āhasu*.

The forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. m. *an-asthā* 'boneless', *āyah-śīrṣā* 'iron-headed', *a-śīrṣā* 'headless', *ukṣā* 'bull', *ṛjī-śvā* N. of a man, *tīkṣā* 'carpenter', *tāpur-mūrdhā* 'burning-headed', *try-udhā*⁶ 'three-uddered', *dvi-bārha-jimā*⁷ 'having a double course', *pāri-jmā* 'surrounding', *pūśā* 'Pūśan', *plihā* (VS.) 'spleen', *brhād-ukṣā* 'having great oxen', *majjā* (VS. AV.) 'marrow', *mātari-śvā* 'Mātariśvan', *mūrdhā* 'head', *yūvā* 'youth', *rājā* 'king', *vi-bhūvā* 'far-reaching', *vi-rājā* (TS. v. 7. 4⁴) 'sovereign', *vṛṣā* 'bull', *śvā* 'dog', *sahāsra-śīrṣā* 'thousand-headed'.

'queen', *sōma-rājñī* 'having Soma as king', *hatā-vṛṣṇī* 'whose lord has been slain', *rīru-śīrṇī* 'deer-headed', *saptā-śīrṇī* 'seven-headed', *eka-mūrdhū* (AV.) 'having the head turned in one direction', *sindhu-rājñī* (AV.) 'having Sindhu as queen'.

¹ The restoration of the *a* seems to be metrically required in a few instances: see LANMAN 525.

² The N. sing. n. of the adj. *vṛṣan-* is avoided in several ways: see LANMAN 530 (bottom).

³ With shifted accent.

⁴ On the other hand there are two transitions from the *a*-declension to the *an*-declension in *nī-kāmabhis* beside *nī-kāmais* and *naktā-bhis* for *nāktam*, but these forms are due to somewhat artificial conditions; see below, I. pl. p. 206, notes 3 and 4.

⁵ Only supplementary forms occur: see LANMAN 530 (bottom).

⁶ The metre seems to require *try-udhā* (III, 56³).

⁷ Here *bārha* = *bārhas*.

A. m. *ukṣāṇam*, *tīkṣāṇam* (VS. xxx. 6), *tri-mūrdhānam* 'three-headed', *tri-sīrṣāṇam* 'three-headed', *pānthānam* (VS. AV.) 'path', *pāri-jmānam*, *prthu-gmānam*¹ 'broad-pathed', *plihānam* (AV.), *majjānam*, *mātari-śvānam*, *mūrdhānam*, *yūvānam*, *rājānam*², *vṛṣānam*, *śvānam*, *saptā-sīrṣānam* 'seven-headed'. — With short *a*: *ukṣānam*, *ṛbhu-kṣānam*³ 'chief of the Ṛbhus', *pūṣānam*, *vṛṣānam*⁴.

I. m. 1. *ṛjī-śvanā*, *mātari-śvanā*, *vi-bhuvānā*. — 2. With syncope: *āśnā*⁵, *pūṣnā*, *plīhnā* (VS.), *majjñā* (AV.), *mūrdhnā* (VS. xxv. 2), *rājñā*, *vṛṣnā*. — 3. With Samprasāraṇa: *śīnā*⁶ (AV.). — n. *asnā* (VS. xxv. 9) 'blood', *āhnā* 'day', *āsnā* 'mouth', *udnā* 'water', *dadhnā* 'curds', *mahnā* 'greatness', *yaknā* (VS. xxxix. 8) 'liver', *yūṣnā* (VS. xxv. 9) 'broth', *vi-sīrṣnā* (Kh. I. i 11⁴) 'headless', *śaknā* (VS.) 'excrement', *śīrṣnā* 'head', *sakthnā* (VS.) 'thigh'.

D. m. 1. *ṛjī-śvane*, *pāri-jmane*, *mātari-śvane*, *vi-bhuvāne*, *vṛṣane* (TS. III. 2. 5²)⁷. — 2. *pūṣnē*, *prati-dīvne* 'adversary at play', *mūrdhnē* (VS. xxii. 32), *rājñe*, *vṛṣñe*⁸. — 3. *yāne*. — n. 1. *dhīrv-ane* 'hurting'. — 2. *āhne*, *āsnē*, *śīrṣñē*.

Ab. m. 2. *plīhnds* (AV.), *mūrdhnnds*, *vṛṣnas*⁹. — n. 2. *akṣnds* 'eye', *āhnas*, *āsnas*¹⁰, *udnas*¹¹, *ūdhnas*, *yaknds* 'liver', *vṛṣnas* 'shedding rain', *śīrṣnds*.

G. m. 1. *durgbhī-śvanas* 'continually swelling', *pāri-jmanas*, *mātari-śvanas* (VS. I. 2), *vṛṣanas*¹² (AV.). — 2. *āśnas*¹³, *ukṣnds*, *pūṣnds*, *yūṣnds* (or n.), *rājñas*, *vṛṣnas*. — 3. *yānas*, *śīnas*. — n. *akṣnds* (VS. iv. 32; TS.), *āsnas*¹⁴ (AV.) 'blood', *asthnas* (AV.) 'bone', *āhnas*, *udnas*, *dadhnas*, *vṛṣnas*, *śaknds* (AV.), *śīrṣnds*¹⁵.

L. m. 1. *ṛjī-śvani*, *mātari-śvani*, *mūrdhāni*, *rājani*. — 2. *jmān* 'way', *pāri-jman*, *mātari-śvan* (AV.), *mūrdhān*. — n. 1. *dhani*, *āsani*, *udani*, *ūdhani* 'udder', *kṣāmani* 'earth', *rājani*, *śīrṣani*; *āhni* (AV.). — 2. *āhan*, *āsān*, *udān*, *ūdhan*, *kṣāman*¹⁶, *gāmbhan* (VS. XIII. 30) 'depth', *śīrṣān*¹⁷.

V. m. 1. *uru-jman* (AV.) 'extension', *pari-jman*, *prthu-jman* (AV.), *pūṣan*, *mūrdhan* (VS. xviii. 55), *yuvan*, *rājan*, *vṛṣan*, *śata-mūrdhan* (VS. xvii. 71; TS.) 'hundred-headed', *satya-rājan* (VS. xx. 4) 'true king'. — 2. *mātari-śvas*¹⁸.

Du. N. A. V. m. 1. *pāri-jmānā*, V. *pāri-jmānā* 'ye kings Mitra (and Varuṇa)', *yūvānā*, V. *yuvānā*, *rājānā*, *śvānā*. With short vowel: *indrā-pūṣānā*, *pūṣānā*, *vṛṣānā*, V. *vṛṣānā*, *somā-pūṣānā*. With weak stem: *yūnā* (IX. 68⁵) for *yūvānā* (probably through *yūvānā*). — 2. With *au*: *rājānau*, *vṛṣānau* (AV.), *śvānau*; V. *vṛṣānau*, *somā-pūṣānau*.

N. A. n. *āhanī*, *cāksaṇī* (AV.) 'eyes', *doṣaṇī* (AV.) 'fore-arms'¹⁹.

I. m. *vṛṣabhyām*. — D. m. *somā-pūṣābhyām*. — G. m. *pāri-jmanos*, *indrā-pūṣnds*. — n. *āhnos* (AV.). — L. n. *akṣnds* (Kh. I. i 11⁸).

¹ -*gman*- = -*jman*- 'path'.

² There is also the transfer form *adhī-rājā-m* (X. 128⁹).

³ Perhaps from *kṣā*- = *kṣi*- 'possess'.

⁴ In the RV. *vṛṣānam* occurs 53 times, *vṛṣānam* only twice.

⁵ This form (occurring thrice) may possibly be shortened for *āśmanā* (which occurs twice) from *āśman*- 'stone'.

⁶ For **śīl-an-ā*; hence no shift of accent as in monosyllabic stems.

⁷ Also *usān-e* (VL 20¹¹) according to BENFEY, *Orient and Occident* 2, 242.

⁸ There is also the transition form *brhād-ukṣāya* (VS. VIII. 8).

⁹ BENFEY, *Gött. Abh.* 19, 261, regards *vibhuvānā* (X. 765) as = Ab. *vibhuvānas*.

¹⁰ Also the supplementary forms *āsyāt*, *ās ās*.

¹¹ Also the supplementary form *udakāt*.

¹² For *vṛṣa-nāma* (IX. 97⁵⁴) GRASSMANN would read *vṛṣāno nā*; cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, 68 a, note (p. 160).

¹³ This form (occurring once) may be shortened for *āśmanas* (occurring four times).

¹⁴ With supplementary stem *āsr-j*.

¹⁵ The G. *pūṣānāsyā*, occurring once, seems to be a transfer form starting from the A. *pūṣānam* (326 d).

¹⁶ There are also the transition forms *śīrṣē*, *pūrvāhne*: see LANMAN 536.

¹⁷ The compound *nemam-ṣi*- 'following guidance' probably contains a loc.

¹⁸ Following the analogy of some stems in -*van*.

¹⁹ Also the transition form *śīrṣē*.

Pl. N. V. m. *ukṣāṇas* (VS. XXIV. 13), *tigmā-mūrdhānas* 'sharp-edged', *pānthānas* (AV.), *mūrdhānas*, *yīlvānas*, *rājānas*, *svānas*. — With short vowel: *ukṣānas*, *ṛbhu-kṣānas*, *vṛṣānas*.

N. A. n. i. *akṣāṇi*, *asthāni* (TS. IV. 7. 1²)¹, *āhāni*, *śṛṣāṇi*, *sakthāni*. — 2. *āhā*, *śṛṣā*².

A. m. i. *mātari-svanas*, *ukṣāṇas*, *vṛṣānas*. — 2. *ukṣnās*, *jana-rājñas* 'king of men', *majjñās* (AV.), *mūrdhnās*, *yamā-rājñas* 'subject to Yama', *rājñas*, *vṛṣnas*. — 3. *yānas*, *śīnas*.

I. m. *ukṣābhis*³, *yīlvābhis*, *rājābhis*, *vṛṣābhis*, *śvābhis* (Kh. v. 15⁷)⁴. — n. *akṣābhis*, *asthābhis*, *āhābhis*, *āsābhis*, *udābhis*, *īdhabhis*, *mahābhis*, *vṛṣābhis*, *śākābhis* (TS. v. 7. 23¹), *su-kṛta-karmābhis* (Kh. III. 12³) 'doing good deeds'⁵.

D. m. *tākṣabhyas* (VS.), *majjābhyas* (TS. VS. XXXIX. 10), *yīlvābhyas*, *rājābhyas*, *śvābhyas* (AV. VS.). — n. *asthābhyas* (VS. XXXIX. 10; TS. v. 2. 12²), *āhābhyas*. — Ab. m. *majjābhyas* (AV.). — n. *āhābhyas*.

G. m. *vṛṣnām*, *rājñām* (VS. AV.), *śīnām* (AV.). — n. *āhnām*⁶.

L. m. *majjāsu* (AV.), *yamā-rājasu* (AV.), *rājasu*. — n. *āhasu*, *śṛṣāsu*.

2. Stems in -man.

328. These stems are about equally divided between the masculine and the neuter gender, the former being agent nouns, the latter verbal abstracts. These stems seem to have been used normally for the f. as well as the m.; for though no simple stem in -man occurs as a f., about a dozen of them are used as f. at the end of compounds, while no certain example appears in the RV. of a f. being formed by adding -i to -man⁷. A peculiarity of the inflexion of the stems in -man, as compared with those in -an and -van, is that in the syncopated forms of the I. sing. several words drop the *m*, while two drop the *n* of the suffix; e. g. *mahinā*⁸ for *mahimnā*, and *raśmā* for *raśmnā*.

a. The f. forms which occur at the end of compounds are: Sing. N. *purū-śarmā* (VS. x. 9) 'giving wide shelter' (*āditi*); *sā-lakṣmā* (X. 10²) 'similar'; A. *dyutād-yāmānam* (v. 80¹) 'having a shining course' (*uṣṣam*); *su-tārmānam* (VIII. 42³) 'easily conveying across' (*nāvam*); *su-trāmānam* (x. 63¹⁰) 'protecting well' (*prthivīm*); *su-śārmānam* (x. 63¹⁰) 'granting secure refuge' (*āditi*); V. *āṛiṣa-bharman* (VIII. 18⁴) 'yielding security' (*adite*); *prthu-yāman* (VI. 64⁴) 'having a broad path' (*duhitar*); Du. N. *su-jānmanī*⁹ (I. 160¹) 'producing fair things' (*dhiṣṇe*); Pl. A. *śīta-janmanas* (VI. 39³) 'of radiant birth' (*uṣṣas*); I. *vāja-bharmābhis* (VIII. 19³⁰) 'winning rewards' (*ātibhis*); *su-kārmābhis* (IX. 70⁴) 'skilful' (fingers); G. *śukrā-sadmanām* (VI. 47⁵) 'having a bright dwelling-place' (*uṣṣāne*)¹⁰. From *nāman* 'name' the AV. forms with -i the f. stem -nāmnī- at the end of five compounds: *dur-nāmnī* 'ill-named', *pāṇca-nāmnī* 'having five names', *mahā-nāmnī* 'great-named', *viśvā-nāmnī* 'having all names', *sahasra-nāmnī* 'thousand-named'. The f. *dur-adman-i* (VS. II. 20) 'noxious food' is perhaps similarly formed¹¹.

¹ In the corresponding passage of VS. (xviii. 3) *āsthāni*.

² Both these might be formed from the transition *a*-stems *āha*, *śṛṣā*. This is perhaps the reason why these are the only two plurals of this declension which retain the *ā* in the Pada text; *āha* appears in I. 92³.

³ The form *nī-kāmābhis* 'eager' for *nī-kāmais* is due to the parallelism of *evayāvābhis* in x. 92⁹.

⁴ There is also a transition form *āsnais* 'stones', beside the stem *āsan*.

⁵ The unique form *naktābhis* (as if from a stem *naktān*) is doubtless used for metrical reasons instead of *nāktam* in VII. 104¹⁸.

⁶ There is also the transition form *āhnām*.

⁷ The AV. has five stems thus formed at the end of compounds.

⁸ Cp. BLOOMFIELD, BB. 23, 105 ff., AJPh. 16, 409—434; BARTHOLOMAE IF. 8, Anzeiger 17.

⁹ With the ending of the neuter; see LANMAN 433 (top).

¹⁰ Possibly also *su-yāmā* (II. 32⁷) 'bearing well'; but it is derived from **sū-ma* according to BR. and GRASSMANN.

¹¹ The f. *brāhmī* (IX. 335) formed from *brāhman*- is quite exceptional, being due to a play on words (see LANMAN 528). The form *tmānyā* = *tmānā* in sense, occurring twice in the RV., may be an I. sing. f. of *tmān-i*: cp. GRASSMANN and BR.

b. In the strong forms *aryamān-* 'Aryaman', *īmān-* 'self', and *jēman-* 'victorious' retain the short vowel of the suffix. In the weak forms, even when the suffix is preceded by a vowel, about a dozen forms do not syncopate the *a*: I. *omānā*, *pravād-yāmanā*, *bhūmānā*, *bhūmanā*, *syūmanā*, *hemānī*; D. *trāmaṇe*, *dāmane*; Ab. G. *bhūmanas*; G. *mahimānas*, *dāmanas*, *yāmanas*, *vyōmanas*. The forms which, besides syncopating, drop the *m* or the *n* of the suffix are: *prathinā*, *preṇā*, *bhūnā*, *mahinā*, *varinā*; *drāghmā*, *raśmā*.

c. Beside the *-man* stems there are several transfer stems in *-ma*, which are, however, of rare or late occurrence: *darmā-* 'destroyer' beside *darmān-*; *dhārma-* (AV. etc.) 'law' beside *dhārman-*; *ēma-* (VS.) 'course' beside *ēman-*; *hōma-* (VS. AV.) 'offering' beside *hōman-* (RV.); *ājma-* 'course' beside *ājman-*; *yāma-* 'course' beside *yāman-*; *priyā-dhāma-* (I. 140¹) 'fond of home' beside *priyā-dhāman-* (AV.); and occasional forms of *-karma-* at the end of compounds beside the regular *-karmān-*: *vīrā-karma-m* (x. 61⁵) 'doing manly deeds'; *viśvā-karmēṇa* (x. 164⁴) 'all-creating' beside *viśvā-karmāṇa*, etc.

Inflexion.

329. The normal forms actually occurring would, if made from *ásman-* 'stone' in the *m*. and from *kárman-* 'act' in the *n*., be as follows:

Sing. *m*. N. *ásma*. A. *ásmanam*². I. *ásmanā*³. D. *ásmane*⁴. Ab. *ásmanas*⁵. G. *ásmanas*⁵. L. *ásmani* and *ásman*. V. *ásman*. — Du. N. A. V. *ásmanā*⁶. L. *ásmanos*. — Pl. N. V. *ásmanas*. A. *ásmanas*. I. *ásmaḥhis*. D. *ásmaḥhyas*. G. *ásmanām*. L. *ásmasu* (AV.).

Sing. *n*. N. A. *kárma*⁷. I. *kármaṇā*⁸. D. *kármaṇe*⁸. Ab. *kármaṇas*⁸. G. *kármaṇas*⁸. L. *kármaṇi* and *kárman*. — Du. N. A. *kármaṇi*. G. *kármaṇos*. — Pl. N. A. *kármaṇi*, *kárma*, *kárma*. I. *kármaḥhis*. D. *kármaḥhyas*. Ab. *kármaḥhyas*. G. *kármaṇām*⁸. L. *kármasu*.

Forms which actually occur are the following:

Sing. N. *m*. *a-karmā* 'wicked', *á-brahmā* 'lacking devotion', *aryamā* 'Aryaman', *ásma* 'stone', *a-sremā* 'faultless', *ātmā* 'breath', *āsu-hémā* 'speeding swiftly', *iṣṭā-yāmā* 'going according to desire', *usrā-yāmā* 'moving towards brightness', *rtā-dhāmā* (VS. iv. 32) 'abiding in truth', *ṛtā-brahmā* 'having performed devotion', *jarimā* 'old age', *jātū-bharmā* 'ever nourishing', *jemā* (VS. xviii. 4) 'superiority', *trpāla-prabharmā* 'offering what is refreshing', *darmā* 'demolisher', *dāma* 'giver', *dur-nāmā* 'ill-named', *dur-mānmā* 'evil-minded', *dyutād-yāmā* 'having a shining path', *drāghimā* (VS. xviii. 4) 'length', *dvi-jānmā* 'having a double birth', *dharmā* 'arranger', *dhvasmā* 'darkening', *pāka-sihāmā* N. of a man, *pāpmā* (VS. vi. 35) 'misfortune', *prthū-pragāmā* 'wide-striding', *prathimā* (VS. xviii. 4) 'width', *brahmā* 'devout man', *bhujmā*⁹ 'abounding in valleys', *bhūmā* (TS. vii. 3. 13¹) 'plenty', *bhūri-jānmā* 'having many births', *mahimā* 'greatness', *yajñā-manmā* 'ready for sacrifice', *raghu-yāmā* 'going quickly', *reṣmā* (AV.) 'tempest', *vaḍmā* 'speaker', *varimā* 'width', *varṣimā* (VS. xviii. 4) 'height', *viśvā-karmā* 'all-creator', *viśvā-sāmā* (VS. xviii. 39) 'having the form of all Sāmans', *vīṣa-prabharmā* 'to whom the strong (Soma) is offered', *satātīmā* 'possessing a hundred lives', *satyā-dharmā* 'whose laws are true', *satyā-manmā* 'whose thoughts are true', *saptā-nāmā* 'seven-named', *sakāśra-yāmā* 'having a thousand courses', *sādhi-karmā* 'acting well', *su-karmā* 'working skilfully', *su-jānimā* 'producing fair things', *su-trāmā* 'guarding well', *su-dyōtmā* 'shining bright', *su-brāhmā* 'accompanied by good prayers', *su-māntu-nāmā* 'bearing a well-known name', *su-mānmā* 'benevolent', *su-vāhmā*

¹ The vowel has also to be restored in several other forms (see LANMAN 524 f.).

² With short vowel *aryamāṇam*, *īmāṇam*.

³ Without syncope after vowel *bhūmanā*, etc.; with syncope *mahimnā*, *mahinā*, *drāghmā*, etc.

⁴ Also with syncope, *mahimnē*, etc.

⁵ Also with syncope, *mahimnās*, etc.

⁶ Also with short vowel *aryamāṇā*, *jēmanā*.

⁷ Sometimes *kārmā* in the Samhitā text.

⁸ Also with syncope, *nāmā*, etc.

⁹ *Bhūjma* (I. 65³) should probably be read *bhujmā*; see BR., GRASSMANN, LANMAN 530 (top).

'driving well', *su-sármā* (VS. VIII. 8) 'good protector', *su-sphāmā* 'having a firm support', *svādu-kṣādmā* 'having sweet food'¹.

N. A. n. *ājma* 'track', *ādma* 'food', *ēma* 'course', *kārma* 'deed', *kārṣma* 'goal', *kṣādma* 'carving knife', *cārma* 'skin', *jānima* 'birth', *jānma* 'birth', *tīkma* 'young blade of corn', *dāma* 'cord', *dhārma* 'ordinance', *dhāma* 'abode', *nāma* 'name', *pātma* 'flight', *brāhma* 'prayer', *bhāsmā* (TS. VS. XII. 35) 'ashes', *bhīma* 'earth', *mānma* 'thought', *mārma* 'vital part', *yāma* 'course', *lōma* (TS. VS. XIX. 92) 'hair', *vārtma* 'path' (Kh. v. 2¹), *vārma* 'mail', *vāsma* 'garment', *vēma* (VS. XIX. 83) 'loom', *vēsma* 'house', *vyōma* 'sky', *śākma* 'power', *śārma* 'refuge', *sādma* 'seat', *sāma* 'chant', *sāma* 'wealth', *sthāma* 'station', *syūma* 'strong', *svādma* 'sweetness', *hōma* 'oblation'. — With final vowel lengthened in the Saphitā text: *kārmā*, *jāntmā*, *dhāmā* (AV.), *bhīmā*, *vyōmā*, *su-śtārīmā*² (TS. v. i. 11²) 'forming an excellent couch', *svādmā*³.

A. m. *āsmānam*, *a-sremānam*, *ātmanam*, *ūsmānam* (AV.) 'heat', *ojmānam* 'power', *omānam* 'favour', *klōmānam* (VS. XIX. 85) 'right lung', *jarimānam*, *tuvi-brahmānam* 'praying much', *darmānam*, *dāmānam* 'gift', *dur-mānmānam*, *dyutād-yāmānam*, *dvi-jānmānam*, *dharmānam*, *pāka-sthāmānam*, *pāpmānam* (VS. XII. 99; TS. I. 4. 41¹), *puru-tmānam* 'existing variously', *puru-nāmānam* (AV.) 'having many names', *brahmānam*, *bhūmānam*, *mahimānam*, *reṣmānam* (VS. XXV. 2), *varimānam*, *varṣmānam* 'height', *viśvā-karmānam*, *vi-sarmānam* 'dispersion', *satātmanam*, *satyā-dharmānam*, *sadmānam* 'sitter', *sahā-sāmānam* 'accompanied by songs', *su-tārmānam* (TS. I. 2. 2²) 'crossing well', *su-dyōtmānam*, *su-brāhmānam*, *su-sārmānam*, *sonānam* 'preparer of Soma', *stāmānam* (AV. v. 13³) 'track' (?), *svādmānam* 'sweetness', *harimānam* 'jaundice'. — With short a: *aryamānam*, *tmānam* 'breath'.

I. m. *āsmānā*, *ātmanā* (VS. XXXII. 11), *ūsmānā* (VS. XXV. 9), *tmānā*, *pāpmānā* (VS. XIX. 11), *bhāsmānā* 'chewing', *majmānā* 'greatness', *varṣmānā*, *viśvā-karmānā*. — 1. *omānā*, *pravād-yāmanā* 'having a precipitous course', *bhūmānā* 'abundance', *satā-yāmanā* (AV. SV.) 'having a hundred paths'. — 2. *aryamñā* (AV.), *pāmnā* (AV.) 'scab', *bhūmnā* (VS. III. 5), *mahimñā*, *varimñā*⁴ (VS. AV.), *satā-yāmnā*. — 3. *prathinā*⁵, *preñā*⁶ 'love', *bhūnā*⁷, *mahinā*⁸, *varinā* (TS.)⁹; *drāghmā*, *raśmā*¹⁰. — n. *kārmanā*, *jānmanā*, *dhārmanā* 'ordinance', *pātmanā*, *brāhmanā*, *bhāsmānā* (VS. VI. 21) 'ashes', *mānmanā*, *vārmanā*, *vidmānā* 'wisdom', *vi-dharmānā* 'extension', *śākmanā*, *śārmanā*, *śākmanā* 'might', *svā-janmanā* 'self-begotten', *hānmanā* 'stroke'. — 1. *bhūmanā* 'earth', *syūmanā*, *hemānā* 'zeal'. — 2. *dāmñā* (AV.) 'tie', *dhāmñā*, *nāmñā*, *lōmñā* (AV.) 'hair', *sāmñā*, *sutrāmñā* (VS. XX. 35) 'protecting well'.

D. m. i. *ātmāne* (VS. VII. 28), *takmāne* (AV.) a kind of disease, *tmāne*, *pāpmāne* (AV. VS.), *brahmāne*, *bhūri-karmāne* 'doing much', *viśvā-karmāne* (TS. VS. VIII. 45). — 2. *aryamñe*, *jarimñe*, *bhūmnē* (VS. XXX. 13) 'plenty', *mahimñe*; *ān-usra-yāmne* 'not going out during daylight', *usrā-yāmne*, *su-trāmne* (VS. X. 31), *su-sāmne* N. of a man ('having beautiful songs'), *suhādvītu-nāmne* 'whose name is to be invoked successfully'. — n. *kār-*

¹ *su-dhārma* (VS. XXXVIII. 14) 'well supporting' seems to be meant for a V. (wrong accent), but perhaps *su-dhārmā* should be read.

² *su-śtārīma* in the Paṇḍita text.

³ See LANMAN 531¹.

⁴ Once also the transfer form *varimātā*, according to the declension in *-mant*.

⁵ For *prathimñā* from *prathimān-*.

⁶ For *preñā* from *preman-*.

⁷ For *bhūmnā* beside *bhūmānā*.

⁸ *mahinā* occurs 35 times, *mahimñā* only 3 times.

⁹ Beside *varimñā* (AV.). The TS. twice has *varinā*, which in the corresponding passages of the VS. is replaced by *varimñā*; cp. LANMAN 533.

¹⁰ In these two forms the *m* being preceded by a consonant remains, the *n* being dropped: = *drāghmñā* 'breadth', and *raśmñā* 'rein'. Probably also *dānā* for *dāmñā* 'gift', and possibly *dānā* = *dāmanā*.

maṇe, jānmaṇe, dhārmaṇe, brāhmaṇe, bhārmaṇe 'support', *vidmāne, vī-dharmaṇe, śārmaṇe* — 1. *trāmaṇe* 'protection', *dīmaṇe*. — 2. *dhīmne, sāmne* 'acquisition'.

Ab. m. *āsmanas, ātmānas, āśmānas* (VS. VI. 18), *satyī-dharmaṇas* (AV.). — 2. *kloṃnās* (AV.), *jarimnās* (AV.), *varimnās* (AV.). — n. *cīrmaṇas, jānmanas, dhārmaṇas, mānmanas, vāsmanas* 'nest', *sādmanas*. — 1. *bhīmaṇas*. — 2. *dāmnaś, dhāmnaś* (VS. VI. 22)¹, *Umnaś*.

G. m. *a-mārmaṇas* 'having no vital spot', *brahmānas, vī-patmanas* 'speeding away', *vīpra-manmanas* 'having an inspired mind', *śūci-janmanas* 'of radiant birth', *su-śārmaṇas, viśvā-karmaṇas* (VS. XXXI. 17). — 1. *mahimānas*. — 2. *aryamnās, jarimnās* (AV.), *mahimnās, sthīrā-dhīmnaś* (AV.) 'belonging to a strong race'. — n. *kārmaṇas, jānmanas, dhārmaṇas, brāhmaṇas, mānmanas, vārmaṇas*. — 1. *dāmnaś, bhīmaṇas, yāmnaś, vyōmaṇas*. — 2. *dhāmnaś, sāmnaś*.

L. m. 1. *āsmani, ātmāni, tmāni, brahmāni, mahmāni* (AV.) 'greatness', *su-śāmaṇi*. — 2. *āsman, tmān, ātmān* (VS. AV.). — n. 1. *ājmani* (AV.), *kārmaṇi, cārmaṇi* (AV.), *jānmani, dīmani, dīrghā-prasadmani* 'affording an extensive abode', *dhārmaṇi* 'established usage', *dhārmaṇi, dhāmnaṇi, pārmaṇi* 'abundance', *prā-bharmaṇi* 'presenting', *prā-yīmaṇi* 'setting out', *brāhmaṇi, mānmani, mārmaṇi, yāmnaṇi, lākṣmaṇi* (TS. VII. 4. 19²) 'mark', *vākmaṇi* 'invocation', *vī-dharmaṇi, vēśmaṇi* (AV.), *vyōmaṇi, śārmaṇi, sārmaṇi* 'current of air', *sāvīmaṇi* 'impulsion', *su-śīmāni, stārmaṇi* 'strewing', *hīvīmaṇi* 'invocation', *hīmaṇi* 'offering' and 'invocation'. — With syncope: *lōmni* (AV.), *vi-jāmni* (AV.) 'knuckle' (?), *sthāmni* (AV.). — 2. *ājman, ā-yīman* 'no expedition', *ēman* (VS. TS.), *ōdman* (TS. VS.) 'flooding', *kārman, kārśman, cārman, jāniman, jānman, dārīman* 'destruction', *dhārman, dhāmnaṇ, pātman, brāhmaṇ, bhāsman* (VS. TS.) 'consuming', *bhārman* 'table', *mānman, mārman, yāmnaṇ, vārman, vārīman* 'width', *vārśman, vi-jāman* 'related to each other', *vī-dharman, vyōman, śārman, śāsman* 'song of praise', *sūkman* 'attendance', *sādman, sīman, svādman, hīvīman*.

V. m. *aryaman, āsman* (TS. IV. 6. 1¹), *āśu-heman* (TS. I. 7. 7²), *takman* (AV.), *tri-nāman* (TS. AV.) 'three-named', *pīpman* (AV.), *puru-nāman, puru-hanman* N. of a seer, *brahman, vī-dharman, viśva-karman, viśva-sīman* N. of a seer, *vṛṣa-karman* 'doing manly deeds', *satya-karman* 'whose actions are true', *sahasra-dhīman* (AV.) 'having thousandfold splendour', *su-dīman* 'giving good gifts', *su-yāman* (AV.), *sva-dharman* 'abiding in one's own customs'.

Du. N. A. V. m. *brahmānā, satya-dharmānā, sa-nīmānā* 'of the same kind', *su-sārmānā, aryamānā, jēmanā* 'victorious', *sāmātmanī* (Kh. III. 22⁵; cp. TB. II. 8. 9¹) 'endowed with chants', *su-kārmaṇā* (VS. XX. 75).

N. A. n. *śārmanī, jānmanī, sādmanī*. — 1. *dhāmānī, sāmānī* (VS. X. 14). — 2. *nāmī* (AV.). — G. n. *sādmanas*. — L. m. *āsmanas*.

Pl. N. V. *a-dāmānas* 'unbound' and 'not giving gifts', *a-dhvasmānas* 'undarkened', *ānu-vartmānas* (VS. XVII. 86) 'followers', *ā-brahmānas, a-raśmānas* 'having no reins', *śha-brahmānas* 'conveying sacred knowledge', *jarimānas, brahmānas* (VS. XXVII. 2), *bhrājaj-janmānas* 'having a brilliant birthplace', *mahimānas, śūci-janmānas, satya-dharmānas, śā-lakṣmānas* (TS. I. 3. 10¹) 'having the same marks', *su-kārmānas, su-jānimānas, su-rāmānas* (VS. XXI. 42) 'very delightful', *su-sārmānas, sthā-raśmānas* 'having firm reins', *svādāmānas*. — With short a: *aryamānas, mahīmānas* (Kh. III. 12²) 'high-minded'.

N. A. n. 1. *ṛk-sīmāni* (VS. XVIII. 43), *kārmāni, cārmāni, jānimāni, jānmāni, dāmāni* (AV.), *dhārmāni, dhīmāni, nāmāni, pākṣmāni* (VS. XIX. 89) 'eyelashes', *brāhmāni, mānmāni, mārmaṇi, rīmāni* 'hair', *līmāni* (AV.), *vārtmāni, vārmāni* (AV.), *śārmāni, sādmanī, sāmāni*. — 2. *kārma², jānima, jānma, dhārma,*

¹ BR. and EGGEING suggest that this is a corruption for *dāmnaś* 'bond'.

² This and the following forms have

short final *a* in the Pada as well as the Samhitā text.

*dhāma, nāma, brāhma, bhūma, mānma, rōma*¹, *śarma, sādma*. — 3. *jānimā*², *dhārmā, nāmā, brāhmā, bhūmā, rōmā, sādmā*³.

A. m. *āsmanas, takmānas* (AV.), *brahmānas*. — 2. *dur-ṇāmnas* (AV.).

I. m. *ā-khidra-yāmabhis* 'unwearied in course', *a-dhvasmābhis, āsmābhis, āsma-hanmābhis* 'strokes of the thunderbolt', *āsu-hēmabhis, ōmabhis, klāmabhis* (VS. xxv. 8), *brahmābhis, mayūra-romābhis* 'peacock-haired', *vīṣu-pātāmabhis* 'flying strongly', *su-kārmābhis, su-mānmābhis, su-śārmābhis*. — n. *ājāmābhis, ēmābhis, kārmābhis, tōkmābhis* (VS. xix. 81), *trāmābhis, dhārmābhis, dhāmābhis, nāmābhis, pātāmābhis, brāhmābhis, bhārīmābhis* 'nourishment', *mānmābhis, yāmābhis, vārtāmābhis, vāja-karmābhis*⁴ (SV. TS. iii. 2. 11') 'active in war', *vāja-bharmābhis* (VIII. 19⁵) 'bringing reward', *vi-gāmābhis* 'strides', *sākmābhis, sāmābhis, hāvīmābhis*.

D. m. *brahmābhyas*. — n. *dhāmābhyas*. — Ab. n. *āmābhyas*.

G. m. *brahmānām*. — 2. *dur-ṇāmnām* (AV.). — n. *dhārmanām, brāhmanām, mānmanām, mārmanām* (Kh. i. 55). — 2. *āhi-nāmnām*⁵ 'animals named snake', *sāmnām* (AV.).

L. m. *āsmasu* (AV.). — n. *kārmasu, jānmasu, dhāmasu, vārmasu, sādmasu*.

3. Stems in *-van*.

330. The *-van* stems are by far the most numerous of the three groups. They are chiefly verbal adjectives and are almost exclusively declined in the masculine. Hardly a dozen of them make neuter forms, and only five or six forms are used as feminines.

a. The few feminine forms are cases of adjectives agreeing with f. substantives. They are: sing. N. *sa-yigvā* (x. 130⁴) 'companion' (*gāyatrī*), *an-arvā* (ii. 40⁵) 'irresistible' (*ādītis*); A. *an-arvānam* (x. 92⁴) 'irresistible' (*ādītīm*); du. N. *saṃ-sthāvānā* (VIII. 374) 'standing together' (*rōdāṣi*); pl. I. *indhana-vābhis*⁶ (ii. 34⁵) 'flaming' (*dhenūbhis*); G. *sahasra-dāvnām* (i. 175) 'giving a thousand gifts' (*sumatīnām*). The f. of these stems is otherwise formed with *-i*, which is however never added to *-van*, but regularly to a collateral suffix *-vara*⁷. Twenty-five such stems in *-varī* are found in the RV. and several additional ones in the later Samhitās. It is perhaps most convenient to enumerate them here: *agrīvarī*⁸ (AV.) 'going in front', *abhi-kṛtvarī* 'bewitching' (AV.), *abhi-bhūvarī* 'superior', *abhūvarī*⁹ (TS. VS.) 'attacking', *uttāna-śvarī* (AV.) 'lying extended', *ṛtāvarī* 'regular', *eva-yāvvarī* 'going quickly', *kṛtvarī* (AV.) 'bewitcher', *talpa-śvarī* 'lying on a couch', *niṣ-śidhvarī* 'bestowing', *pīvarī* 'fat', *pūva-jāvvarī* 'born before', *pra-śvarī* 'furnished with flowers', *bahu-śvarī* 'bearing many children', *bhūri-dāvvarī* 'munificent', *mātari-bhvarī*¹⁰ 'being with her mother', *mātari-śvarī*¹¹ (AV.) 'mother-growing', *yijvarī* 'worshipping', *vākvarī* 'rolling', *vahya-śvarī* (AV.) 'reclining on a couch', *vi-bhāvvarī* 'brilliant', *vi-mṛgvarī* (AV.) 'cleansing', *sākvvarī* ('powerful') a kind of metre, *śarvarī*¹² ('star-spangled') night, *śruṣṭivārī* 'obedient', *sveta-yāvvarī* 'white-flowing', *saṃ-śvarī*¹³ 'having a calf in common', *sa-jitvarī* 'victorious', *sa-yāvvarī* 'accompanying', *sumnāvārī* 'gracious', *sūnṛtāvvarī*¹⁴ 'glorious', *śtvarī* 'streaming', *svadhāvvarī* 'constant'.

¹ Perhaps singular.

² The Pada text has always *ā* in this and the following forms.

³ This lengthening is found in neither *-van* stems nor *-an* stems, except *āhā* and *śrīṣā*, which may be formed from transfer stems and in which the Pada as well as the Samhitā text has the long vowel.

⁴ *vāja-karmābhis* is a v.l. of *vāja-bharmābhis*, and both adjectives as agreeing with *ūtībhis* have the value of feminines.

⁵ The G. *chando-nāmānām* (VS. IV. 24) 'named metre' seems to be a transfer to the *a*-declension.

⁶ Formed from *indhana* 'fuel', with loss of the final vowel.

⁷ The f. *atharvā*, formed from *ātharvan* 'fire-priest', is quite exceptional.

⁸ That is, *agra-i-t-varī*.

⁹ That is, *abhi-i-t-varī*.

¹⁰ From what only seems to be a *-van* stem which is really = *bhū-an*.

¹¹ This seems to be a corruption in AV. v. 29 of *mātari-bhvarī* in the corresponding passage of the RV.

¹² The f. of *śarvara* 'variegated' occurring in *api-śarvā* n. 'early morning'; a stem *śār-van* does not occur.

¹³ The f. of what only seems to be a stem in *-van* but is really = *śiṣu-an*.

¹⁴ Also *sūnṛtāvati*.

b. In the strong cases there is one instance in which the *a* remains short: *an-arvānam*¹ (X. 92¹⁴), and two others in which the weakest stem is used: A. sing. *maghānam* (VS. XXVIII. 9) instead of *maghāvānam*, N. pl. *maghānas* (VI. 44¹²) instead of *maghāvānas*². In the weak cases when the suffix is preceded by a vowel, the *a* is always syncopated in the Samhitā text except in the forms *dāvāne*, *vasuvāne* (VS.), and *rāvāni*, but it may have to be restored in one or two instances³.

c. The three words *ṛk-van* 'singing', *maghā-van* 'bountiful', *sahā-van* 'powerful' make a few forms from supplementary stems in *-vant*: I. sing. *ṛkvatā*; pl. I. *maghā-vadbhis*, D. *maghāvadbhyas*, L. *maghāvatsus*; N. sing. *sahāvān* and *sahāvān*. Beside *dadhi-krāvān*, N. of a mythical horse, also occurs the stem *dadhi-krā-*.

d. Eight or nine words in *-van* show transitions to the *a*-declension by extending the stem with *-a* or, more commonly, by dropping the *n*. Thus *satvānā-m* and *satvānās* occur beside the numerous regular forms from *satvan* 'brave'. The N. sing. m. *anarvān-a-s* (V. 51¹³, VIII. 31¹²) may have started from the A. *anarvān-am* (X. 92¹⁴), while the n. *anarvā-m* (I. 164³) may have been due to the f. (*ādītir*) *anarvā* which appears like the f. of the *a*-declension. Other transitional forms are *ṛkvā-s* beside *ṛkvan*; *ṛkva-m* 'dexterous' beside *ṛkhvan*; *tākvā-s* 'swift' beside *tākvan*; *vākvā-s*, N. pl., 'rolling' beside *vākvan*; *vibhāva-m* 'brilliant' beside *vibhāvan*; *sikvā-s* (AV.) 'skilful' beside *sikvan*.

Inflexion.

331. The normal forms occurring, if made from *grāvān* 'pressing stone' in the m. and from *dhānvān* 'bow' in the n., would be:

Sing. m. N. *grāvā*. A. *grāvānam*. I. *grāvānā*. D. *grāvāne*. Ab. *grāvānas*. G. *grāvānas*. L. *grāvāni* and *grāvān*. V. *grāvān*. — Du. N. A. V. *grāvānā* and *grāvānau*. I. *grāvābhyām* (AV.). G. *grāvānos*. — Pl. N. V. *grāvānas*. A. *grāvānas*. I. *grāvābhis*. D. *grāvābhyas*. G. *grāvānām*. L. *grāvāsu*.

Sing. n. N. A. *dhānvā* and *dhānvā*. I. *dhānvānā*. D. *dhānvāne*. Ab. G. *dhānvānas*. L. *dhānvāni* and *dhānvān*. — Pl. N. A. *dhānvāni*, *dhānvā*, *dhānvā* (AV.). I. *dhānvābhis*. D. *dhānvābhyas* (VS.). Ab. *dhānvābhyas* (AV.). G. *dhānvānām* (AV.). L. *dhānvāsu*.

Forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. m. *agra-yāvā* 'going in front', *ātharvā* 'fire-priest', *adma-sādvā* 'companion at a meal', *ādhvā* 'road', *an-arvā*⁴ 'irresistible', *abhi-yūgvā* (VS. XVII. 86) 'attacking', *abhisasti-pāvā* 'protecting from curses', *abhi-satvā* 'surrounded by heroes', *abhyardha-yāvā* 'receiving sacrifices apart', *amatvā* 'suffering want', *arātīvā* 'hostile', *ā-rāvā* 'not giving', 'hostile', *ārvā* 'steed', *āvatata-dhanvā* (VS. III. 61) 'whose bow is unbent', *āsu-pātīvā* 'flying swiftly', *ugrā-dhanvā* 'having a mighty bow', *ṛkvā* 'praising', *ṛghārvā* 'impetuous', *ṛṇa-yāvā* 'pursuing guilt', *ṛṇāvā* 'guilty', *rāvā* 'pious', *ṛbhvā* 'dexterous', *ṛṣṇā-dhvā* 'having a black track' (*adhvā*), *kratu-prāvā* 'granting power', *ksiprā-dhanvā* 'having an elastic bow', *grāvā* 'pressing stone', *tākvā* 'bird of prey', *dadhi-krāvā* N. of a divine horse, *deva-yāvā* 'going to the gods', *dru-sādvā* 'sitting on the wood', *nṛ-sādvā* 'sitting among men', *pātharvā* N. of a man, *pātīvā* 'flying', *puru-kṛtvā* 'doing much', *pūrva-gātīvā* 'leader', *pūrva-yāvā* 'leader', *pra-tākvā* (VS. v. 32) 'steep', *pra-rīkvā* 'extending beyond', *prāṇa-dāvā*⁵ (AV.) 'breath-giving', *prātar-īkvā* 'coming in the morning', *bādha-sṛtvā* 'striding mightily', *brhād-grāvā* (VS. I. 15) 'like a great stone', *bhūri-dāvā* 'giving much', *maghāvā*⁶ 'bountiful', *mādvā* 'exhilarating', *mṛakṣa-kṛtvā* 'rubbing to pieces', *yāvā* 'sacrificer', *yāvā* 'aggressor', *yuktā-grāvā* 'having yoked the pressing stones', *yūdhvā* 'warlike', *raghu-pātīvā* 'flying swiftly', *rārāvā* 'giving abundantly', *rāvā* (VS. VI. 30) 'giving', *vākvā* 'rolling', *vasu-dāvā* 'giving goods',

¹ This seems to be a metrical shortening; according to GRASSMANN it is an A. of a transfer stem *an-arvāna*.

² The form *kṛtvānas* in AV. XIX. 35⁵ as N. pl. m. is a conjecture; cp. p. 213, note 2.

³ See LANMAN 524 (bottom).

⁴ *an-arvān-a-s* is a transition to the *a*-declension.

⁵ Emendation for *prāṇa-dāvān* in AV. IV. 35⁵.

⁶ Also once *maghā-vān*, transition form from a stem in *-vant*.

vāja-dāvā 'granting wealth', *vi-jāvā* 'bodily', 'own', *vi-bhāvā* 'brilliant', *vi-bhītvā* 'bearing hither and thither', *vīṣa-parvā* 'strong-jointed', *vyomā* (VS. IV. 23) 'heaven'¹, *śubham-yāvā* 'flying swiftly', *śubhāvā* 'bright', *śyenā-patvā* 'borne by eagles', *śrutārvā* N. of a man, *śruṣṭvā* 'obedient', *satā-satvā* 'truly brave', *satyā-madvā* 'really exhilarated', *sātvā* 'brave', *samādvā* 'eager for battle', *sahāvā*² 'mighty', *sūtā* 'Soma-pressing', *su-dhānvā* 'wielding a good bow', *sṛtvā* 'speeding', *soma-pāvā* 'drinking Soma', *soma-sṛtvā* 'pressing Soma', *stibhāvā* 'praising', *hitvā* 'speedy'.

N. A. n. *dhānvā*³ 'bow' and 'desert', *pārva* (AV.) 'joint', *vi-vāsva* 'bright flame', *snāva* (AV.) 'sinew'.

A. m. *ādhvānam*, *an-arvānam*, *ā-yajvānam* 'not sacrificing', *ārvānam*, *ṛjīsvānam* N. of a man, *ṛjāvānam*, *ṛtāvānam*, *grāvānam*, *dadhi-krāvānam*, *dhitā-vānam* 'bountiful', *pīvānam* 'fat', *puru-niṣṣidhvānam* 'bestowing many gifts', *puro-yāvānam* 'going in front', *prātar-yāvānam* 'coming in the morning', *maghdvānam*, *muṣṭvānam* 'thief', *śatā-yāvānam* (Kh. I. 3²) 'having a hundred ways', *śruṣṭvānam*, *sa-jitvānam* 'victorious', *sātvānam*, *sa-yāvānam* 'accompanying', *sahāvānam*, *sṛkvānam* 'corner of the mouth', *hārdvānam* (VS. XXXVIII. 12) 'strengthening hearts'.

I. m. i. *ātharvanā*, *abhi-yūgvānā*, *cikītvānā* 'wise', *śatā-parvanā* 'having a hundred joints', *śikvanā* (TS. II. 5. 12²) 'skilful'. — 2. *grāvānā*. — n. i. *dhānvānā*, *pārvanā*. — 2. *snāvnā* (AV.).

D. m. i. *ādhvane*, *ā-pāścād-daghvane* 'not staying behind', *kṛtvane* 'active', *jāsvane* 'needy', *drūhvane* 'hostile', *prsthā-yājvane* 'sacrificing on the ridge', *mādvane*, *yājvane*, *vasuvāne* (VS. XXI. 48) 'winning of wealth', *śākvane* (VS. v. 5) 'skilful', *śatā-dhanvane* (VS. xvi. 29) 'having a hundred bows', *śrutārvane*, *sātvane*, *su-kṛtvane* 'pious', *su-dhānvane* (VS. xvi. 36), *sthirā-dhanvane* 'having a strong bow'. — 2. *ā-rāvne*, *ṛtāvne*, *oṣiṣṭhā-dāvne* (TS. I. 6. 12³) 'giving immediately', *vīṣa-prayāvne* 'going with stallions', *suta-pāvne* 'Soma-drinker', *su-dāvne* 'giving abundantly', *soma-pāvne*, *sva-dhāvne* 'independent'. — n. i. *turvāne* 'victory', *dāvne* 'giving', *dhānvane* (VS. xvi. 14).

Ab. m. i. *ādhvānas* (VS. xxvi. 1; TS.), *pāka-sūtvanas* 'offering Soma with sincerity'. — 2. *ā-rāvnas*, *puru-rāvnas* (VS. III. 48) 'loud-roaring'. — n. i. *dhānvānas* (AV.), *pārvanas*.

G. m. i. *ātharvanas*, *ādhvānas*, *ā-yajvanas*, *ā-śrīta-yajvanas* 'sacrificing indefatigably', *yājvanas*, *vy-ādhvānas* 'striding through'. — 2. *ā-rāvnas*, *dadhi-krāvnas*, *bhūri-dāvnas*, *yuktā-grāvnas*, *suta-pāvnas*, *soma-pāvnas*; *maghānas*⁴. — n. i. *dhānvānas* 'bow'.

L. m. i. *ātharvani*, *ādhvani*, *ṛtāvani*, *śrutārvani*, *su-kṛtvani*. — 2. *śatā-dāvni*⁵. — 3. Without ending: *ādhvan*. — n. i. *tūgvani* 'ford', *pārvani*. — 3. *an-arvān*, *a-parvān*, *dhānvān*, *pārvañ* (AV.).

V. m. i. *atharvan* (AV.), *āsva-dāvan* 'giving horses', *dāvan* (AA. v. 2. 2¹³), *maghavan*, *vasu-dāvan*, *viśvato-dāvan* (SV. I. 5. 2. 1¹) 'giving everywhere', *viśva-dāvan* (AV.) 'giving everything', *satya-satvan* 'truly strong', *satrā-dāvan* 'giving everything', *sahasāvan* 'strong', *suta-pāvan*, *soma-pāvan*, *sva-dāvan* 'having good taste', *sva-dhāvan*, *sva-yāvan* 'going one's own way'. — 2. With *-vas*: *ṛtāvas*, *eva-yāvas* 'going quickly', *prātar-itvas*, *vibhāvas*⁶.

¹ As a masculine.

² Also *sahāvān* and *sāhāvān* from a stem in *-vant*.

³ Once with final vowel lengthened in the Samhitā text, *dhānvā*.

⁴ Sometimes to be read as *maghā-vanas*; see LANMAN 534.

⁵ The only example of syncope in the L. of this declension in the RV. (v. 27²), where

however the *a* must be metrically restored; there are no examples in the *-an* or *-man* stems, but the AV. has one in the former and three in the latter.

⁶ *khid-vas* (VI. 224) is perhaps best taken as V. of a stem *khid-vāns*; BR. and LANMAN explain it as from *khid-van-*. The V. *mātariśvas* is formed as if from *mātariś-van-* instead of *mātariś-van-*; cp. p. 210, notes 10 and 13.

Du. N. A. V. m. *agrādvānā* 'eating (*advan-*) first', *a-druhvānā* 'not hostile', *ṛādvānā*, *grādvānā*, *prātar-yādvānā*, *maghādvānā*, *rathā-yādvānā* 'driving in a car', *śubhra-yādvānā* 'driving stately', *śruṣṭivānā*, *sa-jitvānā*. — With *-au*: *ṛādvānau*, *grādvānau* (AV.). — I. m. *grāvabhyām* (AV.). — G. m. *maghānos*.

Pl. N. V. m. *akṣya-yāvānas* 'going across', *ātharvānas*, *an-arvānas*, *ā-yajvānas*, *upa-hāsvānas* 'mocking', *ūrdhvā-grāvānas* 'lifting the pressing stone', *ṛkvānas*, *ṛādvānas*, *grādvānas*, *ghṛta-pāvānas* (VS. VI. 19) 'drinking ghee', *drihkvānas*, *ni-kṛtvānas* 'deceitful', *pari-śādvānas* 'besetting', *pāvānas* (TS. III. 2. 85), *prāsthāvānas* 'swift', *prātar-yāvānas*, *maghādvānas*, *raghu-pātāvānas*, *vānāvānas*¹ 'demanding', *vasā-pāvānas* (VS. VI. 19) 'drinkers of fat', *śubham-yāvānas*, *śruṣṭivānas*, *sātāvānas*, *su-dhānvānas*, *su-śīkvānas* 'shining brightly'. — Weak form for strong: *maghānas* (VI. 44¹²)².

N. A. n. 1. *dhānvāni*, *pārvāni*, *snādvāni* (AV.). — 2. *dhānva*, *pārva*³; with long final vowel only *pārvā* (AV. XII. 5¹²).

A. m. 1. *ādhanas*, *ā-yajvanas*, *drihvanas* (AV.). — 2. *ā-rāvṇas*, *evayāvnas*, *grāvṇas*, *prātar-yāvṇas*; *maghānas*.

I. m. *ādhvabhis*, *ā-prayutvabhis* 'attentive', *ṛkvabhis*, *evayāvabhis*, *grāvabhis*, *prātar-yāvabhis*⁴, *yājvabhis*, *raṇvabhis* 'agreeable', *śīkvabhis*, *sātvabhis*, *sanītvabhis* 'bestowers', *sa-yāvabhis*, *su-pra-yāvabhis* 'speeding well', *sva-yūgvabhis* 'allies'. — n. *pātuvabhis*, *pārvabhis*, *vidāsvabhis*, *soma-pārvabhis* 'times of Soma offerings'.

D. m. *ātharvabhyas*, *grāvabhyas*, *gharma-pāvabhyas* (VS. XXXVIII. 15) 'drinking hot (milk)'⁵. — n. *snādvabhyas* (VS. XXXIX. 10). — Ab. n. *snādvabhyas* (AV.).

G. m. 1. *ādhanām* (VS. V. 33), *an-arvānām*, *ā-yajvanām*, *sātvanām*. — 2. *grāvnām*, *rārvānām*, *vāja-dāvnām*⁶, *soma-pāvnām*; *maghānām*. — n. 1. *dhānvanām* (AV.).

L. m. *ādhasu*, *kṛtsu*, *grāvasu* (Kh. I. 12³)⁷, *yājvasu*⁸. — n. *dhānvasu*, *pārvasu*.

Stems in *-in*, *-min*, *-vin*.

332. The suffixes *-in*, *-min*, *-vin*, which have the sense of 'possessing', are used to form secondary adjectives. The stems in *-in* are very common, those in *-vin* are fairly frequent, numbering nearly twenty, but there is only one in *-min*: *ṛg-min-* 'praising'. They are declined in the m. and n. only⁹; but the neuter forms are very rare, amounting to fewer than a dozen altogether. The inflexion presents hardly any irregularities. The vowel of the suffix remains accented throughout¹⁰, and is not liable either to syncope or to lengthening in the G. pl. It is lengthened in the N. sing. m. only¹¹. As in all derivative stems ending in *-n*, the nasal disappears in the N. sing. m. n. and before terminations beginning with consonants.

¹ a. There are a few transition forms to the *a*-declension starting from the A. sing. m. in *-in-am* understood as *-ina-m*. Such are *parameṣṭhina-m* (AV. XIX. 9†) 'most exalted', N. sing. n.; the V. *mahin-a* and the G. *mahina-sya* from *mah-in-* 'mighty', and

¹ From the intensive of *√van-*.

² The form *kṛtvāno* in AV. XIX. 35⁵ is a conjecture for the *kṛtvāno* of the Mss.

³ In Pada as well as Samhitā.

⁴ Also the supplementary form *maghādvabhis*.

⁵ Also the supplementary form *maghādvabhyas*.

⁶ The form *sahasra-dāvnām* is read as *a* f. in I. 17⁵.

⁷ Accented *grāvasu* in the edition.

⁸ There is also the transfer form *maghāvasu*.

⁹ They form a special f. stem by adding *-ī*; e. g. from *asv-in-* 'possessing horses' *asvin-ī*.

¹⁰ Except *irin-*, *śākin-*, *sārin-*, and the compounds *kārū-latin-*, *mahā-vaṭūrin-*, *indramedin-*, from each of which a single form occurs; also the compounds formed with the negative *a-*; e. g. *ā-nāmin-*.

¹¹ It would doubtless be lengthened in the N. A. n. pl. also if that form occurred.

the n. pl. *vaninā-ni* (x. 66⁹),¹ from *van-in-* m. 'forest-tree'. The isolated form *mandi-m* (I. 9²) is a transition to the *i*-declension, starting probably from the I. sing. *mandin-ā* 'exhilarating' understood as *mandi-nā*.

Inflexion.

333. All the case-forms are represented in the m., but in the n. the three singular case-forms, N. A., I., and G. only. As only eight or nine n. forms occur, they may most conveniently be enumerated separately:

Sing. n. N. *ā-nāmi* 'unbending', *ubhayā-hastī* 'filling both hands', *tsārī* (AV.) 'hidden', *patatrī* 'winged', *vājī* 'vigorous' (Kh. iv. 6²), *śakalyeṣī* (AV.) 'seeking shavings'². I. *kīrīṇā* 'praising', *su-gandhīnā*³ 'fragrant'. G. *pra-hoṣṇas* 'offering oblations'⁴.

The m. forms actually occurring, if made from *hast-in-* 'having hands', would be as follows:

Sing. N. *hastī*. A. *hastinam*. I. *hastinā*. D. *hastine*. Ab. *hastinas*. G. *hastinas*. L. *hastini*. V. *hastin*. — Du. N. A. *hastinā* and *hastināu*. I. D. *hastibhyām*. G. L. *hastinos*. — Pl. N. *hastinas*. A. *hastinas*. I. *hastibhis*. D. *hastibhyas* (VS. AV.). G. *hastinām*. L. *hastīṣu*.

a. The forms actually occurring are:

Sing. N. 1. Stems in *-in-*: *anḥī* 'possessing a hook', *ati-vyādhi* (VS. xxii. 22) 'wounding', *abhyā-vartī* 'coming near', *arthī* 'active', *asvī* 'possessed of horses', *irī*⁵ 'powerful', *uj-jeṣī* (VS. xvii. 85) N. of one of the Maruts, *udrī* 'abounding in water', *ṛjīṇī* 'moving upwards', *ṛjīṣī* 'receiving the residue of Soma', *ek.īkī* (VS. TS.) 'solitary', *kapardī* 'wearing braided hair', *kārū-latī*⁶ 'having decayed teeth', *kāmī* 'desirous', *kulīyī* (TS. iv. 1. 9⁶) 'forming a nest', *kevalādi* 'eating by oneself alone', *keṣī* 'having long hair', *krūḍī* (VS. xvii. 85) 'sporting', *grha-medhī* (VS. xvii. 85) 'performing the domestic sacrifices', *candī* (VS. xx. 37) 'golden', *tsārī* 'hidden', *dyumnī* 'majestic', *nis-ṣapī* 'lustful', *pakthī* 'cooking the oblation', *patatrī* (TS. i. 7. 7²) 'winged', *parame-ṣhī* (VS. viii. 54) 'most exalted', *pari-panthī* 'waylayer', *prṣṭy-āmayī* 'suffering from a pain in the side', *pra-ghāṣī* (VS. xvii. 85) 'voracious', *pra-bhaṅgī* 'destroying', *pra-repanī* 'causing to tremble', *bāhu-śardhī* 'relying on his arms', *brahma-cārī* 'practising devotion', *brahma-varcaṣī* (VS. xxii. 22) 'eminent in sacred knowledge', *bhadra-vādī* 'uttering auspicious cries', *manṣī* 'thoughtful', *manthī* (VS. vii. 18) 'stirred Soma juice', *mandī* 'exhilarating', *marāyī* 'destructive' (?), *mahā-hastī* 'having large hands', *māyī* 'crafty', *medī* 'ally', *rathī* 'possessing a car', *rambhī* 'carrying a crutch', *rukmi* 'adorned with gold', *vajrī* 'armed with a bolt', *varmī* 'mailed', *vaśī* 'having power', *vājī* 'vigorous', *vi-rapṣī* 'copious', *śata-svī* 'having a hundred possessions', *śāktī*⁷ 'strong', *śiprī* 'full-cheeked', *śuṣmī* 'roaring', *śloki* 'sounding', *śvaghñī* 'gambler', *ṣoḍaśī* (VS. TS.) 'having sixteen parts', *sārī*⁵ 'hastening', *śahasrī* 'thousandfold', *śacī* 'companion', *somī* 'offering Soma', *svabdī* 'bellowing', *hastī* 'having hands'. — 2. stem in *-mīn-*: *ṛgmī* 'praising'. — 3. stems in *-vīn-*: *ā-dvayāvī* 'free from duplicity', *ā-yudhvī*⁸ 'not fighting', *aṣṭrāvī* 'obeying the goad', *tarasvī* (VS. xix. 88) 'bold'.

A. 1. *atrinam* 'devourer', *adhi-kalpinam* (VS. xxx. 18) 'gamble-manager',

¹ Instead of *vanin-as*, probably due to the metre.

² The Pada text reads *śakalya-eṣī*; but the Paippalāda recension has the better reading *śakalyeṣu* 'among the shavings': see WHITNEY's note on AV. I. 25².

³ But this form might be from *su-gandhī*.

⁴ The isolated form *krudhmī* (VII. 56⁸) agreeing with *mānāmsi* is a N. pl. n. of a stem *krudh-mi-*, rather than of *krudh-min-* 'angry'.

⁵ With abnormal accent.

⁶ Accented like a Bahuvrihi.

⁷ Thus accented VS. xvii. 85, but *śāktī* RV. I. 51⁸: the latter is probably an error as the suffix is accented in the three other forms *śākinam*, *śākine*, *śākinas*.

⁸ BÖHTLINGK (pw.) regards this as a gerund: *ā-yud-dhvī* 'without fighting'.

abhi-praśnīnam (VS. xxx. 10) 'inquisitive', *abhi-mātinam* 'insidious', *arkīnam* 'praising', *ava-krakṣīnam* 'rushing down', *ā-vājinam* 'a bad horse', *aśvinam*, *ādārinam* 'breaking open', *āyīnam* (TS. II. 4. 7¹) 'hurrying up', *iśminam* 'speeding', *uktha-saṃśīnam* 'uttering verses', *ukthīnam* 'praising', *udrīnam*, *rjīśīnam*¹, *kapardīnam*, *karambhīnam* 'possessing gruel', *kalpīnam* (VS. xxx. 18) 'designing', *kāmalikīnam* 'flaming', *kāminam*, *kārīnam* 'singing', *kuḷāyīnam*, *kūcid-arthīnam* 'striving to get anywhere', *catīnam* 'lurking', *jana-vādinam* (VS. xxx. 17) 'prattler', *tri-śthīnam* (VS. xxx. 14) 'having a threefold footing', *dymnīnam*, *dhanīnam* 'wealthy', *ni-yayīnam*² 'passing over', *pakṣīnam* 'winged', *patatrīnam* (VS. xix. 10), *pari-panthīnam*, *pīṭha-sarpīnam* (VS. xxx. 21) 'cripple', *putrīnam* 'possessing sons', *purīśīnam* 'possessing land', *pra-vādinam* (VS. xxx. 13) 'speaking pleasantly', *praśnīnam* (VS. xxx. 10) 'questioner', *bahu-vādinam* (VS. xxx. 19) 'talkative', *manīśīnam*, *manthīnam*, *mandīnam*³, *manyu-sāvīnam* 'pressing Soma with zeal', *māyīnam*, *medīnam* (TS. IV. 7. 10⁴), *rathīnam*, *vapīsa-nartīnam* (VS. xxx. 21) 'pole-dancer', *vajrīnam*, *vanīnam* 'bountiful', *vanīnam* 'shining', *aśvinā*, *kimīdīnā* 'evil spirit', *kīrīnā* 'praising'⁴, *balīnā* (TS. III. 3. 8²) 'strong', *mandīnā*, *mahā-vaṭūrīnā*⁵ 'very wide', *vaṭūrīnā* 'wide', *vājinā*. — 3. *raṅgasvīnā*.

D. 1. *abhyā-vartīne*, *a-mitrīne* 'hostile', *ava-bhedīne* (VS. xvi. 34) 'splitting', *ā-tatāyīne* (VS. xvi. 18) 'having one's bow drawn', *ā-yudhīne* (VS. xvi. 36) 'warrior', *upā-vīlīne* (VS. xvi. 17) 'wearing the sacred cord', *uṣṇīśīne* (VS. xvi. 22) 'wearing a turban', *kapardīne*, *kavacīne* (VS. xvi. 35) 'mailed', *kārīne*, *kimīdīne*, *tantrāyīne* (VS. xxxviii. 12) 'drawing out rays', *ni-vyādīne* (VS. xvi. 20) 'piercing', *ni-saṅgīne* (VS. xvi. 20) 'sword-bearer', *pra-sakṣīne* 'victorious', *bilīne* (VS. xvi. 35) 'having a helmet', *bhāmīne* 'angry', *manīśīne*, *mantrīne* (VS. xvi. 19) 'wise', *mandīne*, *mahīne* 'mighty', *rathīne*, *vajrīne*, *varathīne* (VS. xvi. 35) 'wearing armour', *varmīne* (VS.), *vi-naṃśīne* (VS. ix. 20) 'vanishing', *vi-rapśīne*, *vy-aśnuv-īne*⁶ (VS. xii. 32) a genius of food, *vyādīne* (VS. xvi. 18) 'piercer', *śāklīne*, *śīprīne*, *śuśmīne*, *śoḍaśīne* (VS. viii. 33), *sv-āyudhīne* (VS. xvi. 36) 'having good weapons'. — 3. *raṅgasvīne*.

Ab. 1. *abhi-prabhāṅgīnas* 'breaking completely', *patatrīnas*, *manthīnas* (TS. VS. xiii. 57), *somīnas*.

G. 1. *arthīnas*, *rjīśīnas*, *kapardīnas* (TS. VS. xvi. 10), *dhanīnas*, *patatrīnas* (TS. IV. 7. 13¹), *parpīnas* 'winged', *pra-gardhīnas* 'pressing onwards', *bhūri-pośīnas* 'much-nourishing', *manthīnas* (VS. vii. 18), *mandīnas*, *māyīnas*, *ratnīnas* 'possessing gifts', *rasīnas* 'juicy', *retīnas*⁷ 'abounding in seed', *vajrīnas*, *vanīnas* 'bountiful', *vanīnas* 'forest tree', *varcīnas*, *vājinās*, *vi-rapśīnas*, *vīlu-harṣīnas*

¹ *rjīśām* in I. 32⁶ is possibly a metrically shortened form for *rjīśīnam*: cp. LANMAN 543².

² As this compound occurs only once beside the simple adj. *yayī*, which occurs several times, the former is perhaps a transfer from the *i*-declension.

³ *mandī-n* (I. 9²) is probably a transition form; but BR. regard it as a contraction in pronunciation of *mandīnam*.

⁴ GRASSMANN in I. 100⁹ proposes to read *kīrīne*.

⁵ Accented like *Bahuvrīhi*; but cp. p. 154⁵.

⁶ Formed from the present stem of *√aś*: *vi-aś-nuv-īn-*.

⁷ From *rēta-* for *rītas-* 'seed'.

'refractory', *vrandīnas* 'becoming soft', *śatīnas*, *śuśm'inas*, *śṛṅgīnas*, *sahasrīnas*, *somīnas*. — 3. *ā-drayāvīnas*, *drayāvīnas* 'double-dealing', *namasv'inas*.

L. 1. *dvīp'ni* (AV.) 'leopard', *parame-śi'ni* (AV.), *brahma-cārīṇi* (AV.), *māy'ni*, *vājīni*, *som'ni*.

V. 1. *dnā-bhayin* 'fearless', *abhyā-vartin* (VS. XII. 7), *amatrin* 'having a large drinking vessel', *rjīp'n*, *rjīšin*, *tuvī-kūrmin* 'working powerfully', *pra-pathin* 'roaming on distant paths', *yakṣin* 'living', *vajrin*, *vājin*, *virap'in*, *śavasin* 'mighty', *śiprin*, *śuśmin*, *sahasin* 'mighty'. — 3. *ubhayātin*.

Du. N. A. V. 1. *āśvīnā*, V. *āśvīnā* and *āśvīnā*, *kumārīnā* 'having children', *keśīnā*, V. *pajra-hoṣīnā* 'having rich oblations', *parīnā*, *putrīnā*, *purīṣīnā*, *pra-sakṣīnā*, *manthīnā*, V. *māyinā*, *vajrīnā*, *vājīnā*, V. *vājīnā*, *ti-ghanīnā* 'slaying', *śuśmīnā*, *sarathīnā* (VS. XXIX. 7; TS.) 'driving in the same car', *sāma-cārīnā* (Kh. III. 22⁵) 'faring with chants'. — 3. *māyāvīnā*. — Forms with *-au*: *āśvīnau*, V. *āśvīnau* and *āśvīnau*, *patatrīnau* (VS. XVIII. 52), *vājīnau*.

I. *āśvibhyām*, *indra-medibhyām* (AV.) 'whose ally is Indra'. — D. *āśvibhyām*. — G. *āśvīnos*. — L. *āśvīnos*.

Pl. N. V. 1. *anकुśīnas* 'having a hook', *atrinās*, *ark'inas*, *arcinas*, *arthīnas*, *avarokīnas* (VS. XXIV. 6) 'brilliant', *īsmīnas*, *ukth'inas*, *upa-mantrinās* 'persuading', *rjīṣīnas*, *kāpardinās*, *kabandhīnas* 'bearing casks', *kāmīnas*, *kārīnas*, *kṛīnas*, *kṛsān'inas* 'adorned with pearls', *keś'inas*, *khād'inas* 'adorned with rings', *gaṇīnas* (TS. I. 4. 11¹) 'having attendants', *gāth'inas* 'singers', *gāyatrīnas* 'singers of hymns', *gharmīnas* 'preparing the Gharma offering', *daśagvīnas* 'tenfold', *drapsīnas* 'falling in drops', *dhūmīnas* 'smoking', *nī-kārīnas* (TS. VS. XXVII. 4) 'injurers', *nī-todīnas* 'piercing', *nī-rāmīnas* 'lurking', *nī-śaṅgīnas*, *pakṣīnas*, *patatrīnas*, *pari-panth'inas*, *pari-parīnas* (VS. IV. 34) 'adversaries', *parīnas*, *pāś'inas* 'laying snares', *purīṣīnas*, *pra-kṛtīnas* 'sporting', *pra-sakṣīnas*, *ballīnas*, *manṣīnas*, *mandīnas*, *maḥ'inas*, *māy'inas*, *medīnas*, *rath'inas*, *vanīnas* 'bountiful', *vanīnas* 'forest trees', *varmīnas*, *vājīnas*, *ti-rap'inas*, *ti-rokīnas* 'brilliant', *viśāṇīnas* 'holding horns' (a people), *vrata-cārīnas* 'performing vows', *śatagvīnas*, *śatīnas*, *śākīnas*, *śuśmīnas*, *sahasrīnas*, *somīnas*, *svānīnas* 'resounding', *hastīnas*, *hiraṇīnas* 'golden'. — 2. *ṛgmīnas*. — 3. *tarasvīnas*, *dvayāvīnas*, *dhṛṣadvīnas* 'bold', *namasvīnas*, *māyāvīnas*.

A. 1. *atrinās*, *a-rājīnas* 'lacking splendour', *arth'inas*, *āśvīnas*, *uktha-'aps'inas*, *kāmīnas*, *kārīnas*, *grathīnas* 'false', *dyumnīnas*, *pakṣīnas*, *pra-ghās'inas* (VS. III. 44), *bhāmīnas*, *mandīnas*, *māyīnas*, *mītrīnas* 'befriended', *rathīnas*, *vanīnas* 'bountiful', *van'inas* 'forest trees', *vājīnas*, *vrandīnas*, *sahasrīnas*, *somīnas*, *hastīnas* (VS. XXIV. 29), *hiraṇīnas*. — 3. *rakṣasvīnas*.

I. 1. *āśvibhis*, *keś'bhis*, *nī-saṅgibhis*, *patatrībhis*, *manṣibhis*, *mand'bhis*, *rukmbhis*, *vājibhis*, *śuśmbhis*, *hastibhis*. — 2. *ṛgnibhis*.

D. 1. *ṛta-vād'bhyas* (VS. V. 7) 'speaking the truth', *krūṣibhyas* (VS. XXIV. 16), *grha-medhībhyas* (VS. XXIV. 16), *dhanvāyībhyas* (VS. XVI. 22) 'carrying a bow', *rathībhyas* (VS. XVI. 26), *śikhībhyas* (AV.) 'peaked', *svanībhyas* (VS. XVI. 27), *śṛkāvībhyas* (VS. XVI. 21) 'having a spear', *svadhūyībhyas* (VS. XIX. 36) 'owning the Svadhā'.

G. 1. *kārīnām*, *māyīnām*, *vas'īnām* (AV.), *vājīnām*, *śṛṅgīnām*. — 3. *stukāvīnām* 'shaggy'. — L. 1. *khād'īsu*, *dvarīsu* 'obstructing', *hastīsu* (AV.).

4. Labial Stems.

a. Stems in (radical) *-p*.

334. These stems are inflected alike in the masculine and feminine, there being no neuters. All the monosyllables are feminine substantives.

¹ According to LANMAN 544 the *-ā* forms occur 369 times, the *-au* forms 32 times.

They are: *áp-* 'water', *kép-* 'beauty', *ksáp-* 'night', *ksíp-* 'finger', *rip-* 'deceit', *riíp-* 'earth', *víp-*¹ 'rod'. Feminine are also the compounds *ā-táp-* 'heating', *pati-rip-* 'deceiving a husband', *vi-śtáp-* 'summit', *ṛta-sáp-* 'performing worship'. All other compound stems are masculine. They are: *agni-táp-* 'enjoying the warmth of fire', *abhī-lāpa-líp-*² (AV.) 'excessively whimpering', *asu-típ-*³ 'delighting in lives', *keta-sáp-* 'obeying the will (of another)', *pari-rip-* 'crying around', *paśu-típ-*³ 'delighting in herds', *pra-síp-*⁴ 'slumbering', *ṛity-āp-* 'having streaming (*ṛiti-*) water'.

a. The distinction of strong and weak forms appears in *áp-* and its compound *ṛity-āp-*, as well as in the two compounds of *sap-* 'serve', *ṛta-sáp-* and *keta-sáp-*. The strong form *āpas* is used a few times in the A. pl., but the long vowel in *pari-rāpas* as A. pl. is due to the metre; on the other hand, the weak form *ap-ās* appears twice in the AV. as N. pl.

b. The A. pl. *āpas* is nearly always accented on the ending as a weak case; *ksāpas* similarly appears two or three times, and *vīpas* once.

c. No N. sing. m. or f. occurs, but a n. transition form once appears in this case: *viśtāpa-m* (IX. 113¹⁰), a form which doubtless started from the A. sing. f. *viśtāp-am*. The n. pl. of the same transition stem occurs once as *vīśtāpā* (VIII. 80¹¹). Two other transition forms are *ksāpābhis* and *ksīpābhis*.

Inflection.

335. The forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. A. m. *paśu-tīpam*. — f. *vi-śtāpam*. — I. m. *vīpā* 'priest'. — f. *apā*, *képā*, *ksapā*, *vīpā*. — Ab. f. *āpas*; *ā-tāpas*, *vi-śtāpas*. — G. m. *vīpas*⁵. — f. *āpas*, *ksāpas*, *ripās*, *rupās*. — L. f. *vi-śtāpi*.

Du. N. m. *ṛity-āpā*; *asu-tīpau*⁶.

Pl. N. m. *ṛta-sāpas*, *keta-sāpas*, V. *ṛti-āpas*; *vīpas*; *agni-tāpas*, *abhī-lāpa-lāpas* (AV.), *asu-tīpas*, *pra-sīpas*. — f. *āpas*, V. *āpas*, *ṛta-sāpas*; *ksīpas*, *vīpas*, *ripās*; *pati-ripās*. The A. form *āpas* occurs twice in the AV. for the N.⁷

A. m. *asu-tīpas*, *pari-rāpas*⁸. — f. *āpas* and *āpas*⁹, *ksāpas* and *ksāpas*¹⁰, *vīpas* and *vīpas*¹¹, *ripās*.

I. f. *adbhis*¹². — D. f. *adbhyās*¹² (VS. VI. 9). — Ab. f. *adbhyās*¹². — G. m. *vīpām*. — f. *apām*¹³, *ksapām*, *vīpām*. — L. f. *apsū*¹⁴.

b. Stems in (radical) -bh.

336. Both masculines and feminines occur in this declension, but there are no neuters. The stems comprise five monosyllables formed from roots, together with compounds of three of the latter (*grabh-*, *śubh-*, *stubbh-*), and *kakībh-*. The stems are: *ksūbh-* f. 'push', *gṛbh-* f. 'seizing', *nābh-* f. 'destroyer', *śūbh-* f. 'splendour', *stībh-* adj. 'praising', f. 'praise'; *jīva-gṛbh-* m. 'capturing alive', 'bailiff', *sute-gṛbh-* 'taking hold of the Soma', *syūma-gṛbh-* 'seizing the

¹ *vīp-* as an adjective is used as a m. also.

² An irregular intensive formation.

³ Cp. KLUGE, KZ. 25, 311 f.

⁴ From *svap-* 'sleep'.

⁵ With irregular accent.

⁶ Cp. LANMAN 482 (middle).

⁷ There is also the transition form in the n. *vi-śtāpā*.

⁸ Metrical for *pari-rāpas*, which is the reading of the Pada text in II. 233¹⁴; see RPr. IX. 26.

⁹ *āpas* is the regular form occurring 152 times in the RV. and 26 times in the AV. The strong form *āpas* is used half a dozen

times in books I and X of the RV., and 16 times in the AV.; it also occurs in Kh. III. 9.

¹⁰ *ksāpas* 6 or 8 times in RV., *ksāpas* 2 or 3 times.

¹¹ *vīpas* thrice, *vīpās* once in RV.

¹² By dissimilation for **ab bhis*, **ab bhyās*; cp. JOHANSSON, IF. 4, 134—146. See LANMAN 483. There are also the two transfer forms *ksāpābhis* and *ksīpābhis*, each occurring once.

¹³ On the metrical value of *apām* see LANMAN 484 (top).

¹⁴ BR. regard *apāsu* in VIII. 4¹⁴ as = *apsū* with inserted -a-. See LANMAN 484.

reins'; *rathe-ślibh-* 'flying along in a car'; *anu-ślibh-* f. 'after-praise', a metre, *ṛta-ślibh-* 'praising duly', *tri-ślibh-* 'triple praise', a metre, *pari-ślibh-* 'exulting on every side', *saṃ-ślibh-* (VS.) 'shout of joy', a metre, *gharma-ślibh-* 'shouting in the heat', *chandaḥ-ślibh-* 'praising in hymns', *ṛṣa-ślibh-* 'calling aloud', *su-ślibh-* 'uttering a shrill cry'; *kakūbh-* f. 'peak', *tri-kakūbh-* 'three-pointed'.

a. The distinction of strong and weak forms does not appear except in the N. and A. pl. of *nābh-*. The inflexion of these stems is incompletely represented, there being no dual forms, and no plural forms the endings of which begin with a consonant.

Inflection.

337. The forms occurring are:

Sing. N. m. *stīp*; *tri-kakūp*. — f. *anu-śtīp* (VS. AV.), *anu-śtīk* (TS. v. 2. 11¹), *tri-śtīp*; *kakūp* (VS. AV.).

A. m. *rathe-ślibham*, *sute-gṛbham*. — f. *gṛbham*, *ślibham*; *ṛta-ślibham*, *anu-ślibham*, *tri-ślibham*; *kakūbham*.

I. m. *stūbhā*; *su-śtūbhā*. — f. *kṣubhā*, *grbhā*, *śubhā*; *anu-śtūbhā*, *tri-śtūbhā* (VS. xvii. 34; TS. II. 2. 4²); *kakūbhā* (VS. xxviii. 44).

D. m. *gharma-śtūbhe*, *syāma-gṛbhe*. — f. *ślibhe* (AV. VS. xxx. 7); *anu-śtūbhe* (VS. xxiv. 12), *tri-śtūbhe* (VS. xxiv. 12); *kakūbhe* (VS. xxiv. 13).

Ab. m. *jīva-gṛbhas*. — f. *grbhās* (VS. xxi. 43); *anu-śtūbhas* (VS. xiii. 54), *tri-śtūbhas* (AV.).

G. m. *su-śtūbhas*. — f. *śubhās*¹ (in *śubhās pātr*, du. N. A. and *śubhas pātr*, V.).

L. f. *tri-śtūbhi* (VS. xxxviii. 18); *kakūbhi* (TS. III. 3. 9²; VS. xv. 4).

Pl. N. m. *chandaḥ-śtūbhas*, *ṛṣa-śtūbhas*, *pari-śtūbhas*, *su-śtūbhas*. — f. *nābhas*², *ślibhas*, *śtūbhas*.

A. f. *nābhas*, *ślibhas*; *tri-śtūbhas*, *pari-śtūbhas*; *kakūbhas*.

G. f. *kakūbhām*.

c. Stems in -m.

338. There are only about half a dozen stems in -m which among them muster a few more than a dozen forms. All are monosyllables except a compound of *nam-* 'bend'. Neuters are *śām-* 'happiness' and perhaps *dām-* 'house'. A possible m. is *him-* 'cold'; and there are four feminines: *kṣām-*, *gām-*, and *jām-*, all meaning 'earth', and *saṃ-nām-* (AV.) 'favour'. Strong and weak forms are distinguished in *kṣām-*, which lengthens the vowel in the strong cases, and syncopates it in one of the two weak cases occurring; *gām-* and *jām-* are found in weak cases only, where they syncopate the vowel. The forms occurring are the following:

Sing. N. A. n. *śām*. — I. f. *kṣāmā*, *jāmā*; m. *him-ā*³. — Ab. f. *kṣmās*, *gmās*, *jmās*. — G. f. *gmās*, *jmās*⁴; n. *dām*⁵. — L. f. *kṣāmi*⁶. — Du. N. f. *kṣāmā*, *dyāvā-kṣāmā* 'heaven and earth'. — Pl. N. f. *kṣāmas*; *saṃ-nāmas* (AV.). — G. n. *damām*.

¹ The form *dābhas* in v. 19⁴ is regarded by BR. and GRASSMANN as N. sing. m. 'destroyer'. LANMAN 485 thinks it may be a G. sing. f. with wrong accent.

² Strong form.

³ This is the only form, occurring twice, from a possible stem *him-*, beside *himēna*, from *himā*. It might, however, be an I. from the latter stem. Cp. 372.

⁴ Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 580.

⁵ For **dām-s* (like *ā-gan* for **ā-gam-s*) occurring only in the expressions *pātr dām* and *pātr dām* and equivalent to *dām-pātr* and *dām-pātr* at the end of a triṣubh line. Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 453.

⁶ With irregular accent; cp. above 94 a.

5. Stems in Sibilants.

1. a. Stems in radical *s* and *ṣ*.

339. In radical stems ending in *s* and *ṣ*, the sibilants are identical in origin, both being alike etymologically based on the dental *s*, which remains after *ā*, but is cerebralized after other vowels and after *k*. In the RV. there are of radical *s*-stems some 40 derived from about 15 roots; of radical *ṣ*-stems, some 50 derived from about 15 roots; in both groups taken together there are nearly 20 monosyllabic stems, the rest being compounds. Masculine and feminine stems are about equally numerous; but there are altogether only 7 or 8 neuters.

a. The distinction between strong and weak forms appears in three words: *pūmāns* and *pums-* 'male'; *nās-* and *nas-* 'nose'; *uktha-sās-* and *uktha-śās-* 'uttering verses'. The A. pl. has the accentuation of weak stems in the masculines *jñās-ās*, *pums-ās*, *mīs-ās* and in the feminines *iś-ās*, *uś-ās*, *dvīś-ās*.

b. The stem *ās-* 'face' is supplemented in its inflexion by the *an-* stem *ās-ān-*; the stem *iś-* is supplemented before consonant endings by *iśā-*¹; and *dīs-* 'fore-arm' is supplemented by *dos-ān-* in the dual form *dosānī* (AV. IX. 7²).

c. Transitions to the *a-* or *ā-* declension appear in forms made from *ās-* 'face', *iś-* 'refreshment', *kās-* 'cough', *nās-* 'nose', *mās-* 'month', *āśās-* 'hope', *nī-miś-* 'winking'. 1. From *ās-*, beside and probably through the influence of the I. sing. *ās-ā*, is formed the adv. *āsaya* 'before the face of' (as from a stem *āsā-*, and with adverbial shift of accent instead of **āsāyā*). — 2. Forms like G. *iś-ās* gave rise to *iśā-m*; and the supplementary stem *iśā-* probably started from the I. sing. *iś-ā*, which itself was probably due to *iś-* the form assumed by *iś-* before *bh-* endings; the stem *iś-* further shows a transition to the *i-* declension in the D. *iśāye*. — 3. From *kās-* 'cough' there is the transition V. *kāse* (AV.). — 4. The strong dual form *nās-ī* furnished a transition to an *ā-* stem, from which is formed the dual *nāse* (AV.). — 5. As *pād-am* gave rise to a new N. *pāda-s*, so from *mās-am* arose the new stem *māsa-*, from which are formed the N. sing. *māsa-s* and the A. pl. *māsān-*. — 6. In the RV. the stem *āśās-* alone is used; but in the AV. appears the A. *āśām* (perhaps a contraction for *āśāsam*) which, understood as *āśā-m*, was probably the starting point of the *āśā-*, the only stem in the later language. — 7. From *nī-miś-* 'winking' there appear, beside the regular compound forms A. *ā-nimis-am*, I. *ā-nimis-ā* f. 'non-winking', the transition forms N. *a-nimiśā-s*, A. *a-nimiśā-m*, I. *a-nimiśāya*, N. pl. *a-nimiśās*, adj. 'unwinking', with the regular Bahuvrīhi accent (90 B c).

Inflexion.

340. In the N. sing. the sibilant is of course dropped if preceded by a consonant, as *an-āk* 'eyeless', *pūmān* 'man'. Otherwise *s* remains, while *ṣ* becomes *ṣ̐*. Before *bh-* endings, *s* becomes *d* in two forms which occur (*mād-bhīs*, *mād-bhyās*)³ and *r* in the only other one (*dor-bhyām*); while *ṣ* becomes *ḍ* in the only example occurring (*vi-prīḍ-bhīs*).

The forms actually occurring, if made from *mās-*⁴ m. 'month' as an *s*-stem, and from *dvīś-* f. 'hatred' as a *ṣ*-stem, would be as follows:

Sing. N. ⁵ *mās*; *dvīś*. A. *māsam*; *dvīśam*. I. *māśā*; *dvīśā*. D. *māśé*; *dvīśé*. Ab. *māsás*; *dvīśás*. G. *māsás*; *dvīśás*. L. *māśi*; *dvīśi*. — Du. N. A. *māśā*; *dvīśā*. G. *māsós*. L. *māsós* (AV. TS.). — Pl. N. *māsas*; *dvīśas*. A. *māsás*; *dvīśas* and *dvīśás*. I. *mādbhīs*; *dvīḍbhīs*. D. *mādbhyás* (AV.). Ab. *mādbhyás* (AV.). G. *māsām*; *dvīśām*. L. *māśśi* (AV.).

The forms actually occurring are:

¹ As *kṣāp-* and *kṣīp-* by *kṣapā-* and *kṣīpā-* respectively.

² It becomes *k* only in the n. form *dadhīk* 'boldly', used as an adv. from *dadhīś-*, if the word is derived from *dhrīś-* 'be bold'; but the word is perhaps more probably derived from *dṛk-* 'be firm', see BR. s. v. *dadhīk*, and cp. BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 12, Anzeiger p. 28.

³ Cp. J. SCHMIDT, KZ. 26, 340.

⁴ In this word (derived from *mā-* 'measure') the *s* is really secondary, probably representing the suffix *-as* (*mās-* = *mā-as-*); cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 398.

⁵ The only V. occurring is *pumas*.

Sing. N. 1. m. *pīlmān*¹ 'male'; *candrā-mās* 'moon', *dūrā-bhās*² 'shining to a distance', *su-dās*³ 'worshipping well'. — f. *ā-jñās* 'having no kindred', *ā-śīs*⁴ 'prayer'. — n. *bhās* 'light', *mās* 'flesh'; *dās* 'arm', *yās* 'welfare', *śam-yās* 'luck and welfare'. — 2. m. *an-āk*⁵ 'blind', *adhamāna-dvīṣ*⁶ 'hating the insolent'. — f. *vi-prīṭ* (AV.) 'drop'.

A. 1. m. *māsam* 'month', *pīlmāmsam*; *a-yāsam* 'dexterous', *uktha-śāsam*⁷ 'uttering verses', *su-dāsam*, *su-bhāsam* 'shining beautifully', *sv-āśīsam*⁸ 'well-praising', *sv-āśam* 'fair-mouthed'. — f. *kāsam*⁹ (AV.) 'cough'; *ā-śīsam*⁴, *pra-śīsam*⁴ 'precept'. — 2. m. *ghṛta-prīṣam* 'sprinkling ghee', *jara-dvīṣam* 'hating decrepitude', *brahma-dvīṣam* 'hating sacred knowledge', *viśvā-pīṣam* 'all-nourishing'. — f. *īṣam* 'refreshment', *dvīṣam* 'hatred', *pīkṣam* 'satiation'; *ā-nimiṣam* 'non-winking', *doṣaṇi-śrīṣam* (AV.) 'leaning on the arm', *hṛdaya-śrīṣam* (AV.) 'clinging to the heart'. Also the adverbial A. *ā-vy-uṣām* (AV.) 'till the dawn'. — n. *dadhīk* 'boldly' as adv.

I. 1. m. *māsā*. — f. *kāsā* (AV.), *nasā* (AV.) 'nose', *śāsā* 'ruler'¹⁰; *abhi-śāsā*¹¹ 'blame', *ava-śāsā* (AV.) 'wrong desire', *ā-śāsā* 'hope', *ā-śīṣā*, *niḥ-śāsā* 'blame', *parā-śāsā* (AV.) 'calumny', *pra-śīṣā* (AV. VS.). — n. *āsā* 'mouth', *bhāsā*. — 2. m. *viśva-pīṣā*¹². — f. *īṣā*, *tvīṣā* 'excitement'; *ā-nimiṣā*, *prā-vīṣā* (AV. TS.) 'rainy season', *preṣā*¹³ 'pressure'. — n. *ghṛta-prīṣā*.

D. 1. m. *pūṃsē* (AV.); *su-dāse*. — n. *bhāsē* (VS. XIII. 39). — 2. m. *ā-prā-yuṣe*¹⁴ 'not careless'; *ā-vi-dvīṣe* (AV.) 'for non-enmity', *ṛṣi-dvīṣe* 'hating the seers', *brahma-dvīṣe*; *gav-īṣe* 'wishing for cows', *paśu-īṣe* 'wishing for cattle'; *sākam-īkṣe*¹⁵ 'sprinkling together'. — f. *īṣē*¹⁶, *tvīṣē*, *prkṣē*, *riṣē* 'injury', *preṣe* (VS. v. 7).

Ab. 1. m. *pūṃsās*. — f. *kāsās* (AV.) — n. *āsās*. — 2. f. *īṣās*, *tvīṣās*, *dvīṣās*, *riṣās*; *abhi-śrīṣas* 'ligature', *ni-mīṣas* 'winking'.

G. 1. m. *pūṃsās*; *a-śāsas* 'not blessing', *su-dāsas*, *sv-āsas*. — f. *ā-śīṣas* (TS. IV. 6. 63). — 2. m. *śṛṅga-vṛṣas*¹⁷ a man's name. — f. *īṣās*, *uṣās* 'dawn', *dvīṣās*, *prkṣās*; *abhṛa-prīṣas* 'sprinkling of the clouds', *ni-mīṣas*.

L. 1. m. *pūṃsī*, *māṣī*. — f. *upāṣī* 'in the lap', *nasī* (VS.); *ā-śīṣī* (AV.), *pra-śīṣī* (AV.). — 2. f. *ni-mīṣī*, *prā-vīṣī*, *vy-īṣī* 'dawn'.

V. m. *pumas*¹⁸.

Du. N. A. 1. m. *uktha-śāsā*¹⁹, *sūryā-māsā*²⁰ 'sun and moon'. — f. *nāsā*²¹. — I. 1. n. *dorbhīyām* (VS. XXV. 3). — G. 1. f. *nasós*. — L. 1. f. *nasós* (AV. TS.).

Pl. N. 1. m. *a-yāsas*, V. *ayāsas*, *uktha-śāsas*¹⁹, *su-samśāsas*²² (AV.) 'well-directing'. — f. *ā-śāsas*; *ā-śīṣas*, *pra-śīṣas*, *vi-śīṣas* (AV.) 'explanations',

¹ On the Sandhi of this N. see LANMAN 495¹.

² See LANMAN 495¹.

³ There are also the transition forms *māsa-s* and *a-nimiṣā-s*.

⁴ The root in *ā-śīs* and *pra-śīs*, being a reduced form of *śās* 'order', is here treated as belonging to the *s*-class.

⁵ From *an-ākṣ* 'eyeless'.

⁶ The N. of *īṣ* would be **īṣ*: its place is supplied by the extended form *īṣā*.

⁷ Strong stem from *śas* = *śams* 'proclaim'.

⁸ Accented *kāsām* (AV. v. 22¹¹).

⁹ Also the transition forms *a-nimiṣām* and *āsām* (AV.).

¹⁰ Cp. LANMAN 495 (bottom).

¹¹ From *śas* = *śams* 'proclaim'.

¹² There is also the transition form *a-nimiṣāna*.

¹³ Accented thus as a monosyllabic stem instead of *prīṣā* (= *pra-īṣ-ā*).

¹⁴ From *pra+yu-* 'separate' with *s* as root determinative.

¹⁵ Perhaps also *āram-īṣe* (VIII. 46¹⁷) 'hastening near', Pada *āram īṣe*; cp. LANMAN 496¹.

¹⁶ Also the transfer to the *i*-declension *īṣāye*.

¹⁷ In a compound vocative with *napāt*.

¹⁸ In the f. are found the transfers to the *ā*-declension *īṣe* and *kāse* (AV.).

¹⁹ Strong forms; Pp. *uktha-śāsā*, *-śāsas*.

²⁰ This might be from the transition stem *-māsa-*.

²¹ There is also the transition form *nāse* (AV.).

²² There are also the transition forms *māsās*, *a-nimiṣās*.

saṃ-śīśas (AV.) 'directions'; *vi-srśas*¹ (AV.) 'falling apart', *su-srśas* (AV.) 'falling off easily', *svayaṃ-srśas* (AV.) 'dropping spontaneously'. — 2. m. *māśas* 'flies', *mūśas* 'mice'; *anṛta-dviśas* 'persecuting untruth', V. *a-saca-dviśas* 'hating non-worshippers', *gav-īśas*, *ghṛta-priśas*, *pari-priśas* 'sprinkling', *bṛhad-īśas* 'shedding copiously', *brahma-dviśas*, *yajña-mūśas* (TS. III. 5. 4¹) 'sacrifice stealer', *vāta-tviśas* 'having the impetuosity of the wind'. — f. *īśas*, *tviśas*, *pṛkśas*; *ān-ā-dhṛśas* (AV.) 'not checking', *ghṛta-priśas*, *nī-mīśas* (AV.), *nemān-īśas*² 'following guidance', *pati-dviśas* 'hating her husband', *vy-īśas* (AV.), *sam-īśas* 'darts', *sākam-īśas*, *su-pṛkśas* 'abounding with food'.

A. i. m. *jñāsās* 'relatives', *pūṃsās*, *māsās*³; *an-āsas* 'faceless', *ān-ūrdhva-bhāsas* 'whose splendour does not rise', *a-yāsas*, *a-śāsas*, *hṛtsv-āsas* 'throwing into the heart'. — f. *ā-śāsas*; *ā-śīśas*, *pra-śīśas*. — 2. m. *brahma-dviśas*. — f. *īśas* and *īśās*⁴, *uśās*, *dviśas* and *dviśās*⁵, *pṛkśas*; *camṛīśas*⁶, *vi-priśas* (AV.).

I. i. m. *mādbhis*. — 2. f. *vi-prūḍbhis*⁷ (VS.). — D. i. m. *mādbhyās* (AV.). — Ab. i. m. *mādbhyās* (AV.). — G. i. m. *pūṃsām* (AV.), *māsām*, *vasām*⁸ 'abodes'; *a-yāsām*. — 2. f. *īśām*, *dviśām*. — L. i. m. *pūṃsū*⁹ (AV.).

i. b. Stems in derivative -s.

a. Stems in -is and -us.

341. The stems formed with the suffixes *-is* and *-us* may best be treated together, as their inflexion is identical. The *-is* stems, numbering about a dozen, consist primarily of neuters only¹⁰; these when they are final members of compounds are secondarily inflected as masculines also, but only in a single form (N. sing. *svā-śocis* 'self-radiant') as feminine. The *-us* stems, numbering sixteen (exclusive of compounds) in the RV., include primary masculines (two also as f.) as well as neuters; three of the latter as final members of compounds are also inflected as feminine. Eleven of the *-us* stems are neuter substantives, all but one accented on the radical syllable; four of these are also used as m. adjectives¹¹ accented in the same way (*ārus-*, *cākṣus-*, *tāpus-*, *vāpus-*). Three of those *-us* stems which are exclusively m. are adjectives accented on the suffix, while two are substantives accented on the root (*nāh-us-*, *mān-us-*)¹².

a. The N. A. pl. n. are distinguished as strong forms by lengthening and nasalizing the vowel of the suffix (as in the *-as* stems), e. g. *jyōtīṃsi* and *cākṣūṃsi*.

b. Among these stems appear a number of transitions to, and a few from, other declensions. i. The N. sing. n., as in *śoc-is* and *cākṣ-us*, having in some passages the appearance of a N. sing. m. *śoc-is* and *cākṣ-us*, led to formations according to the *i-* and *u-* declension. Such are N. pl. *śocāyas* (AV.) 'flames', V. sing. *pāvaka-śoce* 'shining brightly', *bhadrā-śoce* 'shining beautifully', *śukra-śoce* 'shining brilliantly'; N. pl. *arcāyas* 'beams', I. pl. *arci-bhis*. The form of *kṛav-is* 'raw flesh' in the compound *ā-kṛavi-hasta-* 'not having bloody hands' is probably due to the same cause. From *cākṣ-us* 'eye' is once formed the Ab. *cākṣo-s* and the V. *sahasra-cākṣo* (AV.) 'thousand-eyed'. From *tāp-us* 'hot' is once

¹ The Mss. read *vi-srśas*; see WHITNEY'S note on AV. XIX. 343.

² *nemān-* is here probably a locative.

³ There is also the transition form *māsān*.

⁴ *īśas* occurs 63 times, *īśās* 7 times in the RV.

⁵ *dviśas* occurs 39 times, *dviśās* 4 times in the RV.

⁶ The meaning of this word is perhaps 'libations in ladles'.

⁷ There is also the transition form *īḍābhis* as an I. pl. of *īḍ*.

⁸ This word, occurring in this form only, might be a f.

⁹ *māssu-* occurs Pañc. Br. IV. 4. 1 and *māsū* (like *pūṃsū* for *pūṃs-sū*) TS. VII. 5. 22. The f. transition form *īḍāsu* occurs as the L. pl. of *īḍ*.

¹⁰ There seems no reason why *ām-is* occurring in L. s. only, should exceptionally be regarded as m. (BR., LANMAN, GRASSMANN).

¹¹ One of these, *tāpus-* 'hot', has a single f. form, A. du. *tāpuṣā*.

¹² See above p. 84, 19.

formed the G. *táto-s*; from *van-ús* 'desiring', as if *vanú-s* in N., the A. sing. *vanú-m* and pl. *vanúṁ*; from *āy-us* 'life' occurs not only the I. sing. *āyu-n-i*, but several compound forms, V. *dirghāyo* 'long-lived', *adabdhāyo* (VS.) 'having unimpaired vigour', A. *vydadhāyu-m* 'full of vigour', n. *viśēdyu* 'all-quickenings', A. m. *viśēdyu-m*, D. *viśēdyave*, G. *viśēdyo-s*. — 2. There are also some transition forms from three masculines in *-us*, by extension of the stem, to the *α*-declension: from *nāh-us* 'neighbour', starting perhaps from the G. *nāhuś-as* taken as a N. sing. *nāhuś-a*, are made the G. *nāhuś-a-sya* and the L. *nāhuśe*; from *mān-us* 'man', starting from the N. pl. *mānuś-as* taken as a N. sing. *mānuś-a*, come the D. *mānuśāya* and the G. *mānuś-a-sya*; from *vāp-us* 'beauty', once D. *vāpuśāya* beside the frequent *vāpuś-u*. — 3. On the other hand, there are a few transitions from the declension of *i-* and *u-* stems to that of stems in *-is* and *-us*. Beside *su-rabhi-* 'fragrant', the superlative form *su-rabhiś-jamam*² occurs once; and beside numerous compounds formed with *turi-* appear the stems *turiś-mant-* 'powerful' and *turiś-tama-* 'strongest'³. Beside the G. *dhākṣo-s* and *dākṣo-s*⁴ 'burning', there appears once the form *dākṣus-as*⁵, which is doubtless due to the false analogy of forms like *lasthūśas*. Though *mān-us* 'man' may be an independent formation beside *mān-u*, the probability is rather in favour of regarding it as secondary (starting from a N. *mānu-s*), because *mānu-* shows eight case-forms, but *mānuś-* only three⁶. The stem *ā-prāyus-*, occurring only once beside the less rare *ā-prāyu-*, probably represents a transition from the latter stem.

Inflexion.

342. The final *s* becomes *ś* before vowel endings, and *r* before *-bh*. The inflexion of the n. is the same as that of the m. except in the A. sing., N. A. du. and pl. The only f. forms occurring are in the N. or A. They are the following: N. sing. *svāśocis* 'self-radiant'; *cākṣus* 'seeing', *ā-ghora-cākṣus* 'not having an evil eye', *hradē-cākṣus* 'reflected in a lake'; *citrāyus* 'possessed of wonderful vitality'; A. du. *tāpuśā* 'hot'; A. pl. *gō-vapuśas* 'having the form of cows'.

The actual forms occurring, if made from *śocis-* 'glow' in the n., and from *śocis-* in the m. (when it differs from the n.), and from *cākṣus-* 'eye' as n. and 'seeing' as m., would be as follows:

1. Sing. N. *śocis*. A. *śocis*; m. *śociśam*. I. *śociśā*. D. *śociśe*. Ab. *śociśas*. G. *śociśas*. L. *śociśi*. V. *śocis*. — Pl. N. A. *śociśmṣi*; m. *śociśas*. I. *śocirbhis*. D. m. *śocirbhyas*. G. *śociśām*. L. *śociśsu*.

2. Sing. N. *cākṣus*. A. *cākṣus*; m. *cākṣuśam*. I. *cākṣuśā*. D. *cākṣuśe*. Ab. G. *cākṣuśas*. L. *cākṣuśi*. — Du. N. A. *cākṣuśi*; m. *cākṣuśā*. D. *cākṣuribhyām* (VS.). — Pl. N. A. *cākṣuśmṣi*; m. *cākṣuśas*. I. *cākṣuribhis*. D. *cākṣuribhyas* (VS.). G. *cākṣuśām*.

The forms which actually occur are the following:

Sing. N. m. 1. *ā-havis* 'not offering oblations', *kṛṣṇā-vyathis* 'whose path is black'; *citrā-jyotis* (VS. xvii. 80) 'shining brilliantly', *śukrā-jyotis* (VS. xii. 15) 'brightly shining', *satyā-jyotis* (VS. xvii. 80) 'truly brilliant', *su-jyotis* (VS. xxxvii. 21) 'shining well'; *citrāśocis* 'shining brilliantly', *durōkaśocis* 'glowing unpleasantly', *śukrāśocis* 'bright-rayed'; *jīvā-barhis* (AV.) 'having a fresh litter', *su-barhis* (VS. xxi. 15) 'having a goodly litter', *stīrṇā-barhis* 'who has strewn the litter'; *svā-rociś* 'self-shining'; *sv-arcis*⁷ 'flashing beautifully'. — 2. *cākṣus* 'seeing', *vāpuś*⁸ 'beautiful', *vidiś* 'attentive'⁹; *ā-dabdhā-cākṣus* (AV.) 'having undamaged sight', *kṣitāyus* 'whose life goes to an end', *dirghāyus* 'long-lived', *duḥ-śāśus* 'malignant', *vi-parus* (AV.) 'jointless', *viśvātāś-cākṣus* 'having eyes on all sides', *sārva-parus* (AV.) 'having all joints', *śahśrāyus* (AV.) 'living a thousand years'.

¹ There is probably insufficient reason to assume a primary independently formed stem *-āy-u-* beside *āy-us*; cp. LANMAN 569 (bottom).

² Retaining the *s* of the N. like *indras-vant-*.

³ *turiś-* as an independent formation would be irregular, since the radical vowel otherwise shows Guṇa before the suffix *-is* (134).

⁴ Desiderative adj. from *dah-* 'burn'.

⁵ The Pada text has *dhākṣiśas*.

⁶ Cp. LANMAN 570 (bottom).

⁷ There are also the transition forms *arci-s* and *śoci-s*, the neuters becoming masculines of the *i-* declension.

⁸ Also the transition forms *cākṣu-s*, *tapu-s*.

⁹ This may be an *u-*stem: *vidi-u*.

N. A. n. i. *arclś* 'flame', *kravś* (AV.) 'raw flesh', *chadś* 'cover', *chardś* 'fence', *jyōtis* 'light', *barhś* 'litter', *varś* 'circuit', *vyāthś* 'course', *śociś* 'lustre', *sarpś* 'clarified butter', *havś* 'oblation'; *vaiśvānarā-jyōtis* (VS. xx. 23) 'light of Vaiśvānara', *śukrā-jyōtis* (TS. iv. i. 9³), *svār-jyōtis* (VS. v. 32) 'light of heaven'. — **2.** *arś* (AV.) 'wound', *āyś* 'life', *cākśś* 'eye', *tāpś* 'glow', *dhānś* 'bow', *pāruś* 'joint', *yājś* 'worship', *vāpś* 'beauty', *śāsś* 'command'; *indrā-dhanś* (AV.) 'Indra's bow', *sv-āyś*¹ (VS. iv. 28) 'full vigour'.

A. m. i. *ā-grbhāta-śociśam* 'having unsubdued splendour', *ajirā-śociśam* 'having a quick light', *ūrdhvā-śociśam* 'flaming upwards', *citṛā-śociśam*, *dirghāyu-śociśam* 'shining through a long life', *pāvakā-śociśam* 'shining brightly', *śrā-śociśam* 'sharp-rayed', *śukrā-śociśam*, *śrēṣṭha-śociśam* 'most brilliant'; *citṛā-barhīśam* 'having a brilliant bed', *vrktā-barhīśam* 'having the litter spread', *su-barhīśam*, *stīrṇā-barhīśam* (VS. xiv. 49); *dāksīṇā-jyōtiśam* (AV.) 'brilliant by the sacrificed gift', *hiraṇya-jyōtiśam* (AV.) 'having golden splendour'. — **2.** *janīśam* 'birth', *dirghāyusam*, *pūrv-āyīśam* 'bestowing much vitality', *śatāyusam*² 'attaining the age of a hundred'.

I. i. n. *arclśā*, *kravīśā*, *chardīśā* (VS. xiii. 19), *jyōtiśā*, *barhīśā* (VS. xviii. 63; TS.), *rocīśā* 'brightness', *śociśā*, *sarpīśā*, *haviśā*. — **m.** *manthī-śociśā* (VS. vii. 18) 'shining like mixed Soma', *śukrā-jyōtiśā* (VS.). — **2. n.** *āyusā*, *cākśusā*, *janīśā*, *tāpūsā*, *dhānuśā* (Kh. iii. 9), *pāruśā*, *yājusā*, *śatāyusā*, *samīṣṭa-yajīśā* (VS. xix. 29) 'sacrifice and formula', *sv-āyīśā* (VS. iv. 28) 'full vigour of life'. — **m.** *tāpūsā*, *nāhuśā* 'neighbour', *mānuśā* 'man', *vanīśā* 'eager'.

D. i. n. *arclśe* (TS. VS. xvii. 11), *jyōtiśe* (VS. AV.), *barhīśe* (VS. ii. 1), *śociśe*, *haviśe*. — **m.** *tigmā-śociśe* 'sharp-rayed', *pāvakā-śociśe*, *śukrā-śociśe*, *vrktā-barhīśe*, *stīrṇā-barhīśe*, *rātā-haviśe* 'liberal offerer', *su-haviśe* 'offering fair oblations'. — **2. n.** *āyuse* (VS. AV.), *cākśuse*, *janīśe*, *tāpuse* (AV.), *yājuse* (VS. i. 30), *vāpuse*. — **m.** *cākśuse*, *mānuśe*, *vanīśe*³.

Ab. i. n. *jyītiśas* (AV.), *barhīśas*, *haviśas*. — **2. n.** *āyusas* (TS. iv. i. 4³), *cākśusas* (TS. v. 7. 7¹), *janīśas*, *pāruśas* (TS. iv. 2. 9²), *vāpūśas*. — **m.** *nāhuśas*, *mānuśas*, *vāpūśas*.

G. i. n. *kravīśas*, *chardīśas*, *jyōtiśas*, *barhīśas*, *śociśas*, *sarpīśas*, *haviśas*. — **m.** *pāvakā-śociśas*, *vrddhā-śociśas* 'blazing mightily', *vāsu-rocīśas* 'shining brightly', *vrktā-barhīśas*⁴. — **2. n.** *āyusas*, *cākśusas*, *tāpūśas*, *tāruśas* 'superiority', *pāruśas*, *vāpūśas*. — **m.** *cākśusas*, *nāhuśas*, *mānuśas*, *vanīśas*⁵; *iṣṭā-yajusas* (VS. viii. 12) 'having offered the sacrificial verses'.

L. i. n. *arclśi*, *āmiṣi*⁶ 'raw flesh', *jyōtiśi*, *barhīśi*, *sādhiśi* (VS. xiii. 53) 'resting-place', *haviśi*; *tri-barhīśi* 'with threefold litter'. — **2. n.** *āyusi*⁷, *tāruśi*, *pāruśi*, *vāpūśi*.

V. i. n. *barhīś*⁸; *deva-haviś* 'oblation to the gods' (VS. vi. 8). — **2. m.** *ākāyus*⁹ 'first of living beings'.

Du. N. A. 2. n. *cākśusī* (AV., Kh. iv. 11¹¹), *janīśī*. — **m.** *cākśusā*, *jayīśā* 'victorious'. — **D. 2. n.** *cākśurbhyām* (VS. vii. 27).

¹ Also the transition form *viśvāyu* 'all-quickenings'.

² Also the transition forms *vanī-m*, *vrddhāyu-m*, *viśvāyu-m*.

³ Transition forms: *viśvāyave*; *mānuśāya*, *vāpūśāya*; *ā-prāyuse* 'not careless'.

⁴ Also perhaps a transition form *śociś*; cp. LANMAN 568.

⁵ Also the transition forms *tāpos*, *viśvāyos*; *nāhuśasya*; *mānuśasya*; *dhakśīśas* (341b, p. 222).

⁶ Accounted a m. by BR., GRASSMANN, LANMAN.

⁷ Also the transition form *āyuni*; and m. *nāhuśe*.

⁸ Also the transition forms *pāvaka-śoce*, *bhadra-śoce*, *śukra-śoce*.

⁹ Also the transition forms *adabdhāyo* (VS.), *dirghāyo*, *sahasra-caṣe* (AV.).

Pl. N. m. 1. *āgrbhita-śociṣas*, *ajirā-śociṣas*, *vāta-dhrājiṣas* (Kh. I. 3¹) 'having the impulse of wind', *ṛkṭā-barhiṣas*, V. *ṛkṭa-barhiṣas*, *sādma-barhiṣas* 'preparing the litter', V. *su-barhiṣas*, *su-jiṭiṣas* and *su-jiyotiṣas*, *svā-rociṣas*¹. — 2. *nāhuṣas*, *mānuṣas*, V. *manuṣas*, *vanīṣas*, *vāpuṣas*.

N. A. n. 1. *arciṃṣi*, *jiyotiṃṣi*, *barhiṃṣi* (VS. XXVIII. 21), *śociṃṣi*, *haviṃṣi*. — 2. *dyūṃṣi*, *cākṣuṃṣi*, *januṃṣi*, *tāpūṃṣi*, *pārūṃṣi* (TS. VS. AV.), *yājūṃṣi* (VS. AV.), *vāpūṃṣi*.

A. m. 1. *su-jiṭiṣas*. — 2. *nāhuṣas*, *mānuṣas*, *vanīṣas*².

I. 1. n. *haviṛbhis*³. — 2. n. *dhanuṛbhis* (AV.), *yājūṛbhis* (VS. IV. 1), *vāpurbhis*. — D. 1. m. *ūrdhvā-barhirbhyas* (VS. XXXVIII. 15) 'being above the litter'. — 2. n. *yājūrbhyas* (VS. XXXVIII. 11).

G. 1. n. *jiṭiṣām*, *haviṣām* (AV.). — 2. n. *cākṣuṣām* (AV.), *januṣām*, *yājūṣām* (AV.), *vāpuṣām*. — m. *vanīṣām*, *viśvā-manuṣām* 'belonging to all men'.

L. 1. n. *haviṣu*.

β. Stems in -as.

343. Primarily this declension consists almost entirely of neuters, which are accented on the root, as *mān-as* 'mind'; but these as final members of adjective compounds may be inflected in all three genders, as N. m. f. *su-mānīs*, n. *su-mānas* 'well-disposed'. There are besides a few primary masculines, which are accented on the suffix, being either substantives, as *raṅś-as* 'demon', or adjectives, some of which occur in the f. also (as well as n.), as *ap-ās* 'active'; and one feminine, *uṣ-ās* 'dawn'⁴.

a. Strong cases are regularly distinguished only in the N. A. pl. n., where the vowel of the suffix is lengthened and nasalized⁵ (as in the -is and -us stems), as *ānhiṃsi* 'troubles'. Otherwise the stem *uṣās-* shows in the A. sing, N. A. du., N. V. pl., strong forms with lengthened vowel in the suffix, which occur beside the unlengthened forms⁶, the latter being nearly three times as frequent in the RV. The long vowel is here required by the metre in 20 out of 28 occurrences, and is favoured by the metre in the rest⁷; so that the lengthening may be due to metrical exigencies. The strong form *uṣāsas*⁸ occurs once (X. 39¹) for the weak *uṣāsas* as the G. sing. or A. pl. There is further the single strong form N. du. m. *toḍāsī*⁹ 'bestowing abundantly'¹⁰.

b. Supplementary stems ending in -as beside -an are *jībhvas-* 'skilful' (as well as *jībhva-*) beside *jībhvan-*, and *śikvas-* 'strong' (as well as *śikva-*) beside *śikvan-*.

c. There is here a large number of transition forms both to and from the ā-declension. Many pairs of stems in -a and -as are common in both forms and seem therefore to be of independent derivation. But there are also a good many such doublets of which the one is the normal stem, while the other has come into being through mistaken analogy or metrical exigency. 1. In the transitions to the ā-declension several may be explained as starting from the misleading analogy of contracted forms. To this group belong the following: from *āngiras-*, a name of Agni, I. sing. *āngire* beside N. pl. *āngirās*; from *ān-āgas-* 'sinless', A. pl. *ān-āgīn* beside A. sing. *ān-āgām* and N. pl. *ān-āgās*; from *ap sarāś-* 'water-nymph', *apsarābhīyas* (AV.), *apsarāsu* (AV.), *apsarā-patīs* (AV.) beside *apsarām* (AV.); from *uṣās-* 'dawn', N. du. *uṣē* (VS.), *uṣābhīyam* (VS.), beside A. sing. *uṣām* and pl. *uṣās*; from *jārāś-* m. 'old age', f. sing. N. *jarā* (AV. VS.), D. *jarāyai* (AV.), beside

¹ Also the transition forms *arciṣas*, *śociṣas*.

² Also the transition form *vanīṣin*.

³ Also the transition form *arci-bhis*.

⁴ The derivation of a few stems ending in -as is obscure; as *upās-* 'lap' (only L. sing.), and *viśāśas-* 'destroying enemies'.

⁵ On the origin of this form as a combination of -ān-i and -ās-i see JOHANSSON, BB. 18, 3 and cp. GGA. 1890, p. 762.

⁶ The lengthened vowel never occurs in the Pada text in these forms (excepting of course the N. *uṣās*).

⁷ See ARNOLD, Vedic Metre, p. 130, 11 (a); cp. LANMAN 546.

⁸ The Pada text has *uṣāsaḥ*.

⁹ Here the long vowel appears in the Pada text also. This is the only form made from the stem *toḍās-* (from *tuṣ-* 'drip').

¹⁰ The form *sa-psarāśas* 'enjoying in common(?)', occurring once, must be the pl. of *sa-psarā-* (BR., GRASSMANN), not of **sa-psarāś-* (LANMAN 546, GELDNER, VS. 3, 197), because -as is never accented in Bahuvrīhi compounds; see WACKERNAGEL 21, p. 301 d, note. *su-medhās-* 'very wise' is not a Bahuvrīhi.

A. *jarām*¹; from *sa-jōṣas* 'united', N. du. *sa-jōṣau* beside pl. *sa-jōṣās*. There is a further group of transitions to the *a*-declension starting not from contracted forms, but from the N. sing. n. understood as m.² From *āvas* 'favour' is thus formed I. *āvena*; from *krāṇdas* 'battle-cry', D. *krāṇḍāya* 3 (AV.), and the compound *śīci-krāṇda-m* 'crying aloud'; from *śārḍhas* n. 'troop' the m. forms *śārḍha-m*, *śārḍhena*, *śārḍhāya*, *śārḍha-sya*, *śārḍhān* 4; from *hēḍas* n., once (I. 94¹²) *hēḍa-s* N. m., hence A. *hēḍa-m* (AV.), L. *hēḷe*; also the compound forms N. f. du. *a-dveśē* 'not ill-disposed', beside *dveṣas* 'hate'; *dur-ōka-m* (VII. 43) 'unwonted' beside *ōkas* 'abode'; *vi-drādhē* (IV. 32²³) 'unclothed' (?) beside *drādhastī* (TS) 'garments'; *pṛthu-jrāya-m* (IV. 44¹) 'far-extending' beside *jrāyas* 'expanse'; *puru-pēsāsu* 'multiform' beside *pēsās* 'form'⁵.

2. The second class, comprising transitions to the *-as* declension, consists of the two groups of transfers from the radical *-ā* stems and the derivative *-a* stems. The former group embraces forms of compounds made from *kṣā* 'abode', *pṛa-jā* 'offspring', *-dā* 'giving', *-dhā* 'bestowing', besides *mās* 'moon', starting from the N. in *-ās* which is identical in form with that of stems in *-as*. The forms of this type are the following: N. pl. *divā-kṣas-as* beside N. sing. *divā-kṣā-s* 'having an abode in heaven'; A. sing. *ā-prajas-am* (AV. VS.) 'childless', A. pl. f. *īḍa-prajas-as* (TS. MS.), A. sing. *su-prajās-am* (AV.), N. pl. m. *su-prajās-as* (AV. TS.) 'having a good son' beside N. sing. m. *su-prajā-s*; V. *draviṇo-das*⁶ beside N. sing. *draviṇo-dās-s*, A. *draviṇo-dā-m* 'wealth-giving'; *varco-dās-au* (VS.) 'granting vigour'; *reto-dhās-as* (VS.) 'impregnating' beside N. sing. m. *reto-dhā-s*; A. *vayo-dhās-am* (VS.), I. *vayo-dhās-ā* (VS.), *vayo-dhās-e* (VS.), V. *vayo-dhas*, N. pl. *vayo-dhās-as* (AV.) beside N. sing. *vayo-dhā-s* 'bestowing vigour'; D. sing. *varco-dhās-e* (AV.) beside N. sing. *varco-dhā-s* (AV.) and A. sing. f. *varco-dhā-m* (VS.); of *candrā-mās* 7 'moon' all the forms occurring, except the N. sing., which is their starting-point, are transfer forms: A. *candrā-masam* (VS. xxiii. 59¹), I. *candrā-masā* (AV.), D. *candrā-mase* (VS.), G. *candrā-masas*, L. *candrā-masi* (AV.), V. *candramas* (AV.), N. du. *candrā-masā*, *sūryā-candra-māsā* and *sūryā-candra-māsan*.

3. There are further several sporadic transition forms from *-as* stems occurring beside the ordinary corresponding *-a* stem. These may sometimes have started from an ambiguous N. sing., but they seem usually to be due to metrical exigencies. Such forms are the following: *dāksas-e*, *dāksas-as*, *pūtā-dakṣas-ā* and *pūtā-dakṣas-as* beside very frequent forms of *dāksa* 'skill'; *doṣās-as*⁸ (AV.) once beside forms of *doṣā* 'evening'; (*viśvāyu*)-*posas-am* beside the common *pōsa*; N. sing. *sā-bharās*, A. *viśvā-bharas-am* beside the frequent *bhāra* 'supporting'; *veśās-as*⁹ (AV.) beside *veśā* 'neighbour'; *śēpas* as A. sing. in AV. (XIV. 2³⁸) for the *śēpam* of the RV., from *śēpa* m. 'tail', N. sing. *śēpa-s*; N. sing. m. *su-śēvās* occurs in the AV. as a variant for *su-śēva-s* 'very dear' of the RV.; *sahāsra-sokās* occurs once as N. sing. m. beside the common *śika* 'flame'; A. sing. *tuvi-śvaṇḍas-am* and N. pl. *tuvi-śvaṇḍas-as*, beside *śvaṇā* 'sound'; A. pl. f. *gharmā-svaras-as* beside *svarā* 'roaring'; also the D. *dhruvās-e* (VII. 70¹) for *dhruvāya* to which it is preferred owing to the metre and the influence of infinitives in *-āse*, and similarly *vrādhās-e* (v. 64⁵) parallel to *vrādhāya* (VIII. 83⁶).

4. There are besides a few quite abnormal transition forms. The occurrence of the very frequent N. pl. m. of *vī* 'bird' with a singular verb (I. 141⁸) and once as an A. pl. (I. 104¹) may have produced the impression of a n. collective *vāyas* and thus led to the n. pl. *vāyāmsi* (AV.), helped perhaps by the existence of the very frequent n. stem *vāyas* 'food'. The isolated form N. sing. m. *sv-āñcās* is probably lengthened for *sv-āñca-s* (like *su-śēvās* for *su-śēvas*) which started from the A. sing. m. *sv-āñc-am*. The G. du. *rōḍas-os* occurs once (IX. 22⁵), evidently on account of the metre instead of the ordinary *rōḍastī-os*¹⁰.

¹ LANMAN 552 thinks that *medhā* 'wisdom' in N. *medhā*, I. *medhāya*, N. pl. *medhās*, I. *medhābhis* started from *medhām* as contracted A. of *medhas* found in *su-medhās*. This seems doubtful to me.

² In VI. 66⁶ *rōḍas* might be taken as N. sing. m. (as GRASSMANN takes it) beside *rōḍās*, m.

³ Cp. also the D. *carāyai* (VII. 77¹) beside *carāse* (I. 92⁴, v. 47⁴), and *tārāya* (II. 13¹²) beside *tārāse* (III. 18³).

⁴ Cp. LANMAN 353 and 554, 8.

⁵ There is also an *-as* stem extended with *-a* in the D. *ā-jarasāya* (x. 85⁴³) 'till old age', based on the adv. compound *ā-jaras-ām* (B.).

⁶ Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 398.

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⁷ From *mās* (A. *mās-am*, etc.), where the *s* belongs to the stem. It is formed probably with *-as* from *mā* 'measure' (*mā-as*), being thus in origin a contracted *-as* stem, in which, however, the N. *mās* giving rise to the transition forms was understood as the lengthened form of **mas*.

⁸ In *usāso doṣāsas ca* (AV. XVI. 46) obviously due to parallelism with *usāsas*.

⁹ Clearly owing to the metre instead of *veśāsas*.

¹⁰ Similarly *akṣ-ōs* occurs in AV. v. 11¹⁰ (but contrary to the metre) for *akṣtī-ōs*. On the transition forms of the *-as* declension cp. LANMAN 546—558.

Inflexion.

344. The N. sing. m. f. lengthens the vowel of the suffix; e. g. m. *āṅgirās*¹, f. *uśās*. In about a dozen compounds the long vowel appears (owing to the influence of the m.) in the n. also; e. g. *ūrṇa-mradās* 'soft as wool'. Before endings with initial *bh* the suffix *-as* becomes *-o*². The forms actually occurring, if made from *āpas-* n. 'work' and *apās-* m. f. 'active', would be as follows:

Sing. N. *āpas*; *apās*. A. *āpas*; *apāsam*. I. *āpasā*; *apāsā*. D. *āpase*; *apāse*. Ab. *āpasas*; *apāsas*. G. *āpasas*; *apāsas*. L. *āpasi*; *apāsi*. V. *āpas*; *apās*. — Du. N. A. V. *āpast*; *apās* and *apāsau*³. D. *apībhyām* (VS.). G. *āpasos* (VS.). — Pl. N. *āpāṃsi*; *apāsas*. A. *āpāṃsi*; *apāsas*. I. *āpobhis*; *apobhis*. D. *āpobhyas*; *apobhyas*. Ab. *āpobhyas*. G. *āpasām*; *apāsām*. L. *āpassu*; *apāssu*⁴.

The forms actually occurring are as follows:

Sing. N. m. *āṅgirās*⁵ an epithet of Agni, *dāmūnās* 'domestic', *nodhās* name of a seer, *yaśās* 'glorious', *rakṣās* 'demon', *vedhās* 'ordainer'; compounds: *a-cetās* 'senseless', *aty-amhās* (VS. xvii. 80) 'beyond distress', *ādri-barhās* 'fast as a rock', *ā-āvayās* 'free from duplicity', *an-āgās*⁶ 'sinless', *an-ūdhās* 'udderless', *anūna-varcās* 'having full splendour', *an-enās* 'guiltless', *ā-pracetās* 'foolish', *abhibhūty-ājās* 'having superior power', *dmitaujās* 'almighty', *a-rapās* 'unhurt', *āvayāta-helās* 'whose anger is appeased', *āsamāty-ojās* 'of unequalled strength', *ā-handās* 'exuberant', *uru-cakṣās* 'far-seeing', *uru-vyācās* 'widely extending', *ṛṣi-manās* 'of far-seeing mind', *ṛṣvāujās* 'having sublime (ṛṣvā-) power', *kārī-dhāyās* 'favouring the singer', *kṛttī-vāsās* (VS. iii. 61) 'wearing a skin', *kēta-vedās* 'knowing the intention', *khādo-arnās* 'having a devouring flood', *gabhīrā-vepās* 'deeply moved', *gūrtā-manās* 'having a grateful mind', *gūrtā-śravās* 'the praise of whom is welcome', *gō-nyoghās* 'streaming among milk', *ghṛtā-prayās* 'relishing ghee', *jātā-vedās* 'knowing created beings', *tād-apās* 'accustomed to that work', *tād-okās* 'rejoicing in that', *tād-ojās* 'endowed with such strength', *tarād-dvesās* 'overcoming foes', *ṭigmā-tejās* (VS. i. 24) 'keen-edged', *tri-vayās* 'having threefold food', *dabhrā-cetās* 'little-minded', *dasmā-varcās* 'of wonderful appearance', *dirghā-tamās* N. of a seer, *dirghāpsās* 'having a long fore-part', *dur-ōśās* 'hard to excite', *devā-psarās* 'serving the gods as a feast', *devā-śravās* 'having divine renown', *dvi-bārḥās* 'doubly strong', *nā-vedās* 'cognisant', *nṛ-cakṣās* 'watching men', *nṛ-mānās* 'mindful of men', *ny-ōkās* 'domestic', *pāvakā-varcās* 'brightly resplendent', *purū-rāvās* (VS. v. 2) N., *prīthu-jrāyās* 'widely extended', *prīthu-pājās* 'far-shining', *prā-cetās* 'attentive', *prā-vayās* 'vigorous', *bāhu-djās* 'strong in the arm', *brhād-chravās* 'loud-sounding', *brhād-ravās* (VS. v. 22) 'loud-sounding', *brhād-vayās* (TS. i. 5. 10²) 'grown strong', *bodhin-manās* 'watchful-minded', *bhūri-retās* (VS. xx. 44) 'abounding in seed', *bhūry-ojās* 'having great power', *mādhū-vacās* 'sweet-voiced', *māno-javās* 'swift as thought', *mahā-yaśās* (Kh. iv. 8⁸) 'very glorious', *mitrā-mahās* 'rich in friends', *raghu-pātma-jamhās* 'having a light-falling foot',

¹ The stems *svā-tavas-* and *sv-āvas-* form the irregular N. *svā-tavān* and *sv-āvān*, VS. *sv-āvā*.

² Except in f. *uśādbhis* and m. *svā-tavaadbhyas* (VS.); cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 713 (bottom).

³ The ending *-au* is here very rare and occurs chiefly in the later Samhitās.

⁴ Represented in f. by *apsarāssu* (Kh.) and m. *apāsu* if for *apāssu*.

⁵ The *s* of the N. sing. is perhaps lost in *uśānā*; but this form may be a transition, starting from the A. *uśānīm* (= *uśānasam*) after the analogy of the f.; another instance is perhaps *an-ehā* (x. 61¹²).

⁶ The form *an-āvayās* (AV. vii. 90³), meaning perhaps 'not producing conception', may belong to this declension. See WHITNEY's note. LANMAN 443, places it under radical *-ā* stems.

rāthaujās (VS. xv. 15) 'having the strength of a chariot', *riśādās* 'destroying enemies', *vāsu-śravās* 'famous for wealth', *vāta-ramhās* 'fleet as wind', *vi-cetās* 'clearly seen', *vi-manās* 'very wise', *viśvā-caṣās* 'all-seeing', *viśvā-dhāyās* 'all-sustaining', *viśvā-bharās*¹ (VS. xi. 32) 'all-supporting', *viśvā-bhojās* 'all-nourishing', *viśvā-manās* 'perceiving everything', *viśvā-vedās* 'omniscient', *viśvā-vyacās* (VS. xiii. 56) 'embracing all things', *viśvūjās* 'all-powerful', *vi-hāyās* 'mighty', *vīlu-dveśās* 'hating strongly', *vīlī-harās* 'holding fast', *vrddhā-mahās* 'of great might', *vrddhā-vayās* 'of great power', *vrddhā-śravās* 'possessed of great swiftness', *śatā-tejās* (VS. i. 24) 'having a hundredfold vital power', *śatā-payās* (TS. VS.) 'having a hundred draughts', *śukrā-varcās* 'having bright lustre', *śraddhā-manās* 'true-hearted', *śrī-manās* (VS.) 'well-disposed', *sā-canās* 'being in harmony with', *sā-cetās* 'unanimous', *sa-jōśās* 'united', *satyā-rādhās* 'truly beneficent', *satyūjās* (AV. VS. TS.) 'truly mighty', *sa-prāthās* 'extensive', *sām-okās* 'dwelling together', *sahāsra-caṣās* 'thousand-eyed', *sahāsra-cetās* 'having a thousand aspects', *sahāsra-pāthās* 'appearing in a thousand places', *sahāsra-retās* 'having a thousandfold seed', *sahāsra-śokās*¹ 'emitting a thousand flames', *sahāsrāpsās* 'thousand-shaped', *su-dāmsās* 'performing splendid actions', *su-mānās* 'well-disposed', *su-medhās*² 'having a good understanding', *su-rādhās* 'bountiful', *su-rēkṇās* 'having fair possessions', *su-rētās* 'having much seed', *su-vārcās* 'splendid', *su-vāsās* 'having beautiful garments', *sōma-caṣās* (TS. ii. 2. 124) 'looking like Soma', *stōma-vāhās* 'receiving praise', *spārhā-rādhās* 'bestowing enviable wealth', *sv-āñcās*¹ 'going well', *sv-āpās* 'skilful', *svābhūty-ojās* 'having energy from inherent power', *svā-yaśās* 'glorious through one's own acts', *svār-caṣās* 'brilliant as light', *svār-canās* 'lovely as light', *sv-ljās* 'very strong'.

f. *uśās* 'dawn'; *dti-cchandās* (TS, VS. xxi. 22) a metre, *d-dvayās*, *ap-sarīs* 'water-nymph', *a-repās* 'spotless', *ā-hanās*, *uru-vyācās*, *ūrṇa-mradās* 'soft as wool', *dvi-bārḥās*, *nicā-vayās* 'whose strength is low', *ny-mānās*, *prā-cetās*, *mādhū-vacās*, *yāvayād-dveśās* 'driving away enemies', *vi-cchandās* (TS. v. 2. 11¹) 'containing various metres', *vi-hāyās*, *vīṣa-manās* 'manly-spirited', *śukrā-vāsās* 'bright-robed', *sā-cetās*, *sā-cchandās* (TS. v. 2. 11¹) 'consisting of the same metres', *sa-jōśās*, *sa-prāthās*, *sā-bharās*¹ 'furnished with gifts' (?), *sahā-yaśās* (TS. iv. 4. 12²) 'glorious', *su-dāmsās*, *su-pēśās* 'well-adorned', *su-mānās*, *su-medhās*², *su-vāsās*.

N. A. n. *āṃhas* 'distress', *dñjas* 'ointment', *a-dveśās* 'without malevolence', *ānas* 'cart', *an-ehās* 'without a rival', *āndhas* 'darkness' and 'plant', *āpas* 'work', *āpās* 'active', *āpnas* 'property', *āpsas* 'hidden part of the body', *ām̐has* 'water', *āyas* 'metal', *a-raṣās* 'harmless', *a-rapās*, *ārṇas* 'flood', *āvas* 'favour', *āgas* 'sin', *āpas* 'religious ceremony', *ūras* 'breast', *ūdhas* 'udder', *ēnas* 'sin', *ōkas* 'abode', *ōjas* 'strength', *ṣṣōdas* 'rushing water', *cānas* 'delight', *cētās* (VS. xxxiv. 3) 'intellect', *chāndas* 'metrical hymn', *jām̐has* 'course', *jīvas* 'quickness', *jrāyas* 'expanse', *tād-āpas*, *tāpas* 'heat', *tāmas* 'darkness', *tāras* 'velocity', *tjās* 'sharp edge', *tydjas* 'abandonment', *dāmsas* 'marvellous power', *dīvas* 'worship', *drāviṇas* 'property', *dveśas* 'hostility', *nābhas* 'vapour', *nāmas* 'obedience', *pūṣkas* 'side', *pāyas* 'milk', *pāsas* (VS. xx. 9) 'penis', *pājas* 'vigour', *pāthas* 'place', *pīvas* 'fat', *puru-bhōjas* 'greatly nourishing', *pēśas* 'ornament', *prāthas* 'width', *prāyas* 'enjoyment', *psāras* 'feast', *bhārgas* 'radiance', *bhāsas* 'light', *mānas* 'mind', *māyas* 'joy', *māhas* 'greatness', *māhās* 'great', *mīdhas* 'disdain', *mēdas* 'fat', *yāśas* 'fame', *rāṣas* 'damage', *rājas* 'region of clouds', *rāpas* 'infirmity', *rābhas* 'violence', *rādhās* 'bounty', *rēkṇas* 'wealth', *rētās* 'flow', *rēpas* 'stain', *rōdhas* 'bank', *vāṣas* 'breast', *vācas* 'speech', *vāyas* 'bird' and

¹ Probably a transition form (p. 225, 3, 4).

² Perhaps a transfer form from *medhā*, since the latter stem is common, while the

-as stem occurs only in *su-medhāsam* (once) and *su-medhasas* (four times in a refrain).

'food', *vāriyas* 'space', *vārcas* 'vigour', *vārpas* 'figure', *vāg-ījas* (VS. XXXVI. 1) 'speech-energy', *vāśas* 'garment', *vāhas* 'offering', *vādas* 'wealth', *vēpas* 'quivering', *vyācas* 'expanse', *vṛdyas* 'superior power', *śārdhas* 'troop', *śāvas* 'power', *śīras* 'head', *śēpas* 'offspring', *śrāvas* 'renown', *sa-jīśas*, *sādas* 'seat', *sānas*¹ (Kh. III. 15¹⁵) 'gain', *sa-prāthas*, *sa-bādhās* 'harassed', *sīras* 'lake', *sāhas* 'force', *sahāīyas* (VS. XXXVI. 1) 'endowed with strength', *su-rītas*, *srītas* 'stream', *svā-tavas* 'inherently strong', *hāras* 'flame', *hīlas* 'passion', *hvāras* 'crookedness'. — Ending in *-ās*² (like m.): *asrī-vīyās*³ (VS. XIV. 18), *uru-prāthās* (VS. XX. 39) 'far-spread', *īrṇa-mradīs*, *gūrtī-vacās* 'speaking agreeably', *devā-vyacās* 'affording space for the gods', *dvi-bārhas*, *viśvā-vyacās* (AV.), *vi-spardhās* (VS. XV. 5) 'emulating', *vīrī-peśās* 'forming the ornament of heroes', *vīhī-harās*, *sa-prāthās* (AV. VS. TS.), *sumānās* (TS. IV. 5. 1²)⁴.

A. m. *jārdasam* 'old age', *tavādasam* 'strong', 'strength', *tyajādasam* 'offshoot', *dāmūnasam*, *pārīnasam* (160) 'abundance', *bhiyādasam* 'fear', *yaśādasam*, *rakṣādasam*, *vedhādasam*; *a-cetādasam*, *anāsta-vedādasam* 'having one's property unimpaired', *an-āgasam*, *anu-gāyasam* 'followed by shouts', *an-endāsam* (TS. I. 8. 5³), *an-chādasam*, *apādasam*, *a-pratidhrīṣṭa-śavasam* 'of irresistible power', *abhibhūty-ījasam*, *arī-manāsam* 'obedient', *a-rādhāsam* 'not liberal', *a-repādasam*, *arcanānasam* 'having a rattling carriage' (N. of a man), *ā-hanādasam*, *uccaiś-śravasam* (Kh. V. 14⁵) 'neighing aloud' (N. of Indra's horse), *upākā-cakṣasam* 'seen close at hand', *uru-cākṣasam*, *uru-jrīyasam* 'extending over a wide space', *uru-vyācasam*, *īrṇa-mradasam* (VS. II. 2), *ūrāhvā-nabhasam* (VS. VI. 16) 'being above the clouds', *kṣetra-sādhāsam* 'who divides the fields', *gūthā-śravasam* 'famous through songs', *gāyatrī-cchandāsam* (VS. VIII. 47) 'to whom the Gāyatrī metre belongs', *gāyatrī-vepasam* 'inspired by songs', *gīr-vaṇasam* 'delighting in invocations', *gīr-vāhasam* 'praised in song', *gūrtī-śravasam*, *gī-arnāsam* 'abounding in cattle', *gō-dhāyasam* 'supporting cows', *cikītvān-manāsam* 'attentive', *citrā-mahasam* 'possessing excellent bounty', *citrā-rādhāsam* 'granting excellent gifts', *jāgac-chandāsam* (VS. VIII. 47) 'to whom the Jagatī metre belongs', *jātī-vedāsam*, *tuvi-rādhāsam* 'granting many gifts', *tuvi-svanāsam*⁵ 'loud-sounding', *tuvy-ījasam* 'very powerful', *triṣṭhūp-chandāsam* (VS. VIII. 47), *dāndukāsam* 'delighting (śkas-) in a sacrificial meal', *dyukṣā-vacasam* 'uttering heavenly words', *dvi-bārhasam*, *dvi-śavasam* 'having twofold strength', *dhrīṣṭi-ījasam* 'endowed with resistless might', *nāryāpasam* 'doing manly (nārya-) deeds', *nṛ-cākṣasam*, *pañkti-rādhāsam* 'containing fivefold gifts', *puru-peśasam* 'multiform', *puru-bhījasam*, *puru-vārpasam* 'having many forms', *puru-vepasam* 'much-exciting', *prā-cetasam*, *prā-tvakṣasam* 'energetic', *brāhma-vāhasam* 'to whom prayers are offered', *bhūri-cākṣasam* 'much-seeing', *bhūri-dhāyasam* 'nourishing many', *māno-javasam* (TS. II. 4. 7¹), *yajñā-vanasam* 'loving sacrifice', *yajñā-vāhasam* 'offering worship', *riśādasam*⁶, *vāja-sravasam* 'famous for wealth', *vi-cetasam*, *vi-jośasam* 'forsaken', *vi-dveśasam* 'resisting enmity', *viśvā-dhāyasam*, *viśvā-bharasam*⁷, *viśvā-vedāsam*, *viśvā-nyacasam*, *viśvāyu-pośasam*⁷ 'causing prosperity to all men', *viśvāyu-vepasam* 'exciting all men', *vi-hāyasam*, *vīrī-rādhāsam* 'granting enjoyment', *sā-cetasam*, *sa-jośasam*, *satyā-gīrvāhasam* 'getting true praise', *satyā-rādhāsam* (VS. XXII. 11), *satyā-śavasam* 'truly vigorous',

¹ Though *sānas* does not otherwise occur (*sana-* m. is found as last member of a compound), the context in Khila III. 15¹⁵ seems to require an A.: *ahām gandhārvā-rūpeṇa sāna ā vartayāmi te*.

² Cp. LANMAN 560.

³ Of doubtful meaning; the form may possibly be N. pl. of *asrīvi-*. Cp. BR.

⁴ Cp. LANMAN 560; see also the neuters in *ā-s*, LANMAN 445 (mid).

⁵ For this form, TS. III. 3. 11² has erroneously *tuvi-svanādasam*.

⁶ Also the transition form *vayo-dhāsam* (VS.) 'bestowing strength'.

⁷ Probably to be explained as a transition form (p. 225, 3).

sādhna-makhasam 'performing sacrifice in a sacred precinct', *sa-prāthasam* (VS. XXI. 3), *samudrā-vāsasam* 'concealed in the waters', *samudrā-vyacasam* 'extensive as the sea', *sārva-vedasam* (VS. xv. 55; TS. iv. 7. 13⁴) 'having complete property', *sahāsra-caṅkasam*, *sahāsra-bhāṇasam* 'a thousandfold', *sahāsra-varcasam* 'having a thousandfold power', *su-ctasam* 'very wise', *su-dāṁsasam*, *su-peśasam*, *su-prayāsam* 'well regaled', *su-bhūjasam* 'bountiful', *su-medhāsam*¹, *su-rādhasam*, *su-rētasam*, *su-vārcasam* (TS. III. 2. 8⁵), *su-śrāvasam* 'famous', *syprā-bhojasam* 'having abundant food', *svā-yaśasam*, *sv-āpasam* 'affording good protection', *hāri-dhāyasam* 'giving yellow streams', *hāri-varpasam* 'having a yellow appearance'. — Contracted forms: *uśānām* N. of a seer, *māhām*, *vedhām*.

f. *uśāsam* and *uśāsam*², *dhvārāsam* 'deceiving'; *ān-āgasam*, *an-ehāsam*, *a-rakṣāsam*, *a-repāsam*, *dśva-peśasam* 'decorated with horses', *ud-ojasam* 'exceedingly powerful', *uru-vyācasam*, *cikittvān-manasam*, *puru-bhūjasam*, *yāvayād-dveśasam*, *vāja-peśasam* 'adorned with precious gifts', *viśva-dōhasam* 'yielding all things', *viśvā-dhāyasam*, *viśvā-peśasam* 'containing all adornment', *viśvā-bhojasam*, *satārcasam* 'having a hundred supports' (*rcās-*), *śilci-peśasam* 'brightly adorned', *sahāsra-bhāṇasam*, *svā-yaśasam*, *hāri-varpasam*. — Contracted forms: *uśām*, *jarām*, *medhām* 'wisdom', *vayām* 'vigour'; *ān-āgām*, *ap-sarām* (AV.)³.

I. m. *jarāsā*, *tārūśāsā* 'giving victory', *tavāsā*, *tveśāsā* 'impulse', *pārīṇasā*, *bhīyāsā*⁴, *yaśāsā*, *sāhasā* 'mighty', *havāsā* 'invocation'; *an-ehāsā*, *a-rakṣāsā*, *gō-parīṇasā* 'having abundance of cows', *prthu-pūjasā*, *māno-javasā*, *viśvā-peśāsā*, *su-peśāsā*, *su-śrāvasā*, *sv-āpasā* (VS. xxv. 3).

f. *uśāsā*, *yajāsā* 'worshipping'; *āti-cchandāsā* (VS. i. 27), *a-repāsā*, *uru-caṅkasā* (VS. iv. 23).

n. *āñjasā*, *ānasā*, *āndhasā*, *āpasā*, *apāsā*, *a-rakṣāsā*, *ārṇasā*, *āvasā*, *īrasā* (VS. TS.), *ēnasā*, *ōjasā*, *ōhasā* 'prospect', *kṣōdasā*, *gō-ārṇasā*, *cāṅkasā* 'brightness', *ctāsā*, *chāndasā* (VS. TS.), *jāvasā* and (once) *javāsā*⁵ 'with speed', *tānasā* 'offspring', *tāpasā*, *tāmasā*, *tārasā*, *tējasā*, *tyājāsā*, *tvāṅkasā* 'energy', *dāṁsasā*, *dōhasā* 'milking', *dhāyasā* 'nourishing', *dhrājāsā* 'gliding power', *nābhasā*, *nāmasā*, *pāyasā*, *pājasā*, *pīvasā*, *peśāsā* (VS. xx. 41), *prāyasā*, *bāhuvōjasā*, *bhrājāsā* 'lustre', *mānasā*, *māhasā*, *mēdasā*, *yaśāsā*⁶ 'glorious', *rakṣāsā*, *rājāsā*, *rāpasā*, *rādhasā*, *rēṅkasā*, *rētasā*, *vācasā*, *vānasā* 'enjoyment', *vāyasā*⁷, *vārcasā*, *vārpasā*, *vāsasā*, *vāhasā*, *vēdasā*, *vēpasā*, *śāvasā*, *śirasā* (Kh. i. 9⁴), *śējasā*, *śrāvasā*, *sāhasā*, *su-dāṁsasā*, *su-rētasā*, *srōtasā*, *hārasā*, *hējasā* 'vigour'⁸.

D. m. *tavāse*, *duvāse* 'worshipper', *yaśāse*, *rakṣāse*, *vedhāse*, *śikvase* 'adroit', *sāhase* 'mighty'; *abhiṣṭi-sāvase* 'granting powerful aid', *ukthā-vāhase* 'offering verses', *uru-vyācase*, *ṛtā-peśase* 'having a glorious form', *gāyatrā-vepase*, *gir-vānase*, *gir-vāhase*, *ghorā-caṅkase* 'of frightful appearance'⁹, *jātā-vedase*, *tād-apase*, *tād-okase*, *dirghā-yaśase* 'renowned far and wide', *dirghā-śrāvase* 'famous far

¹ Perhaps to be explained as a transition form starting from N. *su-medhā-s*.

² In Pada text *uśāsam*.

³ Cp. J. SCHMIDT, Heteroklitische nominative singularis auf -ās in den arischen sprachen, KZ. 26, 401—409; 27, 284; COLLITZ, BB. 7, 180; PRELLWITZ, BB. 22, 83.

⁴ Also contracted to *bhīyā* with adverbial shift of accent occurring 3 times (*bhīyāsā* 11 times).

⁵ In iv. 27¹.

⁶ Cp. GRASSMANN, s. v. *yaśās-*.

⁷ Also the transition form *vayo-dhāsā* (VS. xv. 7).

⁸ A few forms in -as appear to have the value of instrumentals as agreeing with a word in that case: *vācas* (I. 26² etc.), *yajña-vacās* (AV. xi. 319), *śāvas* (I. 81⁴), *ēdhas* (AV. xii. 32), cp. BLOOMFIELD, SBE. 42, 645; see LANMAN 562, and cp. CALAND, KZ. 31, 261.

⁹ Also the transition form *candrā-mase* (VS. xxx. 21).

and wide', *dyumnd-śravase* 'producing a clear sound', *nr-cākṣase*, *ny-ḍkase*, *purū-rāvase*, *prthu-jrāvase*, *prthu-pājase*, *prū-cetase*, *prū-tavase* 'very strong', *brāhma-vāhase*, *mṛktā-vāhase* 'carrying off what is injured', N. of a seer, *yajñā-vāhase*¹, *viśvā-cākṣase*, *vi-hāyase*, *satyā-rādhasse*, *sahāsra-cākṣase*, *svā-tavase*, *svā-yaśase*.

f. *uśāse*, *vrđhāse* 'furtherance'; *āti-cchandase* (VS. XXIV. 13), *dur-vāśase* 'ill-clothed', *parjānya-retase* 'sprung from the seed of Parjanya'.

n. *apāse*, *a-peśāse* 'formless', *āvase*, *ājase*, *cākṣase*, *javāse*, *tāpase*, *tāmase*, *tārāse*, *tījase* (VS. XV. 8), *dākṣase* 'ability', *dhāyase*, *dhruvāse* 'stopping', *nābhase* (VS. VII. 30), *nāmase*, *pājase*, *prāyase*, *psārase*, *mānase*, *māhase* (VS. XIX. 8), *yāśase* (VS. XX. 3), *yūdase* (VS. XXX. 20) 'voluptuousness', *rūkṣase*, *rādhasse*, *rētase*, *vācāse*, *vārcase*, *śārase* (VS. XXXVIII. 15) 'skin of boiled milk', *śāvase*, *śrāvase*, *sāhase*, *svā-yaśase*, *hārase*.

Ab. m. *a-rādhasas*, *jarāsas*, *tavāsas*, *pārṇasas*, *raṅśāsas*², *sāhasas*. — f. *uśāsas*. — n. *āṇhasas*³, *ānasas*, *āndhasas*, *āpasas*, *ārṇhasas*, *āgasas* (TS. IV. 7. 15²), *ēnasas*, *ōkasas*, *ōjasas*, *kṣōdasas*, *jṛāyasas*, *tāpasas*, *tūmasas*, *drūviṇasas*, *pāyasas*, *pājasas*, *prāthasas*, *bhūmsasas* 'intestine', *mānasas*⁴, *rājāsas*, *rādhasas*, *vēdasas*, *sādasas*, *sārasas*, *sāhasas*.

G. m. *āṅgirasas*, *āpāsas*, *āpnasas*, *tavāsas*, *pārṇasas*, *raṅśāsas*, *vedhāsas*; *ān-āgasas*, *āpāka-cākṣasas* 'shining from afar', *abhī-vayasas* 'refreshing', *a-raṅśāsas*, *upamā-śravasas* 'most highly famed', *kṛṣṇā-jamhasas* 'having a black track', *jātā-vedasas*, *dāmūpnasas* 'having abundance of gifts', *dirghā-śravasas*, *divi-bārhasas*, *nr-cākṣasas*, *pūri-dveśasas* 'enemy', *purū-bhūjasas*, *prthu-śrāvāsas* 'far-famed', *prū-cetasas*, *prā-mahasas* 'very glorious', *prayāsas* (TS. IV. 1. 8²), *bhā-tvākṣasas* 'having the power of light', *vī-cetasas*, *vidmanāpnasas* 'working with wisdom', *viśvā-manasas*, *vīka-dvarasas*⁵, *satyā-rādhasas* (TS. III. 3. 11¹), *satyā-savasas* (VS. IV. 18) 'having true impulsion', *sa-bādhasas*, *su-prayāsas* (VS. XXVII. 15), *svā-yaśasas*. — f. *uśāsas*⁶.

n. *āṇhasas*, *ānasas*, *āndhasas*, *āpasas*, *āyasas*, *ārṇhasas*, *ārśasas* (VS. XII. 97) 'piles', *āvasas*, *ēnasas* (VS. VIII. 13), *ōkasas*, *ōjasas*, *g-ārṇhasas*, *tāpasas* (VS. IV. 26; Kh. IV. 11¹³), *tūmasas*, *tyājāsas*, *dākṣasas*⁷, *drūviṇasas*, *nābhhasas*, *nāmhasas*, *pāyasas*, *pājasas* (Kh. I. 7²), *prāyhasas*, *mānasas*, *mēdasas*, *rājāsas*, *rāpasas*, *rādhasas*, *rētāsas*, *vācāsas*, *vāpasas* 'fair form', *vāyasas*, *vārpasas*, *vāsasas*, *śāvhasas*⁸, *śrāvhasas*, *sādasas*, *sārapasas*⁵, *sāhasas*, *hārasas*⁹. — Contracted form: *nr-mānās* (X. 92¹⁴).

L. m. *āṅgirasī*¹⁰ (VS. IV. 10), *g-ārṇasī*, *jātā-vedasī*, *dāmūnasī*, *prthu-śrāvāsī*, *yajñā-vāhasī* (VS. IX. 37), *satyā-śravāsī* 'truly famous', N. of a man. — f. *uśāsī*. — n. *āṇhasī*, *dāṇjāsī*, *apāsī*, *āvasī*, *āgasī*, *ōkasī*, *krāndasī* 'battle-cry', *cākṣasī*, *tāmāsī*, *nāmāsī*, *pāyasī*, *pāthasī* (VS. XIII. 53), *mānasī*, *rājāsī*, *rādhasī*, *rētāsī*, *śrāvāsī*, *sādasī*, *sārasī*, *hēlāsī* (TS. III. 3. 11⁴).

V. m. *āṅgiras*, *nodhas*, *vedhas*; *ukthā-vāhas*, *upama-śravas*, *kāru-dhāyas*,

¹ Also the transition form *vayo-dhāse* (VS. XXVIII. 46).

² Also the transition form *reto-dhāsas* (VS. VIII. 10).

³ In VI. 31 *āṇhas* is probably the stem used instead of the very frequent Ab. *āṇh-as-as*, rather than the Ab. of *āṇh-*, as this would be the only form from such a stem, and the accent would be irregular.

⁴ Also the adv., in the sense of the Ab., *medas-tās* (VS. XXI. 60).

⁵ Of uncertain meaning.

⁶ Once the strong form *uśāsas* (X. 39¹) for the weak.

⁷ This, as well as the D. n. *dākṣase*, is a transition form (p. 225, 3).

⁸ The stem *sāvas* in VIII. 36 may be used for the G. Perhaps also *sādas-pāti-* stands for *sādasas-pāti-*. Cp. LANMAN 563⁴.

⁹ Transition forms are *śārđhasya*, *nir-avāsya*; *candrā-masas*, *reto-dhāsas* (VS.); *dākṣasas*, *dośāsas* (AV.).

¹⁰ Also the transfer forms *āṅg're*, *hēle*; *candrā-masī* (AV.).

gir-vāṇas, *gir-vāhas*¹, *jāta-vedas*, *deva-śravas*, *dhr̥ṣan-manas* 'bold-minded', *nr-cakṣas*, *nr-maṇas*, *purū-ravas*, *pra-cetas*², *brahma-vāhas*, *mitra-mahas*, *vāja-pramahas* 'superior in strength', *viśva-cakṣas*, *viśva-dhāyas*, *viśva-manas*, *vṛṣa-maṇas*, *satya-rādhas*, *su-draviṇas* 'having fine property', *su-mahas* 'very great', *sva-tavas*, *sv-ojas*³. — f. *uṣas*; *ā-hanas*, *tigma-tejas* (AV. VS.). — n. *draviṇas*, *śārdhas*.

Du. N. A. V. m. *apāsā*, *tavāsā*, *tośāsā*⁴ 'showering', *yaśāsā*, *vedhasā*; *a-repāsā*, *āsu-hēśāsā* 'having neighing horses', *īya-cakṣasā* 'of far-reaching sight', *uktha-vāhasā*, *uru-cakṣasā*, *kṛṣṭy-ojasā* 'overpowering men', *gambhīra-cetasā* 'of profound mind', *gō-pariṇasā*, *jātā-vedasā*, *tād-okasā*, *na-vedasā*, *nr-cakṣasā*, *nr-vāhasā* 'conveying men', *puru-dāṁsasā* 'abounding in wonderful deeds', *puru-bhojasā*, *pūti-dakṣasā*⁵ 'pure-minded', *pṛthu-pākṣasā* 'broad-flanked', *prā-cetasā*, *prā-mahasā*, *bodhin-manasā*, *mata-vacasā* 'heeding prayers', *mano-javasā*, *yajña-vāhasā*, *riśādasā*, *vatsa-pracetāsā* 'mindful of Vatsa', *vi-cetasā*, *vi-pākṣasā* 'going on both sides', *vīpra-vāhasā* 'receiving the offerings of the wise', *viśvā-bhojasā*, *viśvā-vedasā*, *vy-īnasā* 'guiltless', *śrēṣṭha-varcasā* 'having most excellent energy', *sa-jōsasā*, V. *sātyaujasā* (TS. IV. 7. 15³), *sā-manasā* 'unanimous', *samānt-varcasā* 'having equal vigour', *sām-okasā*, *sā-vayasā* 'having equal vigour', *sā-vedasā* 'having equal wealth', *sindhu-vāhasā* 'passing through the sea'(?), *su-dāṁsasā*, *su-prayāsā*, *su-rādhasā*, *su-rītasā*, *su-vācasā* 'very eloquent', *sv-āvasā*, *hitā-prayasā* 'who has offered an oblation of food', *hiraṇya-peśasā* 'having golden lustre'⁶. — With *au*: *a-repāsau*, V. *jāta-vedasau* (TS. I. 3. 7²), *nr-cakṣasau*, *prā-cetasau* (VS. XXVIII. 7), *viśvā-śārdhasau* 'forming a complete troop', *sā-cetasau* (VS. v. 3; Kh. III. 15¹³), *sa-jōsasau* (VS. XII. 74), *sā-manasau* (TS. I. 3. 7²), *sām-okasau* (TS. I. 3. 7²)⁷. — f. *uśāsā* and *uśāsā*⁸, *nāktōśāsā* 'night and morning', *an-ehāsā*, *uru-vyācasā*, *nr-cakṣasā* (AV.), *bhūri-retasā*, *bhūri-varpasā* 'multiform', *viśvā-peśasā*, *sā-cetusā*, *sā-manasā*, *su-dāṁsasā*⁹, *su-peśasā*. — With *-au*: *ap-sārdasau* (AV.), *a-repāsau*, *uśāsau* (VS. XXI. 50), *yaśāsau*; *nr-cakṣasau*, *viśvā-śārdhasau*, *vy-ēnasau* (AV.)¹⁰. — n. *āndhasī*, *krāndasī*, *jānasī*, *drādhastī* (TS. III. 2. 2²) 'garments', *nābhastī* (AV.), *nādhastī* 'refuges', *pākṣastī* (AV.), *pūjastī*, *rājastī*, *vācasastī*, *vāsastī* (TS. I. 5. 10¹).

D. m. *sa-jōsobhyām* (VS. VII. 8).

G. n. *dikṣā-tapāsos*¹¹ (VS. IV. 2) 'consecration and penance'.

Pl. N. V. m. *āngirasas*, *apāsas*, *tavāsas*, *dāmānasas*, *duvāsas* 'restless', *mṛgayāsas* 'wild animals', *yaśāsas*, *rakṣāsas*, *vedhāsas*, *śikvasas*; *ā-giraukasas* 'not to be kept back by hymns' (*girā*), *a-cetāsas*, *a-codāsas* 'unurged', *ādbhutainasas* 'in whom no fault (*ēnas*) is visible', *an-avabhṛī-rādhasas* 'giving undiminished wealth', *ān-āgasas*, *an-ehāsas*, *a-repāsas*, *ā-vicetasas* 'unwise', *a-jēsasas* 'without descendants', *āśva-rādhasas* 'equipping horses', *ā-sāmi-śavasas* 'having complete strength', *ā-hanasas*, *ukthā-vahasas*, *ūd-ojasas*, *uru-vyācasas* (VS. XXVII. 16), *kṣetra-sādhāsas*, *gambhīrā-vepasas*,

¹ In VI. 24⁶ GRASSMANN would read *gīrvavāhas*, as N.; cp. LANMAN 564².

² TS. I. 5. 11³ has *praceto rājan*; the original passage, RV. I. 24¹⁴, has *pracetā rājan* (Pada, *pracetā*); see LANMAN 564³.

³ Transition forms are *sā-pratha* (TB.), *candra-mas* (AV.), *vayo-dhas*, *draviṇo-das*.

⁴ With lengthened vowel.

⁵ Probably to be explained as a transition form (p. 225, 3).

⁶ Also the transition forms *candrāmāsā*, *sūryā-candrāmāsā*.

⁷ Also the transition forms *sūryā-candra-māsau*, *varco-dāsau* (VS. VII. 27), *sa-jōsau*.

⁸ In the Pada text *uśāsā*.

⁹ In VII. 73¹ *puru-dāṁsā* is perhaps a contracted form.

¹⁰ Also the transition forms *uśē* (VS.), *a-dveṣē*, *vi-drādhē*.

¹¹ There are also in the f. the transition forms *uśābhyām* I. and *rādasos* G.

ghṛṣvi-rādhasas 'granting with joy', *ghorā-varpasas* 'of terrible appearance', *citrā-rādhasas*, *tād-okasas*, *tuvi-śvaṇdsas*¹, *dvi-bārhasas*, *dhṛṣṇv-ōjasas*, *nā-vedasas*, *nṛ-cākṣasas*, *pathi-rākṣasas* (VS. XVI. 60) 'protecting roads', *pūtī-dakṣasas*², *prthu-pājasas*, *prā-cetasas*, *prati-jūti-varpasas* 'assuming any form according to impulse', *prā-tavasas*, *prā-tvakṣasas*, *prā-śravasas* 'farfamed', *bāhṛ-ōjasas*, *bhālāndsas* N. of a people, *mādhv-psarasas* 'fond of sweetness', *mādhya-cchāndasas* (TS. IV. 3. 113) 'sun' or 'middle of the year' (Comm.), *yajña-rāhasas*, *yutā-dveṣasas* 'delivered from enemies', *riśādāsas*, *rukṃā-vakṣasas* 'wearing gold ornaments on the breast', *vāruṇa-śeṣasas* 'resembling sons of Varuṇa', *vāta-raṇhasas*, *vāta-svanasas* 'roaring like the wind', *vī-cetasas*, *vidmanāpasas*, *vidyūn-mahasas* 'rejoicing in lightning', *vīpra-vacasas* 'whose words are inspired', *vi-mahasas* 'very glorious', *viśvā-dhāyasas*, *viśvā-mahasas* 'having all splendour', *viśvā-vedasas*, *vī-spardhasas* 'vying', *vī-hāyasas*, *vṛddhā-śarvasas* 'of great strength', *śrēṣṭha-varcasas*, *sā-cetasas*, *sa-jōsasas*, *satya-śarvasas*, *sa-bharasas*³, *sā-manasas*, *sām-okasas*, *sā-vayasas*, *sā-srotasas* (VS. XXXIV. 11) 'flowing', *sahā-cchāndasas* 'accompanied by metre', *sahāśra-pājasas* 'having a thousandfold lustre', *sahāūjasas* (VS. X. 4), *su-cākṣasas* 'seeing well', *su-cetasas*, *su-dāmsasas*, *su-pṛvāsas* 'very fat', *su-pēsasas*, *su-prācetasas* 'very wise', *su-prajātsas*⁴ (TS. I. 6. 2; AV.) 'having a good son', *su-mānasas*, *su-mahasas*, *su-medhasas*⁵, *su-rādhasas*, *sīra-caṣkasas* 'radiant as the sun', *sūrya-tvacasas* (VS. X. 4) 'having a covering bright as the sun', *sūrya-varcasas* (VS. X. 4) 'resplendent as the sun', *stōma-vāhasas* 'giving praise', *svā-tavasas*, *sv-āpasas*, *sv-āpnasas* 'wealthy', *svā-yaśasas*, *sv-ōvasas*, *hitā-prayasas*. — **Contracted forms:** *āṅgīrās*, *ān-āgās*⁶, *nāvedās*, *sa-jōsās*. — f. *apāsas*, *uśāsas* and *uśāsas*⁷, *yaśāsas*; *agni-bhṛājasas* 'fire-bright', *an-ehāsas*, *ap-sarāsas*, *uru-vyācasas* (TS. IV. 1. 82), *tṛṣu-cyāvasas* 'moving greedily', *dhānv-arnasas* 'overflowing the dry land', *nṛ-pēsasas* 'adorned by men', *prā-cetasas*, *prā-svādāsas* 'pleasant', *mādhv-arnasas* 'having a sweet flood', *vī-cetasas*, *su-pēsasas*, *śūda-dohasas* 'milking sweetness', *sv-āpasas*, *svā-yaśāsas*. — **Contracted forms:** *medhās*; *ā-jōsās* 'insatiable', *nā-vedās*, *su-rādhas*.

N. A. n. *āṇhāṃsi*, *āṇkāṃsi* 'bends', *āṇdhāṃsi*, *āpāṃsi*, *ārṇāṃsi*, *ārvāṃsi*, *āṅgāṃsi*, *ānāṃsi*, *ōkāṃsi*, *ōjāṃsi*, *kārāṃsi* 'deeds', *chāṇdhāṃsi*, *jātvāṃsi*, *jrāyāṃsi*, *tāmāṃsi*, *tvākṣāṃsi*, *dāmsāṃsi*, *dīvāṃsi*, *dvēśāṃsi*, *pāyāṃsi*, *pājāṃsi*, *pāthāṃsi* (VS. XXI. 46), *pēśāṃsi*, *prāyāṃsi*, *bhāsāṃsi*, *mānāṃsi*, *māhāṃsi*, *rākṣāṃsi*, *rājāṃsi*, *rāpāṃsi*, *rādhaṃsi*, *rētāṃsi*, *rādhaṃsi*, *rōhāṃsi* 'heights', *vākṣāṃsi*, *vācāṃsi*, *vāyāṃsi*, *vārāṃsi* 'expanses', *vārivāṃsi*, *vārcāṃsi* (VS. IX. 22), *vārpāṃsi*, *vāsāṃsi*, *śārdhāṃsi*, *śāvāṃsi*, *śrāvāṃsi*, *sādāṃsi*, *sārāṃsi*, *sāhāṃsi*, *skāṇdhāṃsi* 'branches', *hēlāṃsi*, *hvarāṃsi*.

A. m. *āṅgīrasas*⁸, *dhvārāsas*, *yaśāsas*, *rakṣāsas*, *vedhāsas*; *ān-āgasas*, *an-ehāsas*, *ā-pracetāsas*, *ā-rādhasas*, *uru-cākṣasas*, *tuvi-rādhasas*, *pūtī-dakṣasas*⁹, *prā-cetasas*, *brhāc-chravasas*, *yajñā-vanasas*, *riśādāsas*, *vī-mahasas*, *vī-spardhasas*, *sa-jōsasas* (VS. III. 44), *sā-manasas* (VS. VII. 25), *su-pēsasas*, *su-rādhasas*, *sv-āpnasas*¹⁰. — **Contracted forms:** *ān-āgās*, *su-medhās*¹¹. — f. *apāsas*, *uśāsas*¹², *yaśāsas*; *a-javāsas* 'not swift', *an-apnāsas* 'destitute of wealth', *an-ehāsas*, *ap-sarāsas*, *ari-dhāyasas* 'willingly yielding milk', *gharmā-svarasas*¹³ 'sounding like (the contents of) a boiler', *tād-āpasas*, *bhūri-varpasas*, *vāja-dravīṇasas* 'richly

¹ Probably a transition form (p. 225, 3).

² Probably a transition form (p. 225, 2).

³ Probably a transfer form; see p. 227, note 2.

⁴ Perhaps also *an-ehās* (X. 6112); see LAN-MAN 551¹.

⁵ In the Pada text *uśāsas*.

⁶ In I. 112¹⁸ LANMAN would take *āṅgīras* as A. pl. m. without ending.

⁷ Probably a transition form (p. 225, 3).

⁸ Also the transition forms *śārdhān*, *an-āgān*.

⁹ It is somewhat doubtful whether this is a contracted A. pl. (VII. 91³).

¹⁰ Once also *uśāsas*. In III. 6⁷ and VIII.

¹¹ LANMAN (566) would take *uśās* as A. pl. without ending.

rewarded', *vāja-śravasas*, *viśvā-dohasas*, *viśvā-dhāyasas*, *su-pēśasas*¹. — Contracted form: *uṣṭis* (IX. 41⁵).

I. m. *āngirobhis*; *agni-tāpobhis* 'having the heat of fire', *svā-yaśobhis*. — f. *svā-yaśobhis*; with *-ad-* for *-o-*: *uṣṭādbhis* (44 a, 3).

n. *ā-yavobhis* (VS. XII. 74) 'dark halves of the month', *ārnobhis*, *āvobhis*, *ājobhis*, *chāndobhis* (Kh. v. 3⁴), *tāpobhis*, *tāmobhis*, *tārobhis*, *dāmsobhis*, *dvēsobhis*, *dhāyobhis*, *nābhobhis*, *nāmobhis*, *pākṣobhis* (VS. XXIX. 5; TS. v. I. 11²), *pāyobhis*, *prāyobhis*, *māhobhis*, *rājobhis*, *rādhobhis*, *vācobhis*, *vāyobhis*, *vārobhis*, *sāvobhis*, *śrāvobhis*, *sāhobhis*.

D. m. *āngirobhyas*; with *-ad-* for *-o-*: *svā-tavadbhyas* (VS. XXIV. 16). — n. *mēdobhyas* (VS. XXXIX. 10), *rākṣobhyas*, *vāyobhyas* (AV.), *sārobhyas* (VS. XXX. 16). — Ab. n. *dvēsobhyas*.

G. m. *āngirasām*, *apāsām*, *tavāsām*, *yaśāsām*, *vedhāsām*; *ādbhutainasām*, *dasmā-varcasām*, *mahā-manasām* 'high-minded', *stīma-vāhasām*. — f. *apāsām*, *uśāsām*; *ap-sarāsām*, *nākṣatra-śavasām* 'equalling the stars in number'. — n. *chāndasām*, *tārasām* (AV.), *mādasām* (VS. XXI. 40), *rākṣasām* (VS. II. 23), *rādhasām*, *vēdasām*².

L. f. *ap-sarāssu* (Kh. IV. 8³). — n. *āṃhassu*³ (AV.), *ūdassu*, *rājassu*, *vākṣassu*, *vāyassu* (AV.), *śrāvassu*, *sādassu*⁴.

γ. Stems in *-yāms*.

345. The primary suffix *-yāms* (137)⁵ is used to form comparative stems. It is added either directly or with connecting *-i-* to the root, which is always accented. There are seven duplicate stems formed in both ways: *tāv-yāms-* and *tāv-iyāms-* 'stronger'; *nāv-yāms-* and *nāv-iyāms-* 'new'; *pān-yāms-* and *pān-iyāms-* 'more wonderful'; *bhāyāms-* and *bhāvīyāms-* 'more'; *rābhīyāms-* and *rābhīyāms-* (VS.) 'more violent'; *vāsyāms-* and *vāsīyāms-* 'better'; *sāh-yāms-* and *sāhīyāms-* 'mightier'. Strong and weak forms are regularly distinguished. In the latter the suffix is reduced by loss of the nasal and shortening of the vowel to *-yas*. These stems are declined in the m. and n. only, as they form their f. by adding *-i-* to the weak stem; e. g. *prēyas-i-* 'dearer'. No forms of the dual occur, and in the plural only the N. A. G. are found.

Inflection.

346. The V. sing. m. ends in *-as*⁶. The forms actually occurring, if made from *kāntīyāms-* 'younger', would be as follows:

Sing. N. m. *kāntīyān*, n. *kāntīyas*. A. m. *kāntīyāmsam*, n. *kāntīyas*. I. m. n. *kāntīyasā*. D. m. n. *kāntīyase*. Ab. m. n. *kāntīyasas*. G. m. n. *kāntīyasas*. L. m. *kāntīyasi*. V. m. *kāntīyas*. — Pl. N. m. *kāntīyāmsas*. A. m. *kāntīyasas*. N. A. n. *kāntīyāmsi*. G. m. *kāntīyasām*.

The forms which occur are the following:

Sing. N. m. *ā-tavyān*⁷ 'not stronger', *ājīyān* 'stronger', *kāntīyān*, *jāvīyān* 'swifter', *jyāyān* 'mightier', *tārīyān*⁸ 'easily passing through', *tāvīyān* 'stronger', *tāvīyān* 'stronger', *dhāvīyān* 'running fast', *nāvīyān* 'new', *māṃhīyān* 'more bountiful', *yājīyān* 'worshipping more', *yōdhīyān* 'more warlike', *vāntīyān* 'imparting more', *vārīyān* 'better', *vārīyān* (VS. XXIII. 48) 'higher', *vāsyān*

¹ Also the transition forms *ida-prajasas* (TS. I. 5. 6¹; MS. I. 5¹, p. 70).

² The form *vayām* is perhaps contracted for *vayāsām* (I. 165¹⁵ etc.); see LANMAN 552³.

³ All the Mss. read *āṃhassu*; see WHITNEY's note on AV. VI. 35².

⁴ The form *apāsu* (VIII. 41⁴) is perhaps

for m. *apāsu*; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, p. 111, note.

⁵ Cp. J. SCHMIDT KZ. 26, 377—400; HIRT, IF. 12, 201 f.

⁶ As in the *-mant*, *-vant* and *-vāms* stems.

⁷ On the Sandhi of these nominatives see LANMAN 514 (middle).

⁸ Cp. REICHEL, BB. 27, 104 f.

'better', *védīyān* 'knowing better', *śrīyān* 'better', *sāntīyān* (TS. III. 5. 5³) 'winning much', *sāhīyān* 'mightier', *skābhīyān* 'supporting more firmly'.

N. A. n. *fīyas* 'straighter', *ḍīyas*, *kānīyas*¹, *jyāyas*, *tānīyas*, *dāvīyas* 'farther', *drāghīyas* 'longer', *nāvīyas*, *nāīyas*, *nēdīyas* 'quite near', *prīyas* 'dearer', *bhīyas*² 'more', *vāīyas*, *vārṣīyas*, *vāsīyas* (TS. VS.), *vāsyas*, *śrīyas* (TS. VS.), *svādīyas* 'sweeter'.

A. m. *jyāyāmsam*, *tāyāmsam*, *drāghīyāmsam*, *nāvīyāmsam*, *pānyāmsam* 'more wonderful', *vārṣīyāmsam* (AV.), *śāsīyāmsam*³ 'more frequent', *śrīyāmsam*, *sāhīyāmsam* (AV.).

I. m. *jāvīyasā*, *nāvīyasā*, *bhīyasā*, *sāhīyasā* (Kh. I. 1¹). — **n.** *tījīyasā* 'keener', *tvākṣīyasā* 'very strong', *nāvīyasā*, *nāvīyasā*, *pānyasā*, *bhāvīyasā* 'more abundant', *bhīyasā*, *vāsyasā*, *sāhīyasā*.

D. m. *tāyase*, *nāvīyase*, *pānyase*, *pānyase*, *bālīyase* (AV.) 'mightier', *vārṣīyase* (VS. XVI. 30), *śrīyase* (VS. XXXI. 11), *sānyase*⁴, *sāhīyase*⁴, *sāhīyase*, *hānīyase* (VS. XVI. 40) 'more destructive'. — **n.** *nāvīyase*, *nāvīyase*, *sānyase*.

Ab. m. *tāvīyasas*, *rābhīyasas* 'more violent', *sāhīyasas*, *sāhyasas*. — **n.** *bhīyasas*.

G. m. *kānīyasas*, *jyāyasas*, *tāyayasas*, *nāvīyasas*, *nāvīyasas*, *bhīyasas*. — **n.** *nāvīyasas*.

L. m. *vārṣīyasi* (VS. VI. 11), *sāhīyasi*. — **V. m.** *ḍīyas*, *jyāyas*.

Pl. N. m. *tīkṣṇīyāmsas* (AV.) 'sharper', *bhīyāmsas* (TS. VS. AV.). *śrīyāmsas*. — **n.** *nāvīyāmsi*.

A. m. *kānīyasas*, *nēdīyasas*, *bhīyasas*, *rābhīyasas* (VS. XXI. 46), *vārṣīyasas* (AV.), *vāsyasas*, *vāhīyasas* 'driving better', *śrīyasas* (VS. TS.).

G. m. *ā-stheyasām* 'not firm' (137). The f. form *nāvīyasām* is twice used owing to metrical exigencies instead of *nāvīyasām* in agreement with *marītām*⁵.

ḍ. Stems in -vāms.

347. The suffix -vāms⁶ is used to form the stem of the perfect participle active. **Strong and weak stem**⁷ are regularly distinguished; but the latter assumes two different forms according as it is followed by a vowel or a consonant. The suffix is reduced before vowels, by loss of the nasal and Samprasāraṇa, to -us which becomes -uṣ; before a consonant (i. e. *bh*), it is reduced, by loss of the nasal and shortening of the vowel, to -vas, which becomes -vat⁸. The latter form of the stem occurs only three times in the RV. There are thus three stems employed in the inflexion of these participles: -vāms, -vat, -uṣ. The weakest form of the stem (-uṣ) appears instead of the strong twice in the A. sing. m. and once in the N. pl. m. The accent rests on the suffix in all its forms except in compounds formed with the negative *a-* or with *su-* 'well' and *du-* 'ill', where it shifts to these particles. This declension is restricted to the m. and n., as the f. is formed by adding -ṛ to the weakest stem, as *jagmūṣ-ṛ* 'having gone'. There are altogether (including compounds) about 75 stems in -vāms in the RV.

Inflection.

348. No specifically n. forms occur except two in the A. sing. No L. has been met with in any number; all the other weak cases are wanting in

¹ The form *jāvīyas* occurs in VS. XL. 4 (Īśā Up.).

² Once to be read *bhāvīyas*: LANMAN 514⁴.

³ Comparative of the root from which *śās-vat* 'constant' is derived.

⁴ To be read *sāhyase* in I. 71⁴.

⁵ See LANMAN 515.

⁶ On this suffix cp. J. SCHMIDT, KZ. 26, 329—377.

⁷ On the formation of this perfect stem, see above 181 and below 491.

⁸ This form was transferred to the N. A. sing. n. in which no consonant (-bh or -ṣ) followed; cp. 44 a, 3.

the dual as well as the D. Ab. in the plural. The V. sing. m. is regularly formed with *-vas*¹. The forms actually occurring, if made from *cakrṣāms-* 'having done', would be the following:

Sing. N. m. *cakrṣān*. A. m. *cakrṣāmsam*, n. *cakrṣāt*. I. *cakrṣā*. D. m. *cakrṣe*. Ab. *cakrṣas*. G. *cakrṣas*. V. m. *cakrvas*. — **Du.** N. A. m. *cakrṣāmsā*. — **Pl.** N. m. *cakrṣāmsas*. A. m. *cakrṣas*. I. m. *cakrṣādbhis*. G. m. *cakrṣām*.

The forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. m. *ā-cikītvān*² 'not knowing', *ā-prōṣivān* 'not gone away'³, *ā-rarivān* 'not liberal', *ā-vidvān*⁴ 'not knowing', *cakrṣān* 'having done', *cikītvān* 'having noticed', *jaganvān* 'having gone', *jaghanvān* 'having slain', *jajñivān*⁵ 'having recognized', *jigtvān*⁶ 'having conquered', *jujurvān* 'having grown old', *jujuṣvān* 'having enjoyed', *jūṣvān* 'having sped', *tatanvān* 'having stretched', *tasthivān* 'having stood', *dadaśvān*⁷ 'having bitten', *dadasvān* 'become exhausted', *dadṣvān* 'having seen', *dadvān* 'having given', *dadhanvān*⁸ 'having streamed', *dadhr̥svān* 'having become bold', *dāśvān*⁴ 'worshipping', *didivān* 'having shone', *nir-jagmivān* (TS. iv. 2. 14) 'having gone out', *papivān* 'having drunk'⁹, *pupūṣvān* 'having made abundant', *babhūvān* 'having become', *bibhivān* 'having feared', *mamṣvān* 'having died', *mūḥvān*⁴ 'bountiful', *yayivān* 'having gone', *rarivān* 'having given', *rurukvān* 'having shone', *vavanvān* 'having accepted', *vidvān*⁴ 'knowing', *vivikvān*¹⁰ 'having divided', *vividvān* 'having found', *vividhvān*¹¹ 'having wounded', *śuśukvān*¹² 'having shone', *śuśruvān* 'having heard', *sasavān* 'having won', *sāśahvān* 'having conquered', *sāhvān*⁴ 'having overcome'.

A. m. *ṛivāmsam*¹³ 'having gone', *cakrṣāmsam*, *cakhvāmsam*¹⁴ 'stretching out', *cikītvāmsam*, *jāgrvāmsam* 'waking', *jūṣvāmsam*, *tastabhvāmsam* 'having held fast', *tasthivāmsam*, *dāśvāmsam*⁴, *didivāmsam*, *dīr-vidvāmsam* 'ill-disposed', *papivāmsam*¹⁵, *paptivāmsam* 'having flown', *pīpivāmsam* 'having swelled', *mamṣvāmsam*, *riṛihvāmsam* 'having licked', *vaṛvāmsam* 'having enclosed', *vāyrdhvāmsam* 'having grown strong', *vidvāmsam*⁴, (*pra*)-*viviśivāmsam* (TS. iv. 7. 15¹), *śūśuvāmsam* 'having increased', *sasavāmsam*, *sasṛvāmsam* 'having sped', *sāśahvāmsam*, *sū-vidvāmsam*⁴ 'knowing well', *susupvāmsam* 'having slept', *sūśuvāmsam* 'having pressed (Soma)'. — **Weak forms for strong:** *cakrṣam* (x. 137¹) for *cakrṣāmsam*; *emuśam* (VIII. 66¹⁰)¹⁶ 'dangerous'.

A. n. *tatanvāt* 'extending far', *saṃ-vārtvāt* 'enveloping'.

I. m. *ā-bibhyuṣā* 'fearless', *cikīṭṣā* 'wise', *vidṣā*⁴. — **n.** *ā-bibhyuṣā*, *bibhyuṣā*.

D. m. *ā-raruṣe*, *ūcūṣe*¹⁷ 'pleased', *cakrṣe*, *cikīṭṣe*, *jagmūṣe* 'having gone', *jigyūṣe*, *dadaśūṣe* 'worshipping', *dāśūṣe*¹⁸, *bibhyūṣe*, *mūḥūṣe*¹⁸, *vidūṣe*¹⁸, *sedūṣe*¹⁹ 'having sat down'.

Ab. m. *ā-raruṣas*, *jujurūṣas*. — **n.** *tasthūṣas*²⁰.

¹ Cp. the *-mant* and *-vant* stems (316) and the *-yāms* stems (346).

² On the Sandhi of these nominatives see LANMAN 512.

³ From *pra* and *vas* 'dwell'.

⁴ Without reduplication.

⁵ From *jñā* 'know'.

⁶ From *ji-* 'conquer'.

⁷ From *danṣ-* 'bite'.

⁸ From *dhanv-* 'run'.

⁹ LANMAN adds *paprivān*(?).

¹⁰ From *vic-* 'separate'.

¹¹ From *vyadh-* 'pierce'.

¹² From *śuc-* 'shine'.

¹³ From *i-* 'go'.

¹⁴ From a root *kṣā-*.

¹⁵ LANMAN adds *paprivāmsam*(?).

¹⁶ From *am-* 'be injurious', with weak stem, together with anomalous accent, for **em-i-vāmsam*; cp. LANMAN 512³.

¹⁷ From *uc-* 'find pleasure'.

¹⁸ Unreduplicated form.

¹⁹ From *sad-* 'sit down'.

²⁰ This may be A. pl. m.

G. m. *ā-dāśuṣas* 'not worshipping', *ā-raruṣas*, *iyūṣas*, *cikithūṣas*, *jagmūṣas*, *jaghmūṣas*, *jānūṣas*¹ 'knowing', *jigyūṣas*, *tatarūṣas* 'having crossed', *tasthūṣas*, *dadūṣas*, *dāśūṣas*⁵, *dādīyūṣas*, *papūṣas*, *bibhyūṣas*, *manrūṣas* (AV.), *mīlūṣas*⁵, *vividūṣas* 'having found', *sedūṣas*, *suṣuvūṣas*. — **n.** *vavavruṣas*² 'enveloping'.

V. m. *cikītas* 'seeing', *titirvas* 'having crossed', *dādivas* 'shining', *mīdhrvas*⁵. — With *-van-* *cikītan*³ (AV.).

Du. N. A. m. *okīvāṃsā*⁴ 'accustomed to', *jaganvāṃsā*, *jāgrvāṃsā*, *tasthivāṃsā*, *dādivāṃsā*, *papivāṃsā*, *vavanvāṃsā*, *vidvāṃsā*⁵, *śūśuvāṃsā*, *śūśruvāṃsā*. — With *au:* *vidvāṃsau*⁵.

Pl. N. m. *ā-vidvāṃsas*, *cakrvāṃsas*, *cikītvāṃsas*, *jakṣivāṃsas* (TS. I. 4. 44²) 'having eaten', *jaganvāṃsas*, *jāgrvāṃsas*, *jigrvāṃsas*, *tasthivāṃsas*, *titīrvāṃsas*, *tustuvāṃsas* 'having praised', *dadrvāṃsas* 'having burst', *dāśvāṃsas*⁵, *papivāṃsas* (TS. I. 4. 44²), *paptivāṃsas*, *mīdhvāṃsas*⁵, *riṛivāṃsas*⁶ 'having abandoned', *vidvāṃsas*⁵, *śūśukvāṃsas*, *śūśuvāṃsas*, *sasavāṃsas*, *sasrvāṃsas*, *sāśahvāṃsas*, *sākhvāṃsas*⁵, *śū-vidvāṃsas* (TS. IV. 6. 5²), *suṣuvvāṃsas*. — Weak form for strong: *ā-bibhyuṣas*⁷ (I. 11⁵). The AV. has the hybrid form *bhaktivāṃsas*⁸.

A. m. *cikithūṣas*, *jagmūṣas*, *jigyūṣas*, *tasthūṣas*, *dāśūṣas*⁵, *mīlūṣas*⁵, *vidūṣas*⁵, *sedūṣas*.

I. m. *jāgrvādbhis*. — **G. m.** *ā-dāśuṣām*⁵, *jigyūṣām*, *dadūṣām*, *mīlūṣām*⁵, *vidūṣām*⁵.

2. Radical Stems in *-ś*.

349. This declension comprises only radical stems, both monosyllabic and compound, formed from some dozen roots, numbering altogether about sixty. Some forty of these occur in the m., nearly thirty in the f., and half a dozen in the n. Nine monosyllabic stems are f., viz. *dāś-* 'worship', *dāś-* 'direction', *dṛś-* 'look', *nāś-* 'night', *pāś-* 'sight', *pīś-* 'ornament', *prāś-*⁹ 'dispute', *viś-* 'settlement', *vriś-* 'finger'; but only two m., viz. *īś-* 'lord' and *spāś-* 'spy'; all the rest are compounds, about 20 of which are formed from *dṛś-*. The inflexion is the same in all genders: the only n. forms which would differ from the m. and f. (N. A. du. and pl.) do not occur.

a. The only trace of the distinction of strong and weak forms appears in the nasalization of the stem in the N. sing. m. of some half dozen compounds of *-dṛś-* 'look'¹⁰.

b. As the *ś* represents an old palatal (40), it normally becomes the cerebral *ṣ* before terminations beginning with *bh*, as *vid-bhis*; but in *dāś-* and *-dṛś-* it becomes a guttural, owing doubtless to the influence of the *k* in the N. sing. and L. pl. It regularly becomes *k* before the *-su* of the L. pl., where it is phonetic (43 b 2); it usually also becomes *k* in the N. sing. (which originally ended in *-ś*). But in four stems it is represented by the cerebral *ś*, e. g. *vīś*, owing to the influence of forms in which the cerebral is phonetic. In *puro-dāś* 'sacrificial cake', the palatal is displaced by the *-s* of the N.¹¹.

¹ Unreduplicated form from *jñā-* 'know'.

² With anomalous additional reduplicative syllable.

³ AV. VII. 97¹ for *cikītas* of the corresponding verse of the RV. (III. 29¹⁶), as if from a *-vant* stem.

⁴ From *uc-* 'be wont'.

⁵ Without reduplication.

⁶ From *vic-* 'leave'.

⁷ See LANMAN 513³.

⁸ In AV. VI. 79³ for the reading of the edition *bhaktivāṃsah syāma* the Paipp. has *bhaktīmahī*.

⁹ From *praś-* 'question'. LANMAN would correct the reading of AV. II. 27¹ to *prāśi*, explaining the word as a compound (*pra-as-*), where the accent *prāśi* would be regular.

¹⁰ That is, *-dṛī-*, which in its three occurrences in the RV. appears before vowels and doubles the *ī*: *-dṛīī-*.

¹¹ It cannot, however, have been directly ousted by the N. *-s* (the former existence of which in consonant stems must have been long forgotten), but was doubtless due to the influence of *ā-* stems, such as *draviṇo-dāś-*.

c. There are two transition forms to the *a*-declension from *puro-ḍāi-*: *puro-ḍāṣena* (VS. XIX. 85) and *puro-ḍāśa-vaśā* (AV. XII. 4³⁵) 'having a sacrificial cake as a calf'. The D. infinitive *ḍrśāye* is a transition to the *i*-declension, for *ḍrś-éi*.

Inflexion.

350. The normal forms actually occurring, if made from *viś-* f. 'settlement', would be as follows:

Sing. N. V. *viś*. A. *viśam*. I. *viśā*. D. *viśé*. Ab. *viśás*. G. *viśás*. L. *viśí*. — Du. N. A. *viśā* and *viśau*. — Pl. N. *viśas*. A. *viśas*. I. *viśbhís*. D. Ab. *viśbhýs*. G. *viśám*. L. *viśsh*.

Forms which actually occur are the following:

Sing. N. m. 1. with nasalized stem: *kī-dṛñ*² 'of what kind?', *sa-dṛñ*³ 'resembling'; in VS. XVII. 81: *anya-dṛñ* 'of another kind', *ī-dṛñ* 'such', *prāti-sadṛñ* 'similar'⁴. — 2. ending in *-k*: *ī-dṛk* (AV.), *etā-dṛk* 'such', *tā-dṛk* 'such', *divi-spṛk* 'touching heaven', *nī-spṛk*⁵ 'caressing', *yā-dṛk* 'of what kind', *raṇvā-saṇḍrk* 'appearing beautiful', *svar-dṛk* 'seeing light', *hiranya-saṇḍrk* 'resembling gold', *hrīdi-spṛk* 'touching the heart'. — 3. ending in *-t*: *spāt*; *vi-spāt* 'spy'. — 4. ending in *-s*: *puro-ḍās* 'sacrificial cake' (occurs twice).

f. 2. ending in *-k*: *dīk* (VS. AV.), *nāk*; *ān-apa-spṛk* (AV.) 'not refusing', *upa-dṛk* 'aspect', *raṇvā-saṇḍrk*, *saṇ-dṛk* 'appearance', *su-dṛśika-saṇḍrk* 'having a beautiful appearance'. — 3. ending in *-t*: *viś*; *vi-pāt* ('fetterless') N. of a river.

N. A. n. *etā-dṛk*⁶, *su-saṇḍrk* 'handsome'; *tā-dṛk* may be a neuter in v. 44^b.

A. m. *spāsam*; *puro-ḍāsam*; *upari-spṛsam* 'reaching above', *divi-spṛsam*, *hrīdi-spṛsam*; *tveśā-saṇḍrsam* 'of brilliant appearance', *piśānga-saṇḍrsam* 'of reddish appearance', *raṇvā-saṇḍrsam*, *su-saṇḍrsam*; *dūre-dṛsam* 'visible far and wide', *su-dṛsam* 'well-looking', *svar-dṛsam*; *dūrā-ādisam*⁷ 'announcing far and wide'. — f. *dīsam*, *prāsam* (AV.), *viśam*; *ā-dīsam* 'intention', *rta-spṛsam* 'connected with pious works', *piśānga-saṇḍrsam* (AV.), *pra-dīsam* 'direction', *vi-pāsam*, *sukra-pīsam* 'radiantly adorned', *saṇ-dṛsam*.

I. m. *viśva-pīśā* 'all-adorned', *su-saṇḍrsā*⁸. — f. *dāśā*⁹, *diśā*, *piśā*, *viśā*; *pra-diśā*. — n. *divi-spṛśā*, *dūre-dṛśā*.

D. m. *ānar-viśé* 'seated on the car', *ī-dṛśé*, *divi-spṛśé*, *dū-dāśé* (AV.) 'irreligious', *dūre-dṛśé*. — f. *diśé* (AV. VS.), *viśé*; *saṇ-dṛśé*¹⁰.

Ab. m. *svar-dṛśas*. — f. *diśás* (AV.), *viśás*; *saṇ-dṛśas*, *saṇ-spṛśas* (VS. XXXVIII. 11).

G. m. *upa-spṛśas* (AV.) 'touching', *divi-spṛśas*, *prāti-prāśas*¹¹ (AV.) 'counter-disputant', *su-dṛśas*, *svar-dṛśas*, *hiranya-saṇḍrsas*, *hrīdi-spṛśas*. — f. *diśás* (AV.), *viśás*. — n. *sādāna-spṛśas* 'coming into one's house'.

L. m. *divi-spṛśi*. — f. *diśi* (AV.), *dṛśi*, *prāśi* (AV.), *viśi*; *pra-diśi*, *vi-pāśi*, *saṇ-dṛśi*. — V. m. *tveśa-saṇḍrk*.

Du. N. A. V. m. *rta-spṛśā*, *divi-spṛśā* and *divi-spṛśā*, *mithū-dṛśā* 'appearing alternately', *svar-dṛśā*. — f. *mithū-dṛśā*. — With *-au*: *viśau*.

Pl. N. m. *spāsas*; *upari-spṛśas* (AV.), *rta-spṛśas*, *divi-spṛśas*, *mandi-ni-spṛśas* 'fond of Soma', *ratha-spṛśas* 'touching the chariot', *hrīdi-spṛśas*; *dūre-*

² Cp. LANMAN 490¹.

³ *kīdṛñ* i- (X. 108³).

⁴ *sadṛñ* always before *a-* in RV. In TS. II. 2. 8^b (B) the final *k* is preserved before *s*: *sadṛñk samānās*.

⁵ Also *sadṛñ*: all four before *ca*. Cp. LANMAN 456¹ and 463¹.

⁶ From *nī-spṛś*, BR., GRASSMANN, LANMAN; from *nī-spṛśh* 'desirous of' (loc.), BÖHTLINGK (pw.).

⁶ The form *manānāk* (X. 616), perhaps the same as *manāk* 'a little', is explained by GRASSMANN as *manā-nās* 'dispelling wrath'.

⁷ For *dūrē-ā-dīsam*.

⁸ In the *Īśa* Upaniṣad (VS. XL. 1) also occurs *viśā*.

⁹ Cp. LANMAN 490 (bottom).

¹⁰ There is also the transition form *ḍrśāye*.

¹¹ Cp. WHITNEY's note on AV. II. 27¹. The accent should be *prāti-prāśas*.

dīśas, *yakṣa-dīśas* 'having the appearance of a Yakṣa', *su-dīśas*, *svar-dīśas*; *tveṣā-saṃdīśas*, *su-saṃdīśas*; *viśva-pīśas*, *su-pīśas* 'well adorned'; *śiḥ-sadrīśas* 'handsome'. — f. *dīśas*, *vīśas*; *ā-dīśas*, *ud-dīśas* (VS. VI. 19) 'upper quarters', *upa-spīśas*, *pra-dīśas*, *vi-dīśas* (VS. VI. 19) 'intermediate quarters', *saṃ-dīśas*.

A. m. *spīśas*; *ahar-dīśas* 'beholding the day', *bhīmī-saṃdīśas* 'of terrible appearance', *svar-dīśas*, *hiranya-saṃdīśas*. — f. *dīśas*, *vīśas*, *vīśas*; *ā-dīśas*, *pra-dīśas*, *saṃ-dīśas*.

I. m. *su-saṃdīgbhis*. — f. *paḍbhīś*¹ (IV. 2¹²) 'with looks', *viḍbhīś*. — D. f. *digbhīś* (VS. VI. 19). — Ab. f. *digbhīś*, *viḍbhīś*. — G. f. *diśām*, *viśām*; *ā-diśām*. — L. f. *dikṣū* (AV. VS.), *vikṣū*.

6. Radical stems in -h.

351. This declension comprises some 80 stems formed from about a dozen roots. All three genders appear in its inflexion; but the neuter is rare, being found in only two stems and never in the plural. Of monosyllabic stems six or seven are f., one m., and one n. All the remaining stems are compounds, about three-fourths of which are formed from the three roots *druh-*, *vah-* and *sah-* (over 30 from the last). The origin of the two stems *uṣṇīh-* (AV.) a metre, and *sarāh-*² 'bee' is obscure.

a. The distinction of strong and weak appears in compounds of *vah-* and *sah-*³, the vowel being lengthened in the N. A. sing. and N. pl. m.; also in the N. A. du. m. forms *indra-vāhā*, *indra-vāhau*, *anaḍ-vāhau*; and in the f. sing. N. *dakṣiṇā-vāḍ* and A. *havya-vāham*. The strong stem *-vāh-* twice appears in weak cases, while it is metrically shortened 18 times in strong cases⁴. The word *anaḍ-vāh-* 'ox' (lit. 'cart-drawer') distinguishes three stems, the strong one being *anaḍ-vāh-*, and the weak *anaḍ-ūh-* before vowels and *anaḍ-ūt-*⁵ before consonants.

b. As *h* represents both the old guttural aspirate *gh* and the old palatal *jh*, it should phonetically become *g* and *ḍ* respectively before *bh*. But the cerebral appears for both in the only two case-forms that occur with a *-bh* ending: *sarāḍbhīśas* from *sarāh-*, and *anaḍ-ūḍbhīśas* (AV.) from *anaḍ-vāh-*, where the dental *ḍ* takes the place of the cerebral by dissimilation. Before the *-su* of the L. pl., *h* would be phonetic; but here again, in the only form occurring, the cerebral appears: *anaḍḥitsu*⁶. On the other hand the phonetic *k* appears in the N. sing. in the six forms *-dhak*, *-dhūk*, *-dhrūk*⁷, *-rūk*, *-ṣṛūk*, *uṣṇūk* (AV.)⁸; while the unphonetic *ḥ* appears in the two forms *-vāḥ* and *-ṣāḥ*⁹. The word *anaḍ-vāh-* forms, instead of **anaḍ-vāḥ*, the anomalous *anaḍvān* as if from a stem in *-vant*.

c. The stem *māh-* is perhaps a transfer to the *a*-declension from the far more frequent but defective *māh-* 'great'. Several cases are formed from it: sing. N. *māhā-s*, G. *māhāsyā*, L. *māhē*; pl. N. *māhā* and *māhāni*, n., G. *māhānām*. The D. sing. *māhāye*, used as an infinitive, is a transfer to the *i*-declension from *māh-*.

Inflection.

352. The forms actually occurring, if made from *sāh-* 'victorious', would be as follows:

¹ BLOOMFIELD is of opinion that here, as well as in the 5 other passages in which this form occurs in the RV., it means 'with feet': Johns Hopkins University Circular, 1906, p. 15—19.

² That the *h* here represents an original guttural is shown by the N. pl. *sarāghas* (SB.) and the derivatives *sarāghā-* and *sarāgha-* (TB.).

³ The Pada text has always *vāh-* on the one hand, but *sāh-* on the other.

⁴ Cp. LANMAN 498 (middle).

⁵ For *anaḍ-ūt-* by dissimilation.

⁶ The dental again by dissimilation for the cerebral *ḍ*.

⁷ Occurring respectively in *uśā-dhak* 'burning with eagerness', in three compounds of *druh-* 'milk', and in five compounds of *druh-* 'injure'. These three forms, together with *uśar-bhūt*, are the only examples of the restoration of initial aspiration in the declension of the RV.

⁸ The derivation of this word (AV. VS.), is uncertain; it occurs in the RV. only in the extended form of *uṣṇīhā*.

⁹ When the final *h* becomes *ḥ*, the initial *s* is cerebralized.

Sing. N. *śāt*. V. m. f. *śāt*. A. m. f. *sāham*. I. *sahā*. D. *sahē*. Ab. *sahās*. G. *sahās*. L. *sahē*. — Du. N. A. V. m. f. *sāhā* and *sāhau*. N. A. n. *sahē*. — Pl. N. V. m. f. *sāhas*. A. m. *sāhas* and *sahās*, f. *sāhas*. D. m. f. *śāt-bhyās*. G. m. *sahām*. L. m. *śātsū*¹.

The forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. m. i. with -k: *uśā-dhāk* 'burning with eagerness'; *go-dhūk* 'milkman', *prati-dhūk*² (AV. TS.) 'fresh milk'; *akṣṇayā-dhruk* 'injuring wrongly', *a-dhruk* 'free from malice', *antaka-dhruk* 'demon of death', *abhi-dhruk* 'inimical', *asma-dhruk* 'inimical to us'.

2. with -t: *śāt*; *abhi-śāt* 'overpowering', *ṛṣi-śāt* 'overcoming the seer', *janā-śāt* 'overcoming men', *turā-śāt* 'overpowering quickly', *niś-śāt* 'overpowering', *nī-śāt*³ (AV.) 'overcoming', *purā-śāt* 'victorious from of old', *prtanā-śāt* 'conquering hostile armies', *prāśu-śāt* 'finishing swiftly', *bhūri-śāt*⁴ 'bearing much', *rayi-śāt* 'ruling over wealth', *vane-śāt* 'prevailing in woods', *vira-śāt*⁵ 'ruling men', *viśva-śāt*⁶ (AV.) 'all-conquering', *vṛthi-śāt* 'conquering easily', *śatrū-śāt*⁷ (AV.) 'overcoming foes', *śatrā-śāt* 'always conquering'; *turya-vāt* (TS. IV. 3. 3²) 'four-year-old ox', *ditya-vāt*⁸ (VS. XIV. 10; TS. IV. 7. 10¹) 'two-year-old ox', *paśtha-vāt* (VS. XIV. 9) 'four-year-old ox'⁹, *madhyama-vāt* 'driving at middling speed', *haviṛ-vāt* 'conveying the oblation', *havya-vāt* 'conveying the offering'. — Irregular form: *anaḍ-vān* (AV. TS. VS.) 'ox'¹⁰.

f. i. *uṣṇik* (VS. AV.) a metre, *gartā-rūk*¹¹ 'ascending the car-seat', *sabar-dhūk* 'yielding nectar'. — 2. *dakṣiṇā-vāt* 'borne to the right'¹². — n. i. *puru-sṛk* 'much desired'.

A. m. i. Strong forms with -vāham and -sāham (after ā) or -śāham (after ī or ṛ): *anaḍ-vāham*, *turya-vāham* (VS. XXVIII. 28), *ditya-vāham* (VS. XXVIII. 25), *paśtha-vāham* (VS. XXVIII. 29), *vira-vāham* 'conveying men', *svasti-vāham* 'bringing welfare', *havya-vāham* (also f.); *pra-sāham* 'victorious', *yajñā-sāham*¹³ 'mighty in sacrifice', *viśva-sāham*, *śatrū-sāham*; *abhimāti-sāham* 'conquering adversaries', *ṛti-sāham* 'subduing assailants', *nī-sāham* 'overcoming men', *prtanā-sāham*¹⁴. — With metrical shortening of -sāh- or -śāh-: *ṛti-sāham*, *prtanā-sāham*¹⁴; *carṣaṇī-sāham*¹⁵ 'ruling over men', *prā-sāham*, *viśhvā-sāham* 'overcoming the rich', *sadā-sāham* 'always holding out'. — 2. *a-drīham*, *puru-sṛham*. — f. *gūhā* 'hiding-place', *drīham* 'fiend', *mīham* 'mist'; *uṣṇīham* (VS. XXVIII. 25); *parī-nāham* 'enclosure'.

I. m. *dhanvā-sāhā* 'skilled in archery', *puru-sṛhā*, *viśu-drīhā* 'injuring in various parts'. — f. *gūhā*¹⁶, *druhā*, *mahā* 'great'; *uṣṇīhā* (VS. XXI. 13); *prā-sāhā*¹⁷ 'might', *vi-srīhā* 'plant'. — n. *mahā*.

D. m. *druhē*¹⁸, *mahē*; *a-drūhe*, *abhi-drūhe*, *abhimāti-sāhe*¹⁹ (TS. V. 2. 7³), *carṣaṇī-sāhe*¹⁵, *śatrū-sāhe*²⁰. — f. *mahē*, *uṣṇīhe* (VS. XXIV. 12); *go-dūhe*²¹. — n. *mahē*.

¹ To be inferred from *anaḍvābhyas* and *anaḍvāsu*.

² There is no evidence to show the gender of this word.

³ For *nī-śāt*.

⁴ For *bhūri-śāt*.

⁵ For *vira-śāt*.

⁶ For *viśva-śāt*.

⁷ For *śatrū-śāt*.

⁸ Here *ditya* seems to be = *dvitīya*.

⁹ Probably from *paśtha* = *prāśtha* 'back'. The TS. (IV. 3. 3² etc.) has *paśtha-vāt* with dental *t* for cerebral *t*.

¹⁰ There is also the transfer form *mahā-s*, supplying the place of a N. of *māh*.

¹¹ For *gartā-rūk*.

¹² The N. of *sarāh* 'bee', occurs as *sarāt* in TS. V. 3. 12² (B) and in ŚB. XIII. 3. 1⁴.

¹³ For *yajñā-sāham*.

¹⁴ With unphonetic cerebral after *ā* owing to the influence of the N. *prtanā-śāt*.

¹⁵ The *s* is here not cerebralized after *ī*.

¹⁶ *gūhā* which occurs 53 times (beside *guhā*, once) is used adverbially, 'in secret', with retracted accent.

¹⁷ From *prā-sāh*, beside *pra-sāh*.

¹⁸ This form is perhaps f.

¹⁹ Strong form for weak.

²⁰ Strong form for weak (II. 21²), but the Pada text has *śatrū-sāhe*.

²¹ There is also a transfer to the *i*-declension: *mahāye* (as an infinitive).

Ab. m. *druhás*, *mahás*; *ṛti-sáhas*. — f. *druhás*¹. — n. *mahás*.

G. m. *druhás*, *mahás*²; *a-drúhas*, *anaḍlúhas* (AV.), *ṛtanā-sáhas*; with strong form: *abhimāti-sáhas*³. — f. *druhás*, *mihás*; *prā-sáhas*. — n. *mahás*; *puru-sṛ́has*.

L. m. *anaḍlúhi* (AV.)⁴. — f. *upā-náhi* (AV.) 'shoe', *pari-náhi* (AV.).

V. 1. m. *turā-sāt* (VS. x. 22), *ṛtanā-sāt* (AV.), *havya-vāt*. — 2. m. *go-dhuk* (AV.). — f. *á-dhruk*⁵.

Du. N. A. V. 1. m. *anaḍ-vāhau*, *indra-vāhā* and *indra-vāhau* 'conveying Indra', *dhūr-sāhau* (VS. IV. 33) 'bearing the yoke'; shortened: *carṣaṇt-sahā*, *rathā-sāhā* 'drawing the chariot'. — 2. m. *a-drúhā*, *án-abhidruhā* 'not inimical', *puru-sṛ́hā*. — f. *a-drúhā*, *a-druhā*. — n. *mahi*.

Pl. N. V. 1. m. *anaḍ-váhas* (AV.), *indra-váhas*, *turya-váhas* (VS. XXIV. 12), *ditya-váhas* (VS.), *paś́tha-váhas* (VS.), *ṛṣ́ti-váhas* (AV.) 'carrying on the sides', *vajra-váhas* 'wielding a thunderbolt', *vīra-váhas*, *saha-váhas* 'drawing together', *sus̥ṭhu-váhas* 'carrying well', *havya-váhas*; *abhimāti-sáhas*, *śatru-sáhas*; shortened: V. *carṣaṇt-sahas*. — 2. m. *drúhas*, *mahás*⁶; *a-drúhas*, V. *a-druhas*, *go-dúhas*, *puru-sṛ́has*, V. *puru-sṛ́has*.

f. ⁷ *míhas*, *rúhas* 'sprouts'; *a-drúhas*, *ā-rúhas* (AV.) 'shoots', *ghṛta-dúhas* 'giving ghee', *puru-drúhas* 'injuring greatly', *puru-sṛ́has*, *pra-rúhas* (AV.) 'shoots', *mano-vúhas* (AV.) 'bewildering the mind', *vī-srúhas*.

A. m. *druhás*⁸, *mahás*⁹, *a-drúhas*, *anaḍúhas* (AV.), *puru-sṛ́has*. — f. *drúhas*, *níhas*⁹ (AV. VS.) 'destroyers', *míhas*, *rúhas* (AV.); *akṣā-níhas* 'tied to the axle', *a-drúhas*, *upā-rúhas* 'shoots', *pra-rúhas* (AV.), *saṃ-díhas* 'mounds'.

D. m. *anaḍlúdbhyas* (AV.) — f. *sarádḍbhyas* 'bees'. — G. m. *mahám*¹⁰, *carṣaṇt-sáhām* (VS. XXVIII. 1). — L. m. *anaḍlútsu*.

7. Stems in semivowels: *r*, *y*, *v*.

353. This group forms a transition from the consonant to the vowel declension inasmuch as the stem often assumes a vocalic form before endings with initial consonant, and in some cases takes endings which otherwise appear in the vowel declension only. The *-r* stems are nearest the consonant declension as their radical division conforms almost without exception to that type; their derivative division, however, has several points in common with the inflexion of vowel stems.

1. Stems ending in *-r*.

354. A. Radical stems. Here the stems ending in radical *r* must be distinguished from those in which the *r* belongs to a suffix. The radical stems numbering over 50 are formed from some sixteen roots, the vowel of which is nearly always *i* or *u*. Only three of these stems contain *a* and only two *ā*. Nearly a dozen are monosyllabic, but the rest (numbering over 40) are compounds, almost a dozen of which are formed with *-tur*.

¹ *ámhas* (VI. 3¹) is probably not an Ab. of *ámh-* 'distress' (which does not occur elsewhere), but by haplology for *ámhas-as*, which is very frequent.

² There is also the transition form *mahásya*.

³ The Pada text has *-sáhas*.

⁴ There is also the transition form *mahé* (m. n.).

⁵ See WHITNEY's note on AV. VII. 73⁶.

⁶ With irregular accent.

⁷ There are no neuters except the transition forms *mahā* and *mahāni*.

⁸ With irregular accent as if weak forms. Cp. above 94, note ⁶ and LANMAN 501 (middle).

⁹ The derivation of this word is uncertain: it is explained by Mahidhara as = *nihantṛ-*. WHITNEY (AV. II. 6⁵) would emend to *nidas*.

¹⁰ There is also the transition form *mahānām*.

The inflexion is the same in all genders except the N. A. neuter. A peculiarity is the lengthening of the radical *i* and *u* when a consonant ending follows or originally followed¹.

a. The distinction of strong and weak appears in *dvār*-f. 'door', which is reduced to *dūr*- in weak cases; in *tār*- and *stār*- 'star', from which are made *tāras* and *stībhīs*; and in the n. *svār* 'light' two weak cases, the D. and G. sing., are formed from the contracted stem *sūr*-.

b. There are here a few transitions to the *a*-declension: *śatā-durasya* and *śatā-dureṣu* 'having a hundred doors', which started from weak cases like *dūras*; *su-dhūra-s*, N. sing. m. 'well-yoked', due to the A. *su-dhūr-am*; perhaps also the A. sing. f. *ān-apa-sphūrā-m* 'not pushing away', which occurs beside the N. pl. *ān-apa-sphūr-as*². On the other hand the N. pl. m. *vandhūr-as* 'car-seats' seems to be a transition from the *a*-declension, as *vandhūra-* is probably the older stem.

c. The form *yan-tūr-am* 'guide', which occurs twice for *yan-tār-am* has been formed as if from *-tūr* owing to the parallelism with *ap-tūram* which once appears beside it³.

Inflection.

355. The forms actually occurring, if made from *plūr*- f. 'stronghold', would be as follows:

Sing. N. *pūr*. A. *plūram*. I. *purā*. D. *purē*. Ab. *purās*. G. *purās*. L. *purī*. — Du. N. A. *plūrā* and *plūrau*. — Pl. N. V. *pūras*. A. *plūras*. I. *pūrbhīs*. D. *pūrbhyās* (VS.). G. *pūrām*. L. *pūrśh*.

The forms actually occurring are as follows:

Sing. N. m. *gīr* 'praising', *vār*⁴ 'protector'; *muhur-gīr* 'swallowing suddenly'; *dūr-āśir* 'badly mixed'; *rajas-tūr* 'traversing the air', *ratha-tūr* 'drawing a chariot', *viśva-tūr* 'all-surpassing', *su-pra-tūr* 'very victorious'⁵. — f. *gīr* 'praise', *dvār* (AV.) 'door', *dhūr* 'burden', *pūr*; *amā-jūr* 'aging at home', *ā-sīr*⁶ (AV. TS.) 'mixture'.

N. A. n. *vār* 'water', *śīar*⁷ 'light'⁸, *śīvar* (TS. II. 2. 12¹).

A. m. *tūram* 'promoter'; *ap-tūram*⁹ 'active', *āji-tūram* 'victorious in battles', *rajas-tūram*, *ratha-tūram*, *vytra-tūram* 'conquering enemies'; *a-jūram* 'unaging', *apa-sphūram* 'bounding forth', *ṛta-jūram* 'grown old in (observing) the law', *gādvāśiram* 'mixed with milk', *yāvāśiram* 'mixed with corn', *śahśra-dvāram* 'having a thousand doors', *su-dhūram* 'well yoked'¹⁰. — f. *gīram*, *dvāram* (AV.), *dhūram*, *plūram*; *ā-śīram*, *upa-śīram* 'cover', *saṃ-gīram* 'assent'.

I. m. *bāndhūrā*¹¹ (AV.) 'binder' (?). — f. *gīrā*, *dhūrā*, *purā*; *abhi-pra-mūrā* 'crushing', *abhi-svārā* 'invocation', *ā-śīrā*. — n. *viśva-tūrā*.

D. m. *gīrē*; *niṣ-ṭīre* 'overthrowing'. — f. *upa-śīre*. — n. *sūrē*.

Ab. f. *dhurās*; *ni-jūras* 'consuming by fire'.

G. m. *gādvāśiras*, *yāvāśiras*, *radhra-tūras* 'encouraging the obedient'. — f. *amā-jūras*. — n. *sūras*¹², *rāsāśiras* 'mixed with juice'.

¹ That is, the *-s* of the N. sing. m. and f. This rule also applies in *vār* (L. 1323) if GRASSMANN is right in explaining this form as a N. sing. m. meaning 'protector', from *vār*- (*vr*- 'cover'); but BK., s. v. *vār*-, regard this form as a corruption.

² In the later language *dvār*-f. and *pūr*-f. went over to the *a*-declension as *dvāra*-n. and *pūra*-n., while *vār*-n. went over to the *i*-declension as *vārī*-.

³ See LANMAN 486 (bottom).

⁴ If this form is not a corruption.

⁵ There is also the transition form *su-dhūra-s*.

⁶ From *śr*- 'mix'.

⁷ This is the only declensional form of this word occurring in the AV.

⁸ Neuter compounds ending in *-r* are avoided; thus the AV. has the transition form *nāva-dvāra-m*, N. n.

⁹ For *ap-(a)-s-tūram* 'getting over work'.

¹⁰ There is also the anomalous form *yantūram* for *yantāram*.

¹¹ Probably a transfer from the *a*-declension.

¹² With the accentuation of a dissyllabic stem (*śīar*). In VIII. 61¹⁷ for *śīra ā* the Pāda text has *śīre ā*, but it is probably the G. *sūras*. In I. 66¹⁰, 69¹⁰ the uninflected form *śīar* seems to be used in a G. sense.

L. f. *dhurī*, *purī*. — n. *śār*¹.

Du. N. A. m. *ṛtra-tīrā*, *sanā-jīrā* 'long grown old', *su-dhūrā*. — f. *dvārā*; *mithas-tīrā* 'alternating'; with *au*: *dvārau*, *dhūrau*.

Pl. N. V. m. *gīras*, *gīras*, *mīras* 'destroyers'; *ap-tīras*, *ā-mīras* 'destroyers'; *gāvāsīras*, *try-āsīras* 'mixed with three (products of milk)', *dādhy-āsīras* 'mixed with curds'; *dur-dhūras* 'badly yoked', *dhīyā-jūras* 'grown old in devotion', *niṣ-ṭīras*, *bandhūras* (AV.), *vanadhūras* 'seat of the chariot', *ṛtra-tīras* (VS. VI. 34). — f. *gīras*, *gīras* (AV.), *tāras* 'stars'², *dvāras*³, *dvāras*, *pīras*; *an-apasphuras* 'not struggling', *amā-jūras*, *mithas-tīras*.

A. m. *gīras*; *ā-mīras*, *gāvāsīras*, *mithas-tīras*, *yāvāsīras*, *saṃ-gīras*, *su-dhūras*. — f. *gīras*, *dūras*⁴, *dhūras*, *pūras*, *psūras*⁵ 'victuals'; *ni-pīras*⁶ (VS. AV.), *parā-pīras*⁶ (VS. AV.), *vi-ṣṭīras* 'expansion', *saṃ-stīras* 'contraction'.

I. m. *ratha-tīrbhis*. — f. *gīrbhis*, *pūrbhis*⁷, *stīrbhis*⁸ 'stars'. — D. n. *vārbhyās* (VS.). — G. m. *sām-āsīrām* 'mixed'. — f. *gīrām*, *purām*. — L. m. *tīrśh*. — f. *gīrśh*, *dhūrśh*, *pūrśh*. — n. *prtsu-tīrsu*⁹ 'victorious in battle'.

356. B. Derivative stems. — Derivative stems ending in *r* consist of two groups, the one formed with the suffix *-ar*, the other with *-tar*. The former is a small group containing only eight stems, the latter is a very large one with more than 150 stems. Both groups agree in regularly distinguishing strong and weak cases. The strong stem ends in *-ar* or *-ār*, which in the weak forms is reduced to *r* before vowels and *r̥* before consonants. Both groups further agree in dropping the final of the stem in the N. sing. m. f., which case always ends in *-ā*¹⁰. They resemble the vowel declension in adding the ending *-n* in the A. pl. m., and *-s* in the A. pl. f. and in inserting *n* before the *-ām* of the G. pl. They have the peculiar, ending *-ur* in the G. sing.¹¹.

a. Stems in *-ar*.

357. There are only five simple m. and f. stems in *-ar*, viz. *uṣ-ār* f. 'dawn', *dev-ār* m. 'husband's brother', *nānānd-ār* f. 'husband's sister', *nār*¹² m. 'man', *svāsar*¹³ f. 'sister'; and the two compounds *svār-ṇar* m. 'lord of heaven' and *saptā-svasar* 'having seven sisters'. Of these, *uṣ-ār* shows only case-forms according to the consonant declension, while *nār* and *svāsar* have some according to the vowel declension also. Of *nānāndar* only the G. and L. sing. and of *devār* only the A. sing. and the N. and L. pl. occur. Nearly all case-forms are represented by these five stems taken together. There are also the three neuters *āh-ar* 'day', *ūdh-ar* 'udder', and *vādh-ar* 'weapon', which occur in the N. A. sing. only. The first two supplement the *-an* stems *āh-an* and *ūdh-an* in those cases.

¹ This form is used 5 times as a L. sing. dropping the *-i* like the *-an* stems, as *āhan* beside *āhani*.

² Strong form of *tār* = *stār* 'star'. The gender is uncertain.

³ Once the weak form *dūras*.

⁴ The strong form *dvāras* is once used. The accentuation of a weak case, *dūras*, occurs once.

⁵ Occurring only in x. 26³; it is a n. sing. according to BR.

⁶ The meaning and derivation of these two words is uncertain; see WHITNEY's note on AV. XVIII. 22⁸.

⁷ From *pūr* 'stronghold' and *pūr* 'abundance'.

⁸ Weak form, accented like a dissyllabic stem. In Kh. I. 116 normally accented, but spelt with *ri* as *stribhis*.

⁹ With L. pl. ending kept in the first member.

¹⁰ In this they resemble the N. m. of nouns of the *-an* declension.

¹¹ Except *nār-as* and *uṣ-ās*.

¹² This word is probably derived with the suffix *-ar*; cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 359.

¹³ Here *-sar* is probably a root; cp. BRUGMANN, op. cit., 2, p. 8, footnote.

Inflexion.

358. Sing. N. m. *hatā-svasā* (AV.) 'whose sisters have been slain'. — f. *svāsā*; *saptā-svasā* 'having seven sisters'. — n. *āhar*, *ūdhar*, *vādhar*.

A. m. *devāram*, *nāram*. — f. *svāsāram*. — I. f. *svāsrā*. — D. m. *nāre*; *svār-nare*. — f. *svāsrē*. — Ab. f. *svāsur*¹. — G. m. *nāras*. — f. *svāsrās*, *nānāndur* (AV.), *svāsur*. — L. m. *nāri*. — f. *usri*² and *usrām*³, *nānāndari*⁴. — V. f. *uṣar*.

Du. N. A. m. *nārā*, V. *narā* and *narau*. — f. *svāsārā* and *svāsārau*. — L. f. *svāsrōs*.

Pl. N. m. *devāras*, *nāras*, V. *naras*, *suar-naras*. — f. *svāsāras*. — A. m. *nīn*⁵. — f. *usrās*, *svāsrīs*. — I. m. *nībhīs*. — f. *svāsrībhīs*. — D. m. *nībhīyas*. — Ab. m. *nībhīyas*. — G. m. *narām*⁶ and *nīnām*⁷. — f. *svāsrām*⁶ and *svāsrīnām*. — L. *devīṣu*, *nīṣu*.

b. Stems in *-tar*.

359. This group includes two subdivisions, the one forming its strong stem in *-tar*, the other in *-tār*. The former consists of a small class of five names of relationship: three masculines, *pī-tār* 'father', *bhrā-tār* 'brother', *nāp-tār*⁸ 'grandson', and two feminines, *duhi-tār* 'daughter', and *mā-tār* 'mother'; and the m. and f. compounds formed from them. The second class consists of more than 150 stems (including compounds), which are either agent nouns accented chiefly on the suffix, or participles accented chiefly on the root. These are never used in the f., which is formed with *-ī* from the weak stem of the m., e. g. *jānitṛ-ī* 'mother' (377).

a. This declension is almost restricted to the m. and f. gender. The only n. stems are *dhār-tār* 'prop', *dhmā-tār* 'smithy', *sthā-tār* 'stationary', *vi-dhār-tār* 'meting out'; and from these only about half a dozen forms occur. The only oblique cases met with are the G. *sthātūr* and the L. *dhmātārī* (Pada-tārī). The N. A. sing. which might be expected to appear as *-tār*, seems to have attained to no fixity of form, as it was of extremely rare occurrence. It seems to be represented by the following variations: *sthātār* (VI. 49⁶), *sthātṛn* (I. 72⁶), *sthātūr* (I. 58⁵, 68¹, 70¹), *dhātārī* (IX. 86⁴²; II. 23¹⁷), *vi-dhātārī* (VIII. 59²; IX. 474)⁹.

Inflexion.

360. The inflexion is exactly the same in the m. and f. except that the A. pl. m. ends in *-īn*, but the f. in *-īṣ*.

The forms actually occurring, if made from *mātār* f. 'mother', as representing a name of relationship, and from *janitār* m. 'begetter', as representing an agent noun, would be as follows:

Sing. N. *mātā*; *janitā*. A. *mātāram*; *janitāram*. I. *mātrā*; *janitrā*. D. *mātrē*; *janitrē*. Ab. *mātūr*; *janitūr*. G. *mātūr*; *janitūr*. L. *mātārī*; *janitārī*. V. *mātar*; *janitar*.

Du. N. A. *mātārā* and *mātārau*; *janitārā* and *janitārau*. I. *janitīḥbhyām* (VS.). D. *janitīḥbhyām*. G. *mātrōs*; *janitrōs*. L. *mātrōs*; *janitrōs*.

¹ The ending *-ur* in this declension appears to represent original *-r* through *-rr*; cp. LANMAN 426, BRUGMANN, KG. p. 381 (middle).

² The metre requires *uṣāri*. As to the *sr* cp. 57, 1 a.

³ The ending *-ām* is a transfer from the *-ī* declension. The metre requires *uṣārām* in which *-ām* is added direct to the stem.

⁴ The metre requires *nānāndri* (X. 85⁴⁶).

⁵ On *nīn* as a metrically shortened form for other cases see FISCHER, VS. I, p. 42 f.

⁶ The only two forms in the derivative *-(t)ar* declension in which *-ām* is added direct to the stem.

⁷ Often to be read as *nīnām*; see LANMAN 43.

⁸ In the RV. this stem occurs in weak forms only, being supplemented in the strong by *nāpāt*. The TS. (I 3. 4¹) however has the strong form *nāpātāram* with long vowel, like *svāsāram*.

⁹ See LANMAN 422 f.

Pl. N. *mātīras*; *janitāras*. A. *mātīs*; *janitīṇ*. I. *mātībhis*; *janitībhis*. D. *mātībhyas*; *janitībhyas*. Ab. *mātībhyas*; *janitībhyas*. G. *mātīṇām*; *janitīṇām*. L. *mātīṣu*; *janitīṣu*. V. *mātaras*; *jānitāras*.

Forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. 1. m. *pitṛ*, *bhrātṛ*; *dākṣa-pitṛ* (TS. iv. 3. 4¹; VS. xiv. 3) 'having Dakṣa as father', *tri-mātṛ* 'having three mothers', *dvī-mātṛ* 'having two mothers', *hatī-bhrātṛ* (AV.) 'whose brothers have been slain', *hatī-mātṛ* (AV.) 'whose mother has been slain'. — f. *duhitṛ*, *mātṛ*; *a-bhrātṛ* 'brotherless', *sindhū-mātṛ* 'having a stream as mother'.

2. m. *anv-ā-gantī* (VS. xviii. 59)³, *avitṛ* 'protector', *upa-sattī* (TS. VS. AV.) 'attendant', *kroṣṭṛ* 'jackal' ('yeller'), *janitṛ*, *jaritṛ* 'praiser', *trātṛ* 'protector', *tvāṣṭṛ* 'fashioner', *dātṛ* 'giver', *dhartṛ* 'supporter', *netṛ* 'leader', *prati-grahitṛ* (VS. vii. 48) 'receiver', *prati-dhartṛ* (VS. xv. 10) 'one who keeps back', *pravaktṛ* (Kh. iv. 8⁴) 'speaker', *voḍhṛ* and *vōḍhṛ* 'driving'; etc.

A. 1. m. *pitām*, *bhrātāram*; *ādri-mātāram* 'having a rock for a mother', *jā-mātāram* 'son-in-law', *sindhū-mātāram*. — f. *duhitām*, *mātām*, *saptā-mātāram* 'having seven mothers'.

2. m. *adhi-vaktṛām* 'advocate', *anu-kṣattām* (VS. xxx. 11) 'doorkeeper's mate', *abhi-ṣktām* (VS. xxx. 12) 'consecrator', *abhi-sartām* (VS.) 'assistant', *ava-sātām* 'liberator', *avitām*, *dstām* 'shooter', *ā-yantām* 'restrainer', *iṣ-kartām* 'arranging', *upa-manthitām* (VS. xxx. 12) 'churner', *upa-ṣktām* (VS. xxx. 12) 'pouder-out', *kārtām* 'agent', *kṣattām* (VS. xxx. 13) 'door-keeper', *gātām* 'going', *gopitām* (Kh. v. 3⁵) 'protector', *cltām* 'attentive', *janitām* (VS. xiii. 51), *jaritām*, *jētām* 'victorious', *joṣṭām* (VS. xxviii. 10) 'cherishing', *tarutām* 'victor', *trātām*, *tvāṣṭām*, *dātām* 'giver', *dātām* 'giving', *dhartām*, *ni-dātām* 'one who ties up', *niṣ-kartām* (TS. iv. 2. 7³)⁴, *netām* 'leader', *panitām* 'praising', *pari-veṣṭām* (VS. xxx. 12) 'waiter', *paritām* 'purifier', *pura-dām* (VS. xxxiii. 60) 'leader', *peṣitām* (VS. xxx. 12) 'carver', *pra-kartām* (VS. xxx. 12) 'sprinkler', *pra-netām* 'leader', *pra-dātām* (VS. vii. 46; TS.) 'giver', *pra-hetām* 'impeller', *bodhayitām* 'awakener', *bhettām* (TS. i. 5. 6⁴) 'breaker', *mandhitām* 'pious man', *marḍitām* 'comforter', *yantām* 'ruler', *yāntām* 'restraining', *yātām* 'pursuer', *yoktām* (VS. xxx. 14) 'exciter', *rakṣitām* 'protector', *vanditām* 'praiser', *vi-bhaktām* 'distributor', *vi-moktām* (VS. xxx. 14) 'unyoker', *śamitām* (VS. xxviii. 10) 'slaughterer', *śṛtaṃ-kartām* (TS. iii. 1. 4⁴) 'cooking thoroughly', *śrotām* 'hearer', *sanitām* 'bestower', *sam-cdḍhām*⁵ 'kindler', *savitām* 'stimulator', *stotām* 'praiser', *hanitām* 'slayer', *has-kartām* 'inciter', *hētām* 'driver', *hōtām* 'invoker'.

I. 1. m. *nāptṛ*, *pitṛ*, *bhrātṛ* (AV.). — f. *duhitṛ*, *mātṛ* (VS. AV.). — 2. m. *āstrā*, *tvāṣṭṛ* (AV.), *dhātṛ* 'establisher', *pra-savitṛ* (VS. x. 30) 'impeller', *savitṛ*.

D. 1. m. *nāptre*, *pitṛ*. — f. *duhitṛ*, *mātṛ*. — 2. m. *āstre* (AV.), *kartré* (AV.), *kroṣṭré* (AV.), *jaritré*, *jōṣṭre* (VS. xvii. 56), *tvāṣṭre* (VS. xxii. 20), *dātré*, *dhartṛé* (VS. xvii. 56; TS. iv. 6. 3²), *dhātṛé* (AV.), *prati-grahitré* (VS. vii. 47), *rakṣitré* (AV.), *vi-dhātṛé* (AV.) 'disposer', *śamitré* (TS. iv. 6. 3³), *savitṛé*, *stotré*, *hantré* (VS. xvi. 40), *hōtré*.

Ab. 1. m. *pitṛ*, *bhrātṛ*, *vi-jāmātṛ* 'son-in-law'. — f. *duhitṛ*, *mātṛ*. — 2. m. *āstur*, *tvāṣṭṛ* (AV.), *dhātṛ*, *savitṛ*, *hōtur*.

¹ On the Sandhi of these nominatives in -ā see LANMAN 423-5.

² The nominatives of the m. agent nouns are so numerous (140 in the RV. alone) that examples only can be given here.

³ Used with the A., an example of in-

ipient use as a periphrastic future: = 'will follow'.

⁴ RV. x. 140⁵ and VS. xii. 110 have *iṣ-kartām* in the same passage.

⁵ For **cdh-tāram*, from *idh* 'kindle'.

G. I. m. *náptur*, *pitúr*, *bhrátur*. — f. *duhitúr*, *nānāndur* (AV.), *mātr*. — 2. m. *abhi-kṣattír* 'carver', *avitúr*, *ástur*, *utthātír* (AV.) 'resolving', *kartír* (Kh. IV. 5⁶. 1⁶), *cettír* (AV.), *janitúr*, *jaritúr*, *trātír*, *tvṣṭur*, *dātír*, *dhātír* (VS. TS. AV.), *ni-dhātír* 'one who lays down', *netír*, *nṣtur* 'leader', *mandhātír*, *yantír* (VS. IX. 30), *vanditír*, *vāvātúr* 'adherent', *vṛḥur*¹ 'draught-horse', *śamitír*, *sanitír*, *savitír*, *sotír* 'presser of Soma', *stotír*, *hítur*.

L. I. m. *pitíri*. — f. *duhitári*, *mātári*. — 2. m. *netári*, *vaktári* (AV.) 'speaker', *sotári*. — With metrically protracted *-ī*: *etári*², *kartári*, *vaktári*³.

V. I. m. *jāmatar*, *pitar*, *bhratar*. — f. *duhitar*, *matar*. — 2. m. *ava-spartar* 'preserver', *avitar*, *janitar*, *jaritar*, *tratar*, *tvāṣtar*, *dartar* 'breaker', *doṣā-vastar* 'illuminer of the dark', *dhartar*, *dhatar*, *netar*, *neṣtar*, *pra-netar*, *pra-yantar* 'bringer', *yajña-hotar* 'offerer at a sacrifice', *vi-dhartar* 'ruler', *vi-dhatar*, *vi-śastar* (AV.) 'slaughterer', *sanitar*, *savitar*, *su-sanitar* 'liberal giver', *sotar*, *stotar* (VS. XXIII. 7; TS. VII. 4. 20), *sthatar* 'guider', *hotar*.

Du. N. A. V.⁴ I. m. *pitārā*, *bhrātārā*; *iḥēha-mātārā* 'whose mother is here and there', *dākṣa-pitārā*, *mātārā-pitārā*⁵ 'father and mother', *sindhu-mātārā*. — f. *duhitārā*, *mātārā*, *sa-m-mātārā* 'twins'. — With *-au*: m. *pitārau*, *sa-m-mātārau* (AV.). — f. *duhitārau* (AV. Kh. III. 15¹³), *mātārau*. — 2. m. *avitārā*, *a-snātārā* 'not (fond of) bathing', *uṣṭārā* 'ploughing bulls', *gūtārā*, *coditārā* 'instigators', *janitārā*, *dhartārā*, *ni-cetārā* 'observers', *pretārā* 'lovers', *yantārā* 'guides', *rakṣitārā*, *śamitārā*, *sthātārā*, *hītārā*. — With shortened vowel: *manotārā* 'disposers'. — With *-au*: *anu-sthātārau* (AV.) 'undertakers', *kṣattārau* (AV.) 'carvers', *goptārau* (AV.), *dūtārau*, *rakṣitārau*, *hōtārau* (VS. XX. 42), *hotārau* (TS. IV. 1. 8²). — With shortened vowel: *dhānutarau*⁶ 'running swiftly', *savātārau* (VS. XXVIII. 6) 'having the same calf'⁷.

I. 2. m. *hītr̥bhyām* (VS. XXI. 53). — D. I. m. *pit̥rbhyām*⁸. — G. I. m. *pit̥r̥s*. — f. *mātr̥s*. — 2. m. *pra-śāstr̥s* (VS.) 'directors'. — L. I. m. *pit̥r̥s*. — f. *mātr̥s*⁹.

Pl. N. I. m. *pitāras*, V. *pitaras*, *bhrātaras*; *dākṣa-pitaras*, *dākṣa-pitāras*¹⁰ (TS. I. 2. 3¹), *gō-mātaras* 'having a cow for mother', *pr̥śni-mātaras* 'having Pr̥śni for a mother', *sindhu-mātaras*, *su-mātāras* 'having a beautiful mother'. — f. *duhitāras*, *mātāras*, V. *mātaras*; *a-bhrātāras* and *a-bhrātāras* (AV.). — 2. m. *agni-hotāras* 'having Agni for a priest', *abhi-kṣattāras*, *abhi-svartāras* 'invokers', *ástāras*, *upa-kṣetāras* 'dwelling near', *gūtāras*, *cetāras* 'avengers', *jaritāras*, *joṣṭāras*, *trātāras*, *daditāras* (VS. VII. 14) 'keepers', *dātāras*, *dhartāras*, *dhātāras*, *ni-cetāras* 'observing' and 'observers', *ninditāras* 'scorners', *nr̥-pātāras* 'protectors of men', *nētāras* and *netāras*, *panitāras*, *pari-veṣtāras* (VS. VI. 13), *pavitāras* 'purifiers', *pura-dātāras* (VS. XVII. 14; TS. IV. 6. 1⁴), *pra-jñātāras* 'conductors', *pra-netāras*, *prāvītāras* 'promoters', *pretāras*, *yantāras*, *sanitāras*, *rakṣitāras*, *vantāras* 'enjoyers', *vi-dhātāras*, *vi-yotāras* 'separators', *śamitāras*, *śrōtāras*, *sanitāras*, *sotāras*, *stotāras*, *sthātāras*, *svāditāras* 'roaring', *hītāras*, *hītāras*¹¹.

¹ For **vāh-tur*, from *vah-* 'draw'.

² GRASSMANN takes this form (v. 41¹⁰; VI. 12⁴) as a N. f. of *etár-* 'one who approaches or asks'.

³ The Pada text has *i* in all these forms. Cp. NEISSER BB. 20, 44.

⁴ In the RV. the ending *-ā* occurs 176 times, *-au* only 10 times: LANMAN 427 (mid.).

⁵ A Dvandva compound in which both members are inflected.

⁶ The shortening is probably metrical.

⁷ This is the interpretation of the commentator; but the derivation of the word is obscure.

⁸ No form in *-bhyām* with the Ab. sense occurs.

⁹ These G. L. forms as well as *svāśros* must be pronounced trisyllabically in the RV. except *mātr̥s* in VII. 3⁹. See LANMAN 428.

¹⁰ With long grade vowel.

¹¹ The form *vasu-dhātāras* (AV. v. 27⁶) may be N. pl. with shortened vowel, but WHITNEY regards it as a comparative N. sing. 'greater bestower of wealth'. See his note on AV. v. 27⁶.

A. 1. m. *pitṛn*¹; *dākṣa-pitṛn*, *pṛṣni-mātṛn*. — f. *mātṛs*². — 2. m. *astṛn*, *a-snātṛn*, *kartṛn* (AV.; Kh. iv. 5³⁰), *goptṛn* (AV.), *jaritṛn*, *trātṛn*, *dātṛn*, *pālṛn* (AV.) 'drinkers', *pra-rodhṛn* 'carrying off', *stotṛn*, *sthātṛn*, *hōtṛn*.

I. 1. m. *nīptṛbhis*, *pitṛbhis*, *bhrātṛbhis*; *saptī-mātṛbhis*. — f. *mātṛbhis*. — 2. m. *astṛbhis*, *kartṛbhis*, *dhātṛbhis*, *partṛbhis* 'with aids', *setṛbhis* 'bindings', *soṭṛbhis* and *sōṭṛbhis*, *hotṛbhis*, *hōtṛbhis*.

D. 1. m. *pitṛbhyas*. — f. *mātṛbhyas*. — 2. m. *ksattṛbhyas* (VS. XVI. 26) 'charioteers', *rakṣitṛbhyas* (AV.), *stotṛbhyas*, *saṃ-grahitṛbhyas* (VS. XVI. 26) 'drivers'.

Ab. 1. m. *pitṛbhyas*. — f. *mātṛbhyas*.

G. 1. *pitṛṇām*³. — 2. *unnatṛṇām* (VS. VI. 2) kind of Soma priests, *jaritṛṇām*, *dātṛṇām*⁴ (AV.), *dhātṛṇām*, *stotṛṇām*, *hōtṛṇām*. — With *r*: 1. *pitṛṇām* (TS. I. 3. 6¹ etc.); 2. *dhātṛṇām* (TS. IV. 7. 14³), *netṛṇām* (TS. I. 3. 6¹)⁵.

L. 1. m. *pitṛṣu* (AV.). — f. *mātṛṣu*. — 2. m. *hōtṛṣu*.

2. Stems in *y* and *v*.

361. These stems, of which there are only five, form a transition to the vowel declension because, while taking the normal endings like the ordinary consonant declension, they add *-s* in the N. sing. m. f. and show a vowel before the endings with initial consonant. There are no neuter forms⁶.

a. Stem in *-āy* (*-ai*).

362. This type is represented by only one word, usually stated in the form of *rāi-*, which never appears in any case. This word, which is both m. and (rarely) f., means 'wealth', being in origin doubtless connected with the root *rā-* 'give'. The stem appears as *rāy-* before vowels and *rā-* before consonants. The forms occurring are: Sing. A. *rām*. I. *rāyā*. D. *rāyé*. Ab. *rāyās*. G. *rāyās*⁷. — Pl. N. *rāyas*. A. *rāyās*⁸. G. *rāyām*.

a. The inflexion of *rāy-* is supplemented by *rayi-*, m. f., from which occur the additional cases sing. N. *rayis*, A. *rayim*, I. *rayā* and *rayinā*; pl. I. *rayibhis*. G. *rayṇām*.

b. There are three forms which seem to be irregular compounds of *rāy-*: sing. G. *ṛdhād-rayas* ('increasing wealth') N. of a man, D. *bṛhād-raye* 'having much wealth', and du. N. *śatā-rā* 'having a hundred goods'. In the first two forms the vowel of the stem has probably been shortened metrically⁹; in the third form, the stem as it appears before consonants has been used.

b. Stems in *-av* (*-o*) and *-āv* (*-au*).

363. There are two stems in *-av*, viz. *gāv-* m. 'bull', f. 'cow', and *dyaū-* m. f. 'heaven', 'day'. Both distinguish strong forms, in which the vowel is lengthened; both take *-s* in the N. sing. before which the end of the stem assumes the form of *-au*. Both show various irregularities in their inflexion.

¹ On the Sandhi of these accusatives see LANMAN 429.

² Once with m. ending *mātṛn* (x. 35²).

³ With *u* before the ending *-ām* as in the vowel declension, and accent shifted to the ending as in the *i-* and *u-* declension when those vowels are accented.

⁴ See WHITNEY's note on AV. v. 24³.

⁵ Also *udgātṛṇām* (TS. III. 2. 9⁵) and *bhrātṛṇām* (TS. II. 6. 6²). See BENFEY, *Vedica*, p. 1—38; IS. 13, 101; LANMAN 430.

⁶ Except the isolated *dyaū-* occurring once as V. du. of *dyaū-* 'heaven'.

⁷ The G. a few times has the irregular accent *rāyas*.

⁸ Accented thus 22 times as a weak case in the RV., and four times *rayas* as a strong case (also VS. II. 24). The SV. I. 4. 1. 4¹ has the A. pl. *rās* in the variant *adhāḥ rāḥ* for *adhātā* of RV. VIII. 96¹³.

⁹ According to BR. and GRASSMANN, they are formed from the stems *bṛhād-ri-* and *ṛdhād-rī-*. Cp. LANMAN 431.

The inflexion of *gáv-*, which is almost complete (the only forms not represented being the weak cases of the dual) is as follows:

Sing. N. *gáus*. A. *gám*. I. *gávā*. D. *gāve*. Ab. *gós*. G. *gós*. L. *gāvi*. — **Du.** N. A. *gāvā* and *gāvan*. — **Pl.** N. *gāvas*. A. *gās*. I. *gōbhis*. D. *gōbhyas*. G. *gāvām* and *gōnīm*. L. *gōsu*. V. *gāvas*.

a. Three of these forms, *gām*, *gās*, *gós* must, in the RV., be read as dissyllables in a few instances, though this is doubtful in the case of *gās*¹.

b. The normal G. pl. *gāvām*, which is by far the commoner, occurring 55 times in the RV., is found only 3 times at the end of a Pāda (which in two of these instances ends iambically); the irregular G. *gōnām*², occurring 20 times in the RV., is found at the end of a Pāda only. The use of the latter form thus seems to have arisen from metrical exigencies.

c. It is to be noted that from the point of view of accentuation the stem is not treated as a monosyllable, since the Udātta never shifts to the ending in weak cases.

d. There are three compounds formed from this stem: *ā-gas*³ G. sing. m. 'having no cows'; *pf̥śni-gāvas*⁴ N. pl. m. 'having dappled cows'; *rūśad-gāvi* L. sing. f. 'having bright cows'.

364. The strong form of *dyāv-* (in which the *y* has often to be read as *i*) is *dyāv-*, which appears as *dyāu-* before the *-s* of the N., and with loss of the final *u*, in the A. sing. *dyām*⁵. The normal stem *dyāv-* appears in weak cases only, in the contracted Ab. G. *dyós*⁶ and the L. *dyāvi*; it is otherwise entirely displaced by the Samprasāraṇa form *div-* (from which the accent shifts to the ending in weak cases) before vowels and *dyū-* before consonants.

The weak grade stem *div-* has not only entirely ousted *dyāv-* from the I. D. sing., and largely from the Ab. G. L. sing., but has even encroached on the strong forms: *divām* occurring (21 times) beside *dyām* (79 times), and *divas* (once) beside *dyāvas* (22 times) in the N. pl. Similarly *dyū-*⁷ has displaced *dyāv-* in the weak plural forms: A. *dyūn* (for **dyāvas*) and I. *dyūbhis* (for **dyābhis*).

The inflexion of *dyāv-* is less complete than that of *gáv-*, the D. Ab. G. L. pl. being wanting as well as all the weak cases of the dual. The forms occurring are the following:

Sing. N. *dyāus*. A. *dyām*; *divām*. I. *divā*. D. *divē*. Ab. *dyós*; *divás*⁸. G. *dyós*; *divás*⁹. L. *dyāvi*; *divī*¹⁰. V. *dyāus* and *dyāus*¹¹. — **Du.** N. A. V. *dyāvā*¹²; *dyāvī*¹³. — **Pl.** N. V. *dyāvas*; *divas*¹⁴ (once). A. m. *dyūn*; f. *divas*¹⁵ (twice). I. m. *dyūbhis*¹⁶.

a. The A. *dyām* seems to require dissyllabic pronunciation in a few instances. The form *dyāus* occurs once (I. 71⁸) as an Ab. instead of *dyós*. The form *divām* doubtless made its way into the A. sing. owing to the influence of the very frequent weak cases *divás* etc., which taken together occur more than 350 times in the RV.

¹ See LANMAN 431 (bottom). The form *gāvas* is actually used for the A. in Kh. II. 6¹⁵.

² Formed on the analogy of the vowel declension.

³ This might be formed from the reduced stem *ā-gu-*.

⁴ There is also from the reduced stem *-gu-* the A. sing. m. *pf̥śni-gum*, as the N. of a man.

⁵ For **dyā[u]m* like *gām* for **gā[u]m*.

⁶ Like *gós* for **gāvas*.

⁷ Based on *dyū-*.

⁸ In the RV. *dyós* occurs only twice as Ab., *divás* 50 times.

⁹ In the RV. *dyós* occurs 4 times as G., *divás* 180 times.

¹⁰ *dyāvi* occurs 12 times, *divī* 118 times in the RV.

¹¹ *dyāus*, that is, *diāus* occurs only once and is to be read as a dissyllable.

¹² In the G. du. of the Dvandva *divās-pṛthivyoś*, the G. sing. takes the place of the G. du., which would be *divós*.

¹³ The neuter form used once for the m.

¹⁴ Also twice in AV.

¹⁵ Also 3 or 4 times in AV.

¹⁶ *dyūn* and *dyūbhis* occur only in the RV. or in verses borrowed from the RV.

b. Starting from *div-ās* etc. a transition stem *divā-* according to the *a*-declension came into being. From this occur the forms *divā-m* 'heaven' and *divā-dive* 'every day', and in compounds *tri-divā-m* (AV.) 'third heaven', *tri-divē*, *su-divā-m* (AV.) 'bright day'.

c. It is to be noted that the accentuation of forms from *div-* follows the rule of monosyllables, while that of forms from *dyāv-* and *dyāv-*, as may be inferred from *dyāvi* and *dyāvhis*, does not, being the same as that of *gāu-*.

d. The following case-forms of compounds of *dyāv-* occur: sing. N. *pra-dyāus* (AV.) 'highest heaven', I. *pra-divā*, Ab. *pra-dyāus*, L. *pra-divi*; *āhar-divi* 'day by day'; du. N. A. *prthivī-dyāvā* 'earth and heaven', *dyāvā-kṣāmā*, *dyāvā-prthivī*, *dyāvā-bhūmī* 'heaven and earth', *vyṣṭi-dyāvā* 'having a raining sky'; pl. N. *vyṣṭi-dyāvas*, *su-dyāvas*.

365. There are two stems in *-ā-*, viz. *nāv-* (*nāu-*) f. 'ship', and *glāv-* (*glāu-*) m. or f. 'lump'. The inflexion is very incomplete, as no dual and only two plural forms are found; but as far as can be judged from the forms occurring it is quite regular, the accentuation being that of monosyllabic stems. The forms of *nāv-* are:

Sing. N. *nāus*. A. *nāvam*, *su-nāvam* 'good ship' (VS. XXI. 7). I. *nāvā*¹. G. *nāvās*. L. *nāvi*. — Pl. N. *nāvas*. I. *naubhīs*.

From *glāv-* occur only the two forms N. sing. *glāus* (AV.) and I. pl. *glāubhīs* (VS. XXV. 8)².

B. Vowel stems.

366. The vowel declension comprises stems ending in *a*, *i*, *u*, both long and short. These differ considerably in their inflexion according as they are radical or derivative. The radical stems, which virtually all end in the long vowels *ā*, *ī*, *ū*³, are allied to the consonant declension in taking the normal endings; but they add *-s* in the N. sing. m. f. The derivative stems, which end in both long and short vowels, modify the normal endings considerably; though they for the most part add *-s* in the N. sing. m. f., those in *-ā* and *-ī* regularly drop it.

1. a. Stems in radical *-ā*.

367. Radical *ā-* stems are frequent in the RV., but become less common in the later Samhitās where they often shorten the final vowel to *ā* and are then inflected like derivative *a*-stems. The great majority of the forms occurring are nominatives or accusatives, other cases being rare and some not occurring at all. In the RV. the N. sing. forms with *ā* occur ten times oftener than those with the shortened vowel *ā*, and five times oftener than the forms with *ā* in the AV. On the other hand, the AV. has only slightly more forms with *ā* than with *ā*, and no m. forms at all from *ā-* stems in the oblique cases⁴. This tendency to give up the *ā* forms in the later Samhitās may be illustrated by the fact that the forms of the RV. N. sing. *carṣaṇi-prā-s* 'blessing men', *nāma-dhā-s* 'name-giver', *prathama-jā-s* 'first-born', V. *soma-pā-s* 'soma-drinker', are replaced in the AV. by *carṣaṇi-prā-s*, *nāma-dhā-s*, *prathama-jā-s*⁵, V. *soma-pā* respectively.

This declension includes stems formed from about thirty roots. Of these, four appear as monosyllables in the m.: *jā-* 'child', *trā-* 'protector', *dā-* 'giver', *sthā-* 'standing'; and seven in the f.: *kṣā-*⁶ 'abode', *-khā-* 'well', *gnā-*⁷ 'divine

¹ There is also the transition form according to the *ā*-declension I. sing. *nāvāyā*, the accentuation of which indicates that it started from *nāvā*.

² The N. pl. *glāvas* also occurs in the AB.

³ These, however, by being shortened often appear secondarily as *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, when they are inflected like derivative stems. Radical *ī* *ū* and *r* stems have joined the

consonant declension by almost always adding the root determinative *-i*.

⁴ See LANMAN 435¹.

⁵ The form *prathama-jā-s*, however, also occurs in the AV.

⁶ From *kṣā-* = *kṣi-* 'dwell', 'rule'.

⁷ Perhaps formed with suffixal *ā* from a root **gan-* and sometimes to be pronounced as a dissyllable (*ganā-*), but inflected as if a radical stem.

woman', *jā*- 'child', *jyā*- 'bowstring', *mā*- 'measure', *vṛā*-¹ 'troop'; the rest appear only at the end of compounds: *-krā*-² 'doing', *-krā*-³ 'scattering', *-kṣā*- 'ruling', *-khā*- 'digging', *-khyā*- 'seeing', *-gā*- 'going', *-gā*- 'singing', *-jā*- 'born', *-jñā*- 'knowing', *-jyā*- 'power', *-tā*- 'stretching', *-dā*- 'giving', *-drā*- 'sleeping', *-dhā*- 'putting', *-dhu*- 'sucking', *-pā*- 'guarding', *-pā*- 'drinking', *-prā*- 'filling'⁴, *-bhā*- 'appearing', *-mā*- 'measuring', *-yā*- 'going', *-vā*- 'blowing', *-sā*- 'winning'⁵, *-sthā*- 'standing', *-snā*- 'bathing', *-hā*- 'starting'.

These stems are inflected in the m. and f. only. There are no distinctively n. forms⁶, as the stem shortens the radical vowel to *ā* in that gender and is consequently inflected according to the derivative *a*-declension.

a. Three anomalously formed m. derivative stems in *-ā* follow the analogy of the radical *a*-stems. 1. From the adverb *tā-thā* 'thus' is formed the N. sing. *ā-tathā-s* 'not saying "yes"'. 2. *uśānā*, N. of a seer, forms its A. *uśānām* and D. *uśāne*⁷; the N. sing. being irregularly formed without *-s*, has the appearance of a N. sing. f. from a derivative *ā* stem⁸. 3. The strong stem of *pathi*- 'path' is in the RV. *pānthā*- only: N. sing. *pānthā-s* (+ AV.), A. *pānthā-m* (+ AV.), N. pl. *pānthās*. The AV. also uses the stem *pānthān-*, from which it forms N. sing. *pānthā* (once), A. *pānthānam* (once), and N. pl. *pānthānas*. Though the stem *pānthān-* never occurs in the RV., the evidence of the Avesta points to its having been in use beside *pānthā*- in the Indo-Iranian period⁹. The A. *pānthām*¹⁰, as a contraction of *pānthānam*, may have been the starting point of the N. sing. *pānthā-s*.

Inflection.

368. The forms occurring in the oblique cases are so rare that some endings, such as those of the L. sing., G. L. du. and G. pl. are not represented at all. The m. always takes *-s* in the N. sing., but the f. often drops it, doubtless owing to the influence of the f. of derivative *ā*-stems. Excepting the few forms occurring in the D. and G. sing.¹¹, the N. sing. with *-s* is the only case in which the inflexion of the radical stems can be distinguished in the f.¹² from that of the derivative *ā*-stems in form¹³. The forms actually occurring would, if made from *jā*- 'offspring', be the following:

Sing. N. m. f. *jā-s*, f. also *jā*. A. m. f. *jā-m*. I. f. *j-ā*. D. m. f. *j-ē*. G. m. *j-ās*. V. m. *jā-s*.

Du. N. A. V. m. *jā*, *jāu*. I. *jā-bhyām*¹⁴.

Pl. N. m. f. *jās*. A. f. *jās*. I. m. f. *jā-bhis*. D. f. *jā-bhyas*. Ab. m. *jā-bhyas*. L. f. *jā-su*.

The forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. m. *jā-s*¹⁵ 'child', *dā-s*¹⁶ 'giver', *sthā-s* 'standing'. — *dadhi-krā-s*¹⁷,

¹ From an extended form of the root *vy-* 'surround'.

² An extension with *-ā* of *ky-* 'do'.

³ An extension with *-ā* of *kṛ-* 'scatter'.

⁴ The root *mā-* 'soften' occurs in the modified form of *-mū-* in *carma-mū-* 'tanner'.

⁵ Four of these roots, *khā*-, *gā*-, *jā*-, *sā*-, are collateral forms of others ending in a nasal, *khan*-, *gam*-, *jan*-, *san*-; cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum, p. 92 f., LANMAN 442.

⁶ Five N. sing. m. forms with *-s* are found in agreement with n. substantives.

⁷ There is also a L. sing. *uśāne*, which is formed as if from an *a*-stem.

⁸ The starting-point of this may have been *uśānām* as a contracted A. for *uśānasam*.

⁹ See LANMAN 441.

¹⁰ The analogy of *pathi*- is followed by *mathi*- 'churning-stick', which once has the A. form *mānthā-m*.

¹¹ There are otherwise only the f. trans-

ition forms L. sing. *āpayāyām*, N. of a river, and *puro-dhāyām* (AV.).

¹² The N. sing. with *-s* is about as common as that without it in the RV., the latter occurring in late hymns; in the AV. the former are less common.

¹³ But on etymological grounds other cases may commonly be distinguished as belonging to either one group or the other; thus A. f. *ā-gopām* 'having no herdsman' must be regarded as a radical *ā*-form, because the m. is almost without exception *go-pā-m*, and not as a derivative f. from *go-pā*-.

¹⁴ Contrary to the rule generally applicable to monosyllable stems, the accent remains on the radical syllable throughout.

¹⁵ LANMAN 443 thinks *gā-s* in X. 127⁸ is a N. sing. 'singer' (*gā*- 'sing'), but it is probably the A. pl. of *gō*- 'cow'.

¹⁶ Also *dhā-s* in TS. II. 6. 41.

¹⁷ These compounds are arranged according to the alphabetical order of the roots.

N. of a divine horse. — *ṛbhu-kṣā-s* 'lord of the Rbhus'. — *bisa-khā-s* 'digging up lotus fibres'. — *agre-gā-s* (VS. XXVII. 31; Kh. v. 6') 'going before', *an-ā-gā-s* 'not coming', *puro-gā-s* 'leader', *samana-gā-s* 'going to the assembly'. — *sāma-gā-s* 'singing chants'. — *adri-jā-s* 'produced from stones', *apsu-jā-s* 'born in the waters', *ab-jā-s* 'born in water', *abhra-jā-s* (AV.) 'born from clouds', *ṛta-jā-s* 'truly born', *ṛte-jā-s* 'produced at the rite', *go-jā-s* 'born from the cow', *tapo-jā-s* (VS. XXXVII. 16) 'born from heat', *divi-jā-s* 'born in the sky', *deva-jā-s* 'god-born', *devi-jā-s* 'twice-born', *nakṣatra-jā-s* (AV.) 'star-born', *nabho-jā-s* 'produced from vapour', *nava-jā-s* 'newly born', *purā-jā-s* 'primeval', *pūrva-jā-s* 'born before', *prathama-jā-s* 'first-born', *bahu-pra-jā-s* 'having numerous progeny', *manuṣya-jā-s* 'born of men', *vane-jā-s* 'born in woods', *vāta-jā-s* (AV.) 'arisen from wind', *sana-jā-s* 'born long ago', *saha-jā-s* 'born together', *saho-jā-s* 'produced by strength', *su-pra-jā-s* 'having good offspring', *hiranya-jā-s* (AV.) 'sprung from gold'. — *ṛta-jñā-s* 'knowing the sacred law'. — *parama-jyā-s* 'holding supreme power'. — *apāna-dā-s* (TS. VS.) 'giving the downward air', *ātma-dā-s* 'granting breath', *āyur-dā-s* (TS. VS.) 'granting long life', *āśir-dā-s* (VS. XVIII. 56) 'fulfilling a wish', *ojo-dā-s* 'granting power', *go-dā-s* 'giving kine', *caḥsur-dā-s* (TS. IV. 6. 15) 'giving sight', *draviṇo-dā-s* 'giving wealth', *dhana-dā-s* 'giving booty', *prāṇa-dā-s* (VS. TS.) 'life-giving', *bala-dā-s* 'giving power', *bhūri-dā-s* 'giving much', *rāṣṭra-dā-s* (VS. X. 2) 'giving dominion', *varivā-dā-s* (VS. TS.) 'giving space', *varco-dā-s* (VS. TS.) 'giving vigour', *vasu-dā-s* (AV.) 'giving wealth', *vyāna-dā-s* (VS. TS.) 'giving breath', *sahasra-dā-s* 'giving a thousand', *saho-dā-s* 'giving strength', *svasti-dā-s* 'giving happiness', *haviṇ-dā-s* (AV.) 'giving oblations', *hiranya-dā-s* 'yielding gold'. — *abhi-dhā-s* (VS. XXII. 3) 'surrounding', *kiye-dhā-s* 'containing much', *cano-dhā-s* (VS. VIII. 7) 'gracious', *dhāma-dhā-s* 'founder of dwellings', *dhīyaṃ-dhā-s* 'devout', *nāma-dhā-s* 'name-giving', *bhāga-dhā-s* (TS. IV. 6. 3') 'paying what is due', *ratna-dhā-s* 'procuring wealth', *reto-dhā-s* 'impregnating', *vayo-dhā-s* 'bestowing strength', *varco-dhā-s* (AV.) 'granting vigour', *viśvā-dhā-s* (VS. I. 2) 'all-preserving', *sarva-dhā-s* 'all-refreshing'. — *adhi-pā-s* 'ruler', *apāna-pā-s* (VS. XX. 34) 'protecting the downward breath', *abhiśasti-pā-s* 'defending from imprecations', *abhiṣṭi-pā-s*¹ 'protecting with assistance', *āprita-pā-s* (VS. VIII. 57) 'guarding when gladdened', *āyus-pā-s* (VS. XXII. 1) 'life-protector', *ṛta-pā-s* 'guarding divine order', *go-pā-s* 'herdsman', *ā-gopā-s* 'lacking a cowherd', *devā-gopā-s* 'having the gods for guardians', *su-gopā-s* 'good protector', *soma-gopā-s* 'keeper of Soma', *caḥsur-pā-s*² (VS. II. 6) 'protecting the eyesight', *tanu-pā-s* 'protecting the person', *nidhi-pā-s* (AV. VS.) 'guardian of treasure', *paras-pā-s*² 'protecting afar', *paśu-pā-s* 'keeper of herds', *prāṇa-pā-s* (VS. XX. 34) 'guardian of breath', *vrata-pā-s* 'observing ordinances', *śevadhi-pā-s* 'guarding treasure', *stī-pā-s* 'protecting dependents', *sva-pā-s*³ (AV.) 'protector of his own'. — *an-ṛtu-pā-s* 'not drinking in time', *ṛtu-pā-s* 'drinking at the right season', *pūrva-pā-s* 'drinking first', *suta-pā-s* 'drinking the Soma-juice', *soma-pā-s* 'drinking Soma', *hari-pā-s* 'drinking the yellow (Soma)'. — *antarikṣa-prā-s* 'traversing the air', *kratu-prā-s* 'granting power', *carṣaṇi-prā-s* 'satisfying men', *rodasi-prā-s*⁴ 'filling heaven and earth'. — *ṛṇa-yā-s* 'exacting obligations', *eva-yā-s* 'going quickly', *tura-yā-s* 'going swiftly', *deva-yā-s* 'going to the gods'. — *ap-sā-s* 'giving water', *aśva-sā-s* 'giving horses', *dhana-sā-s* 'winning wealth', *vāja-sā-s* 'winning booty', *śata-sā-s* 'gaining a hundred', *sahasra-sā-s* 'gaining a thousand', *go-sā-s* 'acquiring cattle', *nṛ-sā-s* 'procuring men', *su-sā-s* 'gaining

¹ In *abhiṣṭipāsi* (II. 20²), where the Pada text reads *abhiṣṭi-pā asi*. See JANMAN 443 (bottom).

² On the Sandhi in this compound cp. 78 c.

³ The Pada text of AV. III. 31 divides *sva-pāh*; but the correct division may be *su-apāh*; see WHITNEY's note.

⁴ For *rodasi-prā-s*.

easily', *svar-śā-s* 'winning light'. — *ādharma-sthā-s*¹ (Kh. II. 8²) 'subordinate', *ṛta-sthā-s* (AV.) 'standing right', *rocana-sthā-s* 'abiding in light', *sāpa-sthā-s*² (VS. XXI. 60; TS. I. 2. 2³) 'forming a good lap'; *aṅge-śhā-s* (AV.) 'situated in a member of the body', *adhvare-śhā-s* 'standing at the sacrifice', *giri-śhā-s* 'mountain-dwelling', *nī-śhā-s* 'excelling', *puru-nī-śhā-s* 'excelling among many', *bhuvane-śhā-s*³ (AV.) 'being in the world', *manthane-śhā-s* 'liberal', *madhyame-śhā-s* (AV. VS. TS.) 'standing in the middle', *rathe-śhā-s* 'standing on a car', *vandane-śhā-s* 'mindful of praises', *vandhure-śhā-s* 'standing on the car-seat', *savya-śhā-s*⁴ (AV.), *hari-śhā-s* 'borne by bay horses'. — *ghṛta-snā-s* 'sprinkling ghee'. — Also the abnormal forms *ā-tathā-s* 'not saying "yes"', *pānthā-s* 'path'.

f. *ksā-s* 'abode', *gnā-s* 'divine woman', *vṛā-s*⁵ (I. 124⁸) 'troop'. — *ṛta-pā-s*, *ṛte-jā-s*, *kula-pā-s* (AV.) 'chief of a family', *go-dhā-s*⁶ 'sinew', *go-pā-s* (AV.) 'female guardian', *go-śā-s*, *divi-jā-s*, *divo-jā-s* 'born from heaven', *vane-jā-s*, *vayo-dhā-s* (AV.), *vasu-dā-s* (AV.), *śata-sā-s*, *samana-gā-s*, *sahasra-sā-s*⁷. — Without -s in the Pada but with hiatus in the Samhitā⁸: *jyā* 'bowstring'; *nī-drā* 'sleep', *pra-pā* 'place for watering', *śrad-dhā* 'faith', *sva-dhā*⁹ 'self-power'; *un-mā* (TS.) 'measure of height', *prati-mā* (TS.) 'counter-measure', *pra-mā* (TS.) 'fore-measure', *vi-mā* (TS.) 'through-measure'¹⁰. — Without -s as in the derivative ā-declension: *jā* (AV.), *mā* (TS. IV. 3. 7¹) 'measure'. — *āpa-gā*¹¹ (AV.) 'going away', *abhi-bhā* 'apparition', *ā-saṃjñā* (AV.) 'discord', *upa-jā* (AV.) 'distant posterity', *go-dhā*¹², *dur-gā* (AV.) 'hard to go upon', *devā-gopā*, *dyu-kṣā* 'heavenly', *pra-jā* 'offspring', *prati-mā* 'image', *pra-pā* (AV. III. 30⁶), *pra-mā* 'measure', *madhu-dhā*¹³ 'dispensing sweetness', *śrad-dhā* (AV.), *sana-jā*, *svā-gopā* 'guarding oneself', *sva-dhā*.

n. With -s and agreeing with n. substantives: *sthā-s* 'stationary'; *indra-jā-s* (AV.) 'descended from Indra', *śata-sā-s*, *su-pra-yā-s* 'pleasant to tread on', *soma-jā-s*¹⁴ (AV.) 'Soma-born'.

A. m. *jām*, *trām* 'protector', *sthām*. — *dadhi-krām*, *rudhi-krām* N. of a demon. — *tamo-gām* 'roaming in the darkness', *tavā-gām* 'moving mightily', *svasti-gām* 'leading to prosperity'. — *sāma-gām*. — *agra-jām* 'first-born', *ab-jām*, *nabho-jām*, *purā-jām*, *prathama-jām*, *bhāresu-jām* 'existing in battles'. — *ān-ās-va-dām* 'not giving horses', *ān-ās-ir-dām* 'not giving a blessing', *a-bhikṣa-dām*¹⁵ 'giving without being asked', *upa-dām* (VS. XXX. 9) 'giving a present', *jani-dām* 'giving a wife', *draviṇo-dām*, *dhana-dām*, *rabho-dām* 'bestowing strength', *vasu-dām*, *saho-dām*, *havir-dām* (AV.). — *ratna-dhām* (AV., VS. IV. 25), *reto-dhām* (VS. VIII. 10), *vayo-dhām*, *varivo-dhām* 'granting space', *varco-dhām* (VS. IV. 11), *vipo-dhām* 'inspiring'. — *abhiśasti-pām*, *go-pām*, *tanū-pām*, *nī-śikta-pām* 'protecting the infused (semen)', *vrata-pām*. — *añjas-pām* 'drinking instantly', *śṛta-pām* 'drinking boiled milk', *soma-pām*. — *antarikṣa-prām*, *kakṣya-prām* 'filling out the girth',

¹ The Ms. reads *ādhirā-sthā nīnaśat*.

² That is, *su-upa-sthā-s*.

³ While Kh. III. 22² has in the same verse *bhūmane-śhāḥ* (sic).

⁴ The Pada reads *savya-sthāḥ*; see APr. II. 95, and cp. WHITNEY's note on AV. VIII. 8²³.

⁵ N. sing. GRASSMANN and LANMAN, N. pl. ROTH and SĀYANA.

⁶ The derivation is uncertain.

⁷ The above are the only N. sing. f. forms written with -s in the Pada text.

⁸ It may therefore be assumed that the N. was formed with -s.

⁹ Cp. RPr. II. 29. With regard to *sva-dhā*, the Samhitā text is inconsistent, writing it contracted with a following vowel in *svadhāsū*

(1. 165⁶) and *svadhāmītā* (v. 34¹), where it must be pronounced with hiatus.

¹⁰ All these four compounds of *mā* 'measure' occur in TS. IV. 4. 11³; see TPr. x. 13, IS. 13, 104, note 2.

¹¹ BR. would accentuate *āpa-gā*; cp. WHITNEY's note on AV. I. 34⁵.

¹² Probably *go-dhās* in x. 28¹¹; cp. LANMAN 445.

¹³ Also *maryādā* 'limit' if *maryā-dā*, but the derivation is doubtful.

¹⁴ These forms must be regarded as m. used as n. Cp. the -ā forms of -as stems used as n. (344).

¹⁵ According to the Pada text *abhi-kṣa-dām* ('destroying').

carṣaṇi-prām, *ratha-prām* 'filling a car', *rodasi-prām*¹. — *ap-sām*, *urvarā-sām* 'granting fertile land', *kṣetra-sām* 'procuring land', *dhana-sām*, *sadā-sām* 'always gaining', *sahasra-sām*; *go-sām*, *sva-sām*. — *rocana-sthām*, *sv-āsa-sthām* (VS. II. 2) 'offering a good seat'; *giri-sthām*, *nare-sthām* 'serving for a man² to stand on', *nī-sthām*, *karma-niṣṭhām* 'diligent in religious acts', *paṭhi-sthām* (AV.) 'being on the way', *paṭhe-sthām*³ 'standing in the way', *pari-sthām* 'surrounding', *parvate-sthām* 'dwelling on the heights', *barhi-sthām*⁴ 'standing on the sacrificial grass', *rathe-sthām*, *rayi-sthām* (AV.) 'possessed of wealth', *hari-sthām*. — Also the **abnormal** derivative forms *pānthām*, *mānthām* 'churning-stick'.

f. *kṣām*, *khām* 'well', *gnām*, *jām*, *jyām*, *vram*. — *ā-gopām*, *antarikṣa-prām*, *ava-sām* 'liberation', *īśva-sām*, *upa-vām* (AV.) 'act of blowing upon', *ura-sām* 'granting much', *ṛta-jñām*, *tiro-dhām* (AV.) 'concealment', *dur-dhām* 'disarrangement', *dhana-sām*, *pra-jām*, *prati-dhām* (AV.) 'draught', *prati-sthām* 'standpoint', *pra-vām* (AV.) 'blowing forth', *pra-hām* 'advantage', *yakṣmo-dhām*⁵ (AV.) 'maker of disease', *vāja-sām*, *śrad-dhām*, *sabhām*⁶ 'assembly', *su-prajām*, *sva-jām* 'self-born', *sva-dhām*, *sva-sām*.

I. f. *apa-dhā* 'concealment', *abhi-khyā* 'splendour', *a-sthā* 'without standing'⁷, *āśir-dā* (VS.) 'fulfilment of a wish', *prati-dhā*, *prati-sthā*⁸, *sva-dhā*.

D. m. *dē*; *kilāla-pē* 'drinking (the beverage called) *kilāla*', *dhiyaṇ-dhē* 'devout', *paśu-sē* 'bestowing cattle', *rāyas-ṇa-dē* (VS. v. 1) 'granting increase of wealth', *śuci-pē* 'drinking the clear (Soma)', *śubhaṇ-yē* 'flying swiftly along', *haviṛ-dē*.

f. *kṣē*; *śrad-dhē*⁹. — Also the **infinitives** *pra-khyāi* 'to see', *vi-khyāi* 'to look about', *parā-dāi* 'to give up', *rayo-dhāi* 'to strengthen', *prati-māi*¹⁰ 'to imitate', *ava-yāi* 'to go away', *ā-yāi* 'to approach', *upa-yāi* 'to come near', *pra-yāi* 'to go forward', *ava-sāi*¹¹ 'to rest'¹².

G. m. *kṛṣṭi-prās* 'pervading the human race', *paśu-sās*¹³.

V. m. *ṛta-pā-s* (TS. III. 2. 8¹), *ṛtu-pā-s*, *puro-gā-s* (TS. V. I. 1. 1⁴), *bhūri-dā-s*, *śukra-pūta-pā-s* 'drinking bright and purified (Soma)', *śuci-pā-s*, *śrotra-pā-s* (VS. XX. 34) 'protecting the ear', *suta-pā-s*, *soma-pā-s*¹⁴.

Du. N. A. V. m. *kakṣya-prā*, *go-pā*, *gharmye-sthā* 'being in a house', *chardiṣ-pā* 'protecting a house', *jagat-pā* 'protecting the living', *tanū-pā*, *tapuṣ-pā* 'drinking warm beverage', *draviṇo-dā*¹⁵, *paras-pā*, *purā-jā*, *pūru-trā* 'protecting much', *vāja-dā* 'bestowing vigour', *śuci-pā*, *su-gopā*, *soma-pā*, *sti-pā*. — **With -au**: *ā-kran*¹⁶ 'inactive', *a-doma-dhāu* (AV.) 'not causing inconvenience', *adhva-gāu* 'travelling', *go-pāu*, *madhu-pāu* 'drinking Soma', *rayi-dāu* 'bestowing wealth', *suta-pāu*¹⁷.

¹ For *rodasi-prām*.

² The D. case-form of *nī* 'man' being retained in the compound.

³ The L. of the stem *paṭha* = *paṭhi* being retained in the compound.

⁴ *barhi-* for *barhiṣ-*: see 62.

⁵ With the N. case-form retained in the compound; see WHITNEY's note on AV. IX. 8⁹.

⁶ The derivation of this word is uncertain.

⁷ Used adverbially = 'at once'.

⁸ Cp. LANMAN 447¹. There are also the transition forms *jyāyā*, *prajāyā*.

⁹ Also the transition form *prajāyāi*.

¹⁰ The infinitive *prati-mē* is probably a locative.

¹¹ These dative infinitives are formed by combining the full root with the ending *-e*, while in the ordinary datives the radical *ā* is dropped before the ending.

¹² See below, the Dative Infinitive, 584.

¹³ The form *jās-* in *jās-pati-* (L. 185⁸) 'lord of the family' is probably a f. G. of *jā-*; and *gnās* probably G. of *gnā-* in *gnās-pati-* 'husband of a divine woman'. There are also the transition forms *jyāyās* and *pra-jāyās*.

¹⁴ There are also in the f. the transition forms *gānge*, *śrad-dhe*, *tiro-dhe* (AV.) 'concealment'.

¹⁵ The Pada text reads *draviṇo-dāu*.

¹⁶ Some of these duals in *-au* may be formed from radical stems with shortened *-ā*; cp. LANMAN 450¹.

¹⁷ There are also the f. transition forms *ṛdū-pē* 'drinking what is sweet', *pūrva-jē* 'born before', *sv-āsa-sthē* 'sitting on a good seat'.

I. Only four compounds of *-pā* in TS. III. 2. 10¹: *kratu-pābhyām* 'watching one's intentions', *cakṣuṣ-pābhyām*, *vāk-pābhyām* 'protecting speech', *śrotra-pābhyām*¹.

PL. N. V. m. *rbhu-kṣās*. — *agni-jās* (AV.) 'fire-born', *ā-pra-jās* 'childless', *apsu-jās* (AV.), *oṣadhi-jās* (AV.) 'born among herbs', *khala-jās* (AV.) 'produced on a threshing-floor', *deva-jās*, *purā-jās*, *prathama-jās*, *pravāte-jās* 'grown in an airy place', *raghu-jās* 'produced from a racer', *śaka-dhūma-jās* (AV.) 'produced from cow-dung', *su-pra-jās*, *sva-jās*. — *ṛta-jñās*, *ṛta-jñās*, *pada-jñās* 'knowing the track'. — *aśva-dās* 'giving horses', *āśtr-dās* (VS. VIII. 5), *go-dās*, *draviṇo-dās*, *dhana-dās*, *vara-dās* (AV.) 'granting boons', *vastra-dās* and *vāso-dās* 'giving garments', *hiranya-dās*. — *janī-dhās*² (X. 29⁵), *dhiyaṇ-dhās*, *ratna-dhās*, *revodhās*, *vayo-dhās*. — *payo-dhās* 'sucking milk'. — *kula-pās* 'heads of the family'; *go-pās*, *indra-gopās* 'protected by Indra', *devā-gopās*, *vāyū-gopās* 'protected by Wind', *su-gopās*; *tanū-pās*, *paśu-pās*, *vrata-pās*. — *agre-pās* 'drinking first', *añjas-pās*, *payas-pās* 'drinking milk', *manthi-pās*³ (VS. VII. 17) 'drinking the stirred Soma', *soma-pās*, *soma-pās* (AV.), *haviṣ-pās* 'drinking offerings'. — *carma-mnās*⁴ 'tanners'. — *jma-yās* 'going on the earth'. — *dhana-sās*, *sadā-sās*, *sahasra-sās*. — *prthivi-śhās*⁵ 'standing on the earth', *rathe-śhās*⁶, *harmye-śhās*⁶ 'dwelling in the house'. — *ghṛta-snās* 'sprinkling ghee'. — Also the abnormal derivative *pānthās*⁷.

f. *gnās*, *vrās*. — *ā-gopās*, *ava-sthās* 'female organs', *āhi-gopās* 'guarded by the dragon', *ātās* 'frames', *ṛta-jñās* (AV.), *giri-jās* 'mountain-born', *jarani-prās*², *devā-gopās*, *deva-yās*, *pada-jñās* (AV.), *pra-jās*, *prathama-jās*, *pra-yās* 'advance', *manuṣya-jās* (AV.), *vakṣane-śhās* 'being in Agni' (?), *vāja-dās*, *śuṣma-dās* 'bestowing strength', *su-gopās*, *soma-pās*, *svayaṇ-jās*⁸ 'self-born'.

A. m. There is no certain example: *vane-jās* (X. 79⁷) is possibly one⁹.

f. *kṣās*, *gnās*, *jās*. — *ān-agni-trās* 'not maintaining the sacred fire', *anu-śhās* 'following in succession', *aśva-dās*, *deva-yās*, *pari-jās* (AV.) 'places of origin', *pari-śhās* 'impediments', *pra-jās*, *manuṣya-jās*, *vi-śhās* 'positions', *sahā-gopās* 'accompanied by herdsmen', *su-gās* 'easy to traverse', *sva-dhās*.

I. m. *agre-pābhis*. — f. *gnābhis*; *ṛtu-pābhis*, *ratna-dhābhis*, *prajābhis*, *śrad-dhābhis*, *sva-dhābhis*.

D. f. *pra-jābhyas*. — Ab. m. *bhūri-dābhyas*¹⁰.

L. f. *kṣāsu*, *gnāsu*, *jāsu*; *ātāsu*¹¹, *pra-jāsu*, *sabhāsu*.

1 b. Stems in Radical -a.

369. These consist almost entirely of stems in radical *ā* which has been shortened to *ā*. With the exception of *kṣā*¹² 'aperture' they occur at the end of compounds only. They are: *-kṣā* 'dwelling', *kṣā*, *-gā* 'going', *-gā* 'singing', *-jā* 'born', *-jya* 'bowstring', *-ta* 'stretching', *-tra*¹³ 'protecting', *-dā* 'giving'¹⁴, *-dā* 'binding', *-dhā* 'putting', *-pā* 'guarding', *-pā* 'drinking', *-prā* 'filling', *-mnā*.

¹ In the L. du. there also occur the f. transition forms *janīdhāyos* (AV.) and *sva-dhāyos*.

² Of doubtful meaning.

³ The stem is *manthi-pā* according to BR.

⁴ From *√mlā*: 'softening hides'.

⁵ *Prthivi* = *prthivī*.

⁶ With the L. ending retained in the first member of the compound.

⁷ The form *pānthās* also occurs once. It is doubtful whether the plurals *dyu-kṣāsas* and *priya-sāsas* are to be regarded as formed from *ā*-stems. Such plurals are probably made from *a*-stems.

⁸ There is also the f. transition form *nāva-gvās*.

⁹ Cp. LANMAN 451¹⁴.

¹⁰ In the G. occur the f. transition forms *pra-jñānām* (AV.) 'fore-knowing', *vi-bhānām* 'radiant'.

¹¹ Probably from *tā* = *tan* 'stretch'.

¹² The nominatives *drā-s* and *vrā-s* in AV. XI. 73 (also *nyā-s*, 74) are of unknown meaning (see WHITNEY's note).

¹³ Cp. GARBE in KZ. 23, 476, 480.

¹⁴ Perhaps also *-dra* 'running' in *kṣṣa-drām* (AV.).

'thinking', -*mā*-¹ 'softening', -*sā*- 'winning', -*sthā*- 'standing'; also -*grā*-² 'swallowing', -*gva*-³ 'going', -*hā*-⁴ 'slaying'.

These stems are inflected in the m. and n. only. This is the form assumed in the n. by all radical *ā*-stems (367).

Inflection.

370. The inflexion of the radical *a*-stems is identical with that of the derivative *a*-stems (371). The forms which occur are the following:

Sing. N. m. *dyu-kṣā-s* 'dwelling in heaven'. — *su-khā-s* 'having a good (axle) hole'. — *agre-gā-s* 'going in front', *āsum-gā-s* (AV.) 'swift-going', *ṛju-gā-s* (AV.) 'going straight on', *patan-gā-s*⁵ 'going by flight', *vala-gā-s* (AV.) 'hidden in a cave', *śitiṃ-gā-s* (AV. XI. 5¹²) 'white-goer', *su-gā-s* 'easy to traverse'. — *dāsa-gva-s*⁷ 'going in tens', *nāva-gva-s*⁷ 'going in nines'⁸. — *a-jā-s* 'unborn', *adhrt-jā-s* 'irresistible', *eka-jā-s* (AV.) 'produced alone', *jarāyu-jā-s* (AV.) 'viviparous', *ni-jā-s* (AV.) 'familiar', *prathama-jā-s* (AV.) 'first-born', *samudra-jā-s* (AV.) 'sea-born', *stamba-jā-s* (AV.) 'shaggy' (?). — *an-ānu-dā-s* 'not giving way', *dānu-dā-s* 'dripping', *dāyā-dā-s* (AV.) 'receiving (ā-da-) inheritance (dāya-)', *prāṇa-dā-s* 'life-giving'. — *nāma-dhā-s* (AV.) 'name-giver'. — *ākūti-prā-s* (AV.) 'fulfilling wishes', *kāma-prā-s* (AV.) 'fulfilling desire', *carṣaṇi-prā-s* (AV.) 'satisfying men', *pṛthivi-prā-s* (AV.) 'earth-filling'¹⁰. — *apnāh-sthā-s* 'possessor', *go-sthā-s* (AV.) 'cow-pen', *puru-niṣṭhā-s* 'excelling among many'. — *śatru-hā-s* (AV.) 'slaying enemies', *sahasra-hā-s* (AV.) 'slaying a thousand'.

N. A. n. *khām* 'aperture'. — *a-doma-dām* (AV.) 'not causing inconvenience', *antāri-kṣām* 'air', *kṛṣṇa-drām* (AV.) 'black runner' (?)¹¹, *tuvī-kṣām* 'destroying many', *dur-gām* 'impassable', *dyu-kṣām*, *prathama-jām* (AV. VS.), *vāta-gopām* (AV.) 'guarded by the wind', *vṛtra-hām* 'slaying foes', *śatrū-hām* 'always destroying', *sadhā-stham* 'abode', *su-gām*, *su-mnām* 'benevolent'.

A. m. *atithi-gvām* ('to whom guests go') N. of a man, *an-ānu-dām*, *arāti-hām* (AV.) 'destroying adversity', *aśva-pām* (VS. xxx. 11) 'groom', *ś-sva-gam* (AV.) 'homeless', *eka-jām*, *garbha-dhām* (VS. TS.) 'impregnator', *grāha-pām* (VS. xxx. 11) 'guardian of a house', *go-pām* 'herdsman', *carma-mnām* (VS.) 'tanner', *tri-śthām* 'having three seats', *dāsa-gvam*, *dāva-pām* (VS. xxx. 19) 'forest-fire guard', *dyu-kṣām*, *patan-gām*, *prathama-jām* (VS. xxxiv. 51), *madhu-pām* 'honey-drinker', *vana-pām* (VS. xxx. 19) 'wood-ranger', *vala-gām* (AV.), *vitta-dhām* (VS. xxx. 11) 'possessing wealth', *su-khām*, *su-gām* (AV.), *hasti-pām* (VS. xxx. 11) 'elephant-keeper'.

I. m. *rathe-śthēna* 'standing on a car'. — **n.** *antāri-kṣeṇa*, *ṛtā-jyena* 'whose bowstring is truth', *kāma-prēna*, *su-gēna* (AV.), *su-mnēna*.

D. m. *atithi-gvāya*, *dyu-kṣāya*, *patan-gāya*, *rathe-śthāya*¹². — **n.** *parāś-pāya* (VS.) 'protecting from afar', *su-mnāya*. — **Ab. m.** *ṛśya-dāt* (x. 39⁸) 'pit for antelopes'. — **n.** *antāri-kṣāt*¹³, *dur-gāt*, *sadhā-śhāt*.

¹ In the form of -*mā*- in *carma-mnā*- 'tanner'.

² An extension of *gr-* 'swallow'; cp. -*krā*- and *vā-* among the radical *ā*-stems.

³ In its original form perhaps -*gvā*-; a reduced form -*gu-* appears in *vanaṛ-gū*- 'forest-roaming'.

⁴ A reduced form of *han-* 'slay'.

⁵ See BARTHOLOMAE, BB. 15, 34 and cp. BB. 18, 12.

⁶ The etymology and meaning are somewhat doubtful; cp. IS. 4, 304.

⁷ These two compounds as well as *atithi-gvā*- and *ita-gva-*, are with more probability derived from a reduced form of *go*- 'cow' by

BLOOMFIELD, AJPh. 17, 422-27; cp. above p. 153 (mid.).

⁸ The compound *puro-gavā-s* 'leader' possibly = **puro-gvā-s*; but it is probably a governing compound; cp. above, p. 176¹.

⁹ See WHITNEY's note on AV. III. 5².

¹⁰ Also *paśu-gā-s* (v. 41¹) if it is N. sing. and not a G. of *paśu-gā*.

¹¹ Cp. WHITNEY's note on AV. IX. 7⁴.

¹² *svajāya* (AV.) is analyzed by the Commentator as *sva-jāya* 'self-born', but is explained by WHITNEY (AV. VI. 56²) as 'constrictor' (from *svaj-* 'embrace').

¹³ See LANMAN 337.

G. m. *a-jāsya*, *atithi-gvāsya*¹. — **n.** *antāri-ksasya*, *asthi-jāsya* (AV.) 'produced in the bones', *tanū-jāsya* (AV.) 'produced from the body', *su-mnāsya*.

L. m. *dāsa-gve*, *nāva-gve*, *ratha-saṃgē* 'encounter of war-cars', *saṃ-sthé* 'presence', *saṃ-gē* 'conflict', *su-khē*, *sva-gē* 'going to heaven'. — **n.** *antāri-kṣe*, *khē*. — *karaija-hē* 'pernicious to the Karaija tree', *dur-gē*, *bhayā-sthe* 'perilous situation', *sadhā-sthe*, *su-mnē*. — **V. m.** *eka-ja*, *dyu-kṣa*, *patan-ga* (AV.), *soma-pa* (AV.) 'drinking Soma'.

Du. N. A. m.² *ṭa-gvā* 'going swiftly'. — **A. n.** *sadhā-sthe*.

Pl. N. V. m. *ājya-pās* (VS. XXI. 40) 'drinking clarified butter', *ṭa-gvās*, *tanū-jās* (AV.), *tapo-jās* (AV.) 'produced by austerity', *dāsa-gvās*, *nāva-gvās*, *patan-gās*, *vala-gās* (AV.), *su-gās*. — Also four forms with *āsas*: *dāsa-gvāsas*, *dyu-kṣāsas*, *nāva-gvāsas*, *priya-sāsas*³ 'granting desired objects'.

N. A. n. i. *āṇisa-trā* 'armour protecting the shoulder', *antāri-kṣā*, *dur-gā*, *prathama-jā*⁴ (AV.), *sadhā-sthā*, *su-gā*, *su-mnā*. — **2.** *khāni*. — *antāri-kṣāni*, *ararīn-dāni*⁵, *dur-gāni*, *sadhā-sthāni*, *su-gāni*, *su-mnāni*.

A. m. *go-pān*, *tapo-jān*, *dur-gān* (AV.), *patan-gān*, *pūrva-jān* (TS.) 'born before', *śṛta-pān* 'drinking boiled milk', *saha-jān* (TS.) 'born at the same time', *su-gān*, *soma-pān* (AV.).

I. m. i. *tuvi-grēbhis* 'swallowing much', *mithā-avadya-pēbhis* 'mutually averting calamities', *ratna-dhēbhis* 'preserving wealth', *sāma-gēbhis* (AV.) 'reciting chants', *su-gēbhis*. — **2.** *ā-tais*⁶ 'frames', *dāsa-gvais*, *nāva-gvais*, *dhana-sāis* 'winning wealth', *nāva-gvais*, *patan-gāis*, *su-khāis*. — **n. i.** *madhu-pēbhis*, *su-gēbhis*, *su-mnēbhis*. — **2.** *su-mnāis*.

D. m. *pūrva-jēbhyas*. — **G. m.** *dvi-jānām* (AV.) 'twice-born', *sākaṃ-jānām* 'being born together'. — **L. m.** *draviṇo-dēsu* 'giving wealth', *su-khēsu*. — **n.** *dur-gēsu*, *sadhā-stheṣu*, *su-gēsu*, *su-mnēsu*.

2a. Derivative stems in -a.

BENFEY, Vollständige Grammatik p. 293—317. — WHITNEY, Grammar 326—334 (p. 112—116). — LANMAN, Noun-Inflection 329—354.

371. This is the most important of the declensions as it embraces more than one-half of all nominal stems. It is also the most irregular inasmuch as its ending diverge from the normal ones more than is elsewhere the case. This is the only declension in which the N. A. n. has an ending in the singular. Here the I. D. Ab. G. sing. are peculiar; and in the plural, the A., the G., one of the forms of the I. and of the N. A. n. do not take the normal endings. The final vowel of the stem is also modified before the endings with initial consonant in the du. and pl. Three of the peculiar case-endings of the sing. (I. Ab. G.) are borrowed from the pronominal declension, while in the pl. two of the case-endings (G. and N. A. n.) are due to the influence of the stems in -u. This is the only declension in which the Ab. sing., as a result of taking the pronominal ending, is distinguished from the G. As elsewhere in the vowel declension, the N. sing. m. here adds the ending -s throughout; but the V. sing. shows the bare stem unmodified. This declension includes

¹ *svajāsya* in AV. X. 4¹⁰. ¹⁵ is according to WHITNEY 'constrictor', not *sva-jāsya* 'self-born'; cp. p. 254, note 12.

² Some of the m. duals given under the radical ā-declension ought possibly to be placed here.

³ There is no reason to suppose that any of these are plurals of ā- stems, since the first three appear as ā- stems only and *priya-sā-* does not otherwise occur. The pl.

pānthāsas, occurring once beside the ordinary *pānthās* formed from the anomalous derivative ā- stem *pānthā-*, proves nothing regarding radical ā- stems.

⁴ This is the reading of the Pada text, the Samhitā having -jā r- (70 a).

⁵ A word of uncertain meaning.

⁶ Two other forms, *ātās* and *ātāsū* are formed from the f. stem of this word, *ātā-*, which is probably a radical ā- stem.

m. and n. stems only, as the corresponding f. follows the derivative *ā*-declension. There is here no irregularity in the accent, which remains on the same syllable in every case except the V., where it of course shifts to the first.

Inflexion.

372. The inflexion of the n. differs from that of the m. in the N. sing. and the N. A. du. and pl. only. In the G. L. du. *y* is inserted between the final *-a* of the stem and the ending *-os*. The forms actually occurring, if made from *priyā-* 'dear', would be the following:

Sing. N. m. *priyā-s*, n. *priyā-m*. A. *priyā-m*. I. *priyā* and *priyā*. D. *priyāya*. Ab. *priyāt*. G. *priyāsyā*. L. *priyā*. V. *priyā*.

Du. N. A. m. *priyā* and *priyāu*, n. *priyā*. V. m. *priyā* and *priyāu*. I. D. Ab. *priyābhyām*. G. L. *priyāyos*.

Pl. N. m. *priyās* and *priyāsas*, n. *priyā* and *priyāni*. A. m. *priyān*, n. *priyā* and *priyāni*.¹ I. *priyāis* and *priyābhis*. D. Ab. *priyābhyas*. G. *priyānām*. L. *priyāsu*. V. *priyās* and *priyāsas*.

Owing to the enormous number of words belonging to this declension, only forms of commonest occurrence will be given below as examples under each case.

Sing. N. m. This case is formed in the RV. by 1845 *a*-stems and occurs more than 10000 times. The most frequent substantive is *īndras* N. of a god, found more than 500 times; next in order come *sōmas* (220) N. of a plant, *devās* (203) 'god', *mitrās* (132) N. of a god, *vāruṇas* (94) N. of a god.

A. m. After the N. sing. m., the A. sing. m. is the commonest declensional form in the RV., being made from 1357 stems¹ and occurring nearly 7000 times. The nouns most frequently found in this case are *īndram* (335), *sōmam*, (212), *yajñām* (183) 'sacrifice', *vājam* (123) 'vigour', *sūryam* (90) 'sun', *hūvam* (88) 'invocation', *vṛtrām* (82) N. of a demon, *stōmam* (77) 'praise'.²

N. A. n. This is the only declension in which these cases take an ending. They here add *-m*, being thus identical in form with the A. sing. m.³ They are very frequently used, being formed from about 950 stems and occurring, taken together, more than 4000 times. Examples are: *ṛtām* (70) 'sacred order', *ghṛtām* (47) 'clarified butter', *padām* (46) 'step', *rātnam* (44) 'wealth', *sakhyaṁ* (43) 'friendship', *dravīṇam* (41) 'wealth', *satyaṁ* (40) 'truth'.⁴

I. m. n. i. The usual form of this case ending in *-ena* is very frequent, being formed from more than 300 stems nearly equally divided between m. and n. The commonest forms are: m. *sūryeṇa* (37), *īndreṇa* (34), *vājreṇa* (33) 'thunderbolt', *yajñeṇa* (13). — n. *ghṛteṇa* (31).⁵

a. The final vowel appears lengthened in about twenty-five forms: *amṛteṇā* (AV.) 'ambrosia', *āśveṇā* 'malevolent', *ājyeṇā* 'melted butter', *ṛteṇā*, *kāryeṇā* 'wisdom', *kliṣeṇā* 'axe', *pṛveṇā* 'ram', *taviṣeṇā* 'strong', *dāksineṇā* 'right', *dāivyeṇā* 'divine', *bākureṇā* 'bagpipe', *bhadrēṇā* (AV.) 'excellent', *mārtyeṇā* 'mortal', *māruṇeṇā* 'consisting of storm-gods', *ravātneṇā* 'roar', *vāruṇeṇā*, *vīthureṇā* 'staggering', *vi-ravēṇā* 'roar', *vīryeṇā* 'heroic power', *vṛjāneṇā* 'might', *vṛṣabhēṇā* 'bull', *sahasyeṇā* 'mighty', *sāyakeṇā* 'missile', *sūryeṇā*, *skāmbhanenā*

¹ The pronominal forms *tām* and *yām* occur 509 and 259 times respectively in the RV.

² On the occasional elision of the *-m* before *iva* and subsequent contraction, see LANMAN 331.

³ For this reason there is in some instances not sufficient evidence for deter-

mining whether a word is m. or n.; cp. LANMAN 331 (middle).

⁴ On occasional elision of the final *-m* and subsequent contraction, see LANMAN 331.

⁵ The final vowel is twice nasalized: *ghanēnaṁ* *ekas* (I. 334) and *tējunenaṁ* *ekam* (I. 110⁵).

'support'¹. These forms regularly occur where the metre at the end of a Pāda favours a long vowel; e. g. *skāmbhanenā jānitrī* (III. 31¹²), but *kāmbhanena skābhīyān* (X. 111⁵); on the other hand, the long vowel appears to be used arbitrarily at the beginning of a Pāda, though the short vowel here is much more frequent. Hence the *ā* seems to be a survival and not to be due to metrical exigencies.

2. There are also more than a dozen forms made with the nominal ending *-ā*. In the m. there are no quite certain examples beyond *yajñā*; possibly also *krāṇā* 'acting', *ghanā* 'club', *dīnā* 'gift'², *camasā*³ 'cup'. The n. forms are *kavitvā* and *kavitvanā* 'by wisdom', *tarāṇitvā* 'by energy', *mahitvā* and *mahitvanā* 'by greatness', *ratna-dhēyā* 'by distribution of wealth', *rāthīyā* 'belonging to a car', *vīryā* 'with heroism', *sakhyā* 'with friendship', *sarva-rathā* 'with the whole line of chariots', *su-hāvā* 'with good invocation'⁴. — This ending is also preserved in a few instrumental adverbs: *anā* 'hereby', *uccā* 'above', *paścā* 'behind', *sānā* 'from of old'⁵.

D. m. n. This case, which has the abnormal ending *-āya*, is of very frequent occurrence, being formed in the RV. from over 300 stems in the m. and from nearly 150 in the n. The commonest forms are: m. *indrāya* (188), *mādīya* (76) 'exhilaration', *devāya* (26), *mārtīyāya* (25), *mitrāya* (23), *vāruṇīya* (23), *yajamānāya* 'sacrificing', *sīryāya* (11); n. *suvitāya* (34) 'welfare', *sakhyāya* (29), *tokāya* (21) 'offspring', *tānāya* (18) 'line of descendants'⁶.

a. The normal form would have been for example **yajñāi* = *yajñā-e*⁷. This would in Sandhi have become **yajñāy*, which was ultimately extended with *-a*, owing to the frequent combination with a following *a* in Sandhi (e. g. *yajñāy-a pi* for *yajñāy api*), or with the shortened form of the preposition *ā*⁸.

Ab. m. n. These are the only nominal stems in which the Ab. is formally distinguished from the G. Instead of the normal ending *-as*, they take the *-d* which appears in the pronominal declension (e. g. *mā-d* 'from me'), lengthening the *-a* of the stem before it⁹. This Ab. in *-ād* is formed in the RV. from over 200 stems, nearly equally divided between m. and n. Some of the n. forms are used as adverbs. Forms of common occurrence are: m. *samudrāt* (15) 'sea', *upasthāt* (9) 'lap', *indrāt* (8); n. *antīri-kṣāt*¹⁰ (15) 'air'; *dūrāt* (19) 'from a distance', *paścāt* (26).

G. m. n. These are the only nominal stems in which the G. sing. does not end in *-s*¹¹. Instead of the normal ending *-as*, they add *-āya*¹² which is

¹ In all these forms the Pada text has the short final vowel *ā*; see RPr. VIII. 21 and cp. APr. III. 16. The pronominal forms *tēnā*, *jēnā*, *svēnā* also appear, and always with the short vowel in the Pada text; on the other hand, *enā* is always *enā* in the Pada, while the unaccented *enā*, beside *ena*, has the short vowel in the Pada. See LANMAN 332 (bottom).

² See LANMAN 334 (middle).

³ Nasalized in *camasān tva* (X. 254), Pada *camasān*. On these forms see LANMAN 335.

⁴ This form of the instrumental also appears a few times in the pronoun *tvā* beside the usual *tvayā*; it also occurs in a few compounds, as *tvā-datta-* and *tvā-dāta-* 'given by thee'; cp. LANMAN 334 (middle).

⁵ Perhaps also *nīcā* 'below', cp. *nīcis*; but it may be the I. of *nyāñc-*.

⁶ Such D. forms are twice nasalized be-

fore vowels: *tad-vasāyānā eṣā* (II. 14²) and *savāyānā evā* (I. 113¹).

⁷ The normal ending *-e* is actually used in the pronominal declension, e. g. *tāsmāi* = *tāsmā-e*.

⁸ See JOHANSSON, BB. 20, 96 ff. and BARTHOLOMAE, *Arische Forschungen* 2, 69; 3, 63.

⁹ Cp. JOHANSSON, BB. 16, 136 and BRUGMANN, *Grundriss* 2, 588.

¹⁰ This is really a radical *a-* stem; see above, 370.

¹¹ In the G. sing. of stems in *-ar* and *-tar*, the final *r* seems to represent original *-s*; see above 358, note on *svāsūr*.

¹² The *y* is never to be read as *i*; possibly however about five times in the pronominal *asyā*. The final *-a* in two or three instances undergoes protraction of a purely metrical character: see LANMAN 338³.

otherwise found in the pronominal declension only. This case is very common, being formed in the RV. from over 500 stems in the m. and 175 in the n., occurring altogether over 3300 times¹. Among the frequent forms² are: m. *indrasya* (123), *śīryasya* (93), *sōmasya* (88), *devāsya* (60), *yajñāsya* (55), *sutāsya* (53) 'pressed'; n. *ṛtāsya* (187), *bhūvanasya* (39) 'world', *amṛtasya* (35)³.

L. m. n. This case is formed with the normal ending *-i*, which combines with the final *-a* of the stem to *-e*. It is formed in the RV. from 373 stems in the m., and over 300 in the n., occurring altogether about 2500 times. Among the frequent forms are: m. *adhvaré* (68) 'sacrifice', *suté* (53), *upá-sthe* (49), *māde* (48), *dāme* (40) 'house', *indre* (33), *yajñé* (28), *jāne* (26) 'man', *grhē* (23) 'house'; n. *vidithe* (49) 'assembly', *āgre* (43) 'front', *sādane* (35) 'seat', *padé* (33), *durone* (31) 'abode', *mādhye* 'middle' (29).

V. m. n. In this case the bare stem (always accented on the first syllable) is employed. It is formed in the RV. from about 260 stems, occurring about 2500 times in the m.; but in the n. there is no undoubted example⁴. The AV. however has four or five n. vocatives. Among the commonest forms are: m. *sōma* and *soma* (240), *deva* (132), *śūra* (94) 'hero', *pavamāna* (63) 'bright Soma', *puru-hūta* (49) 'much invoked', *varuṇa* (45), *mitra* (35), *yaviṣṭha* (29) 'youngest', *vṛṣabha* (27) 'bull', *ugra* (23) 'mighty', *amṛta* (12)⁵; n. *antarikṣa*⁶ (AV. VI. 130⁴), *trāḍakakuda* 'coming from the three-peaked (mountain)' and *dēvāñjana* (AV. XIX. 44⁶) 'divine ointment', *talpa* (AV. XII. 24⁹) 'couch', *vīṣa* (AV. IV. 63) 'poison'⁷.

Du. N. A. V. m. The ending of these cases in the RV. is ordinarily *-ā*, much less frequently *-au*⁸. The former is taken by over 360 stems occurring about 1150 times, the latter by fewer than 90 stems occurring about 170 times. The ending *-ā* is therefore more than seven times as common as *-au*. The rule is that *-ā* appears before consonants⁹, in pausa at the end of a Pāda¹⁰, or within a Pāda in coalescence with a following vowel; while *-au*¹¹ occurs in the older parts of the RV. only before vowels in the Sandhi form of *-āv*, within a Pāda. Examples of this rule are *tā vām* (I. 184¹); *ṛtāvrahā* | (I. 47^{3b}); *dasrāt*¹² (I. 116^{10c}) for *dasrā āt*; *mitrāgnīm* (I. 14³) for *mitrā agnīm*; but *tāv*¹³ *aparām* (I. 184¹). Hiatus, when the metre requires two

¹ The pronominal genitives *asya* and *asyā*, *tāsya*, *yāsya*, *vīśvasya* occur over 900 times in the RV.; cp. LANMAN 338.

² The commonest G. in *-sya* is the pronominal *asyā* which (accented or unaccented) occurs nearly 600 times in the RV.

³ The final vowel is once nasalized at the end of a Pāda in *ṛtāsyañ ēkam* (VIII. 89⁵); cp. RPr. II. 31.

⁴ Cp. LANMAN 339.

⁵ There are two instances of the final *-a* being nasalized: *ugrañ ēkas* (VII. 25⁴) and *puru-śulāñ ēko* (VIII. 153. 11); cp. RPr. XIV. 20. There is a purely metrical lengthening of the final vowel in *vṛṣabhā* (VIII. 45²². 38), *simā* (VIII. 4¹), and *hāriyojanā* (I. 61¹⁶); perhaps also *maryā* (I. 63); cp. LANMAN 339.

⁶ Properly a radical *a-* stem.

⁷ By a syntactical peculiarity the N. *indrāś ca* is some ten times coupled with a vocative *vāyo*, *āgne* etc. See LANMAN 340 (top).

⁸ In the AV. *-au* is more than twice as common as in the RV.; it is there some-

times a various reading for *-ā* of the RV. In the independent Mantra portions of the TS. there are at least seven forms in *-ā* and fourteen in *-au*. In the Khilas *-ā* is nearly three times (32) as common as *-au* (12).

⁹ *-au* occurs 23 times before a consonant within a Pāda; mostly in passages showing signs of lateness. Cp. LANMAN 576.

¹⁰ *-au* occurs 5 times at the end of an odd Pāda before a consonant; and 4 times as *-āv* at the end of an odd Pāda before a vowel. At the end of an even Pāda *-au* occurs 4 times.

¹¹ LANMAN 343 enumerates the forms in *-au* which occur in the RV.

¹² At the end of an odd Pāda *-ā* is always written in the Saṃhitā contracted with a following vowel, but must always be read with hiatus.

¹³ This is the normal use of *-au*, which in 70 per cent of its occurrences is found as *-āv* before a vowel within a Pāda; in the AV. the percentage is only 26.

syllables, is thus removed¹ by the use of *-āu*, except when *u* or *ū* follows². In the latter case the Saṃhitā text writes *-ā u-ī*, e. g. *ubhā upāṃśū* (x. 83⁷), though the Pada always has *-au u-*.

There are seven or eight passages of the RV. in which *-ā* is written with hiatus before other vowels (*a-ī-o-*)⁴, but those passages are all obscure or corrupt⁵.

a. About a dozen forms, occurring altogether some 20 times, shorten the dual *-ā* to *a*, mostly owing to the metre, but in a few instances against the metre. In the forms *asura*, *āditya*, *deva*, *dharma-vrata*, *mitra*, *varuṇa*, *indrā-varuṇa*, *mitrā-varuṇa*⁶ the Pada text has *-ā*; but in *pāru* (v. 74⁴) and *vīva* (vi. 63¹⁰) the short vowel appears in the Pada also⁷. A similar shortening occurs in the first member of the dual compounds *indrā-vīyū* (i. 2⁴) and *mitrā-rājānā* (v. 62³).

N. A. n. This form takes the normal ending *-ī*, which combines with the final *-a* of the stem to *-e*. It is made in the RV. from about 30 nominal stems. The vocative does not occur. Only seven of these n. forms are found more than once, *śṛṅge* 'two horns' being the commonest (5)⁸.

a. The n. *nāktā* 'night' is irregular in forming its du. N. as a m. in the compound *usāsā-nāktā* 'dawn and night', in agreement with which a f. adjective is used, owing doubtless to the predominance of 'Dawn', in the combination. In ii. 39⁴, *yugēva nābhyeva* 'like two yokes, like two naves', though analyzed by the Pada as *yugā iva* and *nābhyā iva*, must be explained as regular n. forms *yugē* and *nābhye+va*.

I. D. Ab. Before the normal ending *-bhyām*⁹ which forms these cases, the final *-a* of the stems is lengthened, e. g. *nāsatyābhyām*. In the RV. this form is made from only about a dozen nominal stems in the m. and three in the n. The cases can of course only be distinguished exegetically.

I. m. *kārṇābhyām* (AV.) 'ears', *dāṇṣṭrābhyām* (TS. AV.) 'teeth', *dakṣiṇa-saryābhyām* (AV.) 'right and left', *dāśa-sākṣābhyām* 'having ten fingers', *mitrā-varuṇābhyām*¹⁰, *yuktābhyām* 'yoked', *vr̥hi-yavābhyām* (AV.) 'rice and barley', *śubhrābhyām* 'shining', *sūryā-candramāsābhyām* (AV.)¹⁰ 'sun and moon', *hastābhyām* 'hands', *haryatābhyām* 'desirable'. — n. *ṛk-sāmābhyām* 'hymn and chant', *śṛṅgābhyām* (AV.).

D. m. *tvēṣābhyām* 'violent', *nāsatyābhyām* 'truthful', *nicirābhyām* 'attentive'.

Ab. m. *āṃsābhyām* 'shoulders', *kārṇābhyām*. — n. *pārsvābhyām* (AV.) 'sides', *prā-padābhyām* 'tips of the feet', *māta-snābhyām* certain internal organs.

G. L. These cases take the normal ending *-os*, between which and the stem *y* is inserted. In the RV. only eight nominal¹¹ forms occur with the genitive sense, and twelve with the locative sense. One form, *dhvasrāyos* (ix. 58³), seems to be used as an Ab. There are one or two others which anomalously drop the final *-a* of the stem, instead of inserting *y*, before the ending *-os*¹².

¹ In two instances hiatus is removed by nasalization: *upāsthāmī* 'ekā' (i. 35⁶) and *jānāmī* 'āsamā' (vi. 67¹).

² There are 40 instances of this in the RV.; see LANMAN 575.

³ This is also the practice of the Brāhmaṇas; see AUFRECHT, AB. 427; cp. Sarvā-nukramāṇi, ed. MACDONELL, p. x. In the AV. (as in the later language) *-āu u-* is regularly written (except *muṣkā upāvadhīt*, xx. 136²).

⁴ See LANMAN 341⁴.

⁵ Except vii. 70⁴ where *devā* 'śadhiṣu' (Pada *devau*) is written, *-o-* being treated like *u-*, perhaps owing to its labial character.

⁶ See RFr. iv. 39, 40.

⁷ The shortening of the du. *-ā* at the end of odd Pādas before *ṛ*, occurring in four passages (ii. 37; vi. 68²; viii. 66¹¹; x. 66¹³) is due to Sandhi; see 70.

⁸ These neuter duals are enumerated by LANMAN 343.

⁹ To be read *-bhiām* in two or three forms.

¹⁰ In this compound only the second dual takes the proper case-ending.

¹¹ There are also the pronominal forms G. L. m. *ayās*, *ubhāyos*, *tāyos*, *yāyos*; *tāyos* also as G. n.

¹² Also the pronominal forms *av-ās*, *en-ās*, *y-ās*. Cp. LANMAN 344.

The forms occurring are:

G. m. *indrā-varuṇayos*, *īśāndīyos* 'ruling', *devādyos*, *mitrādyos*, *mitrā-vṛuṇayos*, *yamādyos* 'twins', *vṛuṇayos*, *vaikarṇādyos* 'descendants of Vikarṇa'. — **n.** *pāsy-ās* (for **pāsyā-y-os*) 'pressing stones', *purāṇ-y-ās*¹ (for **purāṇā-y-os*) 'ancient'.

L. m. *āmsayos*, *āśrayos*, *upākīyos* 'closely connected', *kīrṇayos* (AV.), *jāmbhayos* (TS. IV. 1. 103) 'jaws', *tuvi-jātīyos* 'of powerful nature', *dāṃṣṭrayos* (AV.), *nadīdyos* 'roarers', *mitrīdyos*, *muśkādyos* 'testicles', *vṛuṇayos*, *vāhiṣṭhayos* 'drawing best', *vī-vratayos* 'refractory', *sthūrīdyos* 'strong', *hūstayos*.

Pl. N. V. m. Here there are **two forms**. In the more common form the normal ending *-as* coalesces with the final of the stem to *-ās*, e. g. *devās*. The less common form appears to be made by adding the normal ending *-as* over again², e. g. *devās-as*. The form in *-ās* is about twice as frequent in the RV. as that in *-āsas*³, the former being made from 808 stems, the latter from 403. In the original parts of the AV. *-ās* is 24 times as frequent as *-āsas*, the former occurring 1366 times, the latter only 57 times⁴. Both forms frequently occur side by side, the choice of the one or the other being often no doubt determined simply by the metre; e. g. *bṛhā vadema vidīthe suvīrāḥ* (II. 1¹⁶) 'abounding in heroes we would speak aloud in the assembly', but *suvīrāso vidītham ā vadema* (II. 12¹⁵) 'abounding in heroes we would speak to the assembly'.

Examples of the most frequent forms made with the two endings are: **1.** *devāsas* (86), *jānāsas* (41), *sómāsas* (41), *sutāsas* (29), *ādityāsas* (24) 'Ādityas', *yajñīyāsas* (21) 'holy', *āpātīsas* (11). — **2.** *dīvās* and *devās* (311), *sómās* (42), *ādityās* (39), *sutās* (27), *jānās* (24), *amītās* (22), *yajñīyās* (10).

N. A. n.⁵ Here, as in the N. m. there are **two forms**, a shorter and a longer, the former being the older and original, as well as the more frequent one. The older form is made not by adding the normal ending *-i*, but by lengthening the final *-a* of the stem, e. g. *havyā* 'oblations'⁶. The later form ends in *-āni* and is doubtless due to transitions from the stems in *-an*⁷ which form the n. pl. N. A. with both *-ā* and *-āni*, e. g. *nāmā* and *nāmāni*. The form in *-ā* is in the RV. made from 394 stems, that in *-āni* from 280, the proportion of the occurrences of the former being roughly three to every two of the latter. The proportion in the AV. is almost exactly reversed, the form in *-ā* being there made from 102 stems, that in *-āni* from 158⁸. The two forms are so common side by side that when two n. plurals occur in the same Pāda, the one generally ends in *-āni* and the other in *-ā*⁹; e. g. *yā te bhīmāni āyudhā* (IX. 61³⁰) 'thy terrible weapons'. This phenomenon

¹ With *y* inserted though *-a* is dropped.

² See BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 661, where several examples are given of endings being repeated in other languages.

³ The form in *-āsas* seems to be an Indo-Iranian innovation, as there are no certain traces of it in other Indo-European languages; cp. BRUGMANN l. c.

⁴ In the original Mantra portions of the TS. the pl. in *-ās* is very numerous, but I have noted only 11 forms in *-āsas*. In the Khilas, forms in *-ās* are three times (30) as numerous as in *-āsas* (10).

⁵ There is no example of a V. in the RV., and only one, *cittāni* (III. 2⁴), in the AV. where the Mss. have *cittāni*.

⁶ This form in *-ā* is commonly supposed to have started from a N. sing. f. in *-ā* as

a collective; this would account for the agreement of the singular verb with this pl. in Greek; cp. also *sarvā tū . . . astu* (RV. I. 162⁸); see BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 682.

⁷ The G. *āhūnām* is an example of the transference of another case from an *-an* stem.

⁸ In the independent Mantra portions of the TS. the forms in *-ā* seem to outnumber those in *-āni* in about the same proportion as in the RV.: there are at least 20 forms of the former and 14 of the latter. In the Khilas the two forms are almost equally divided, as 10 examples of *-ā* and 12 of *-āni* occur.

⁹ Similarly, the form in *-ā* appears beside n. pl. forms in *-āni*, *-āni* or even *-āmsi*, *-īmṣi*, *-āmṣi*; e. g. *bhūrīṇi bhadrā* (I. 166¹⁰);

is clearly due to the influence of metre. The *-ā* here seems never to be shortened to *-a*, as is so frequently the case in the N. A. n. pl. of *-an* stems¹. Nor does it avoid hiatus (like the *-ā* of the N. A. du. m.), though coalescence with a following vowel sometimes takes place².

Examples of the commonest forms are: 1. *havyā* (44), *bhūvanā* (36), *duritā* (31) 'distresses', *sāvanā* (30), *ukthā* (25) 'praises'. — 2. *bhūvanāni* (57), *vrtrāni* (36) 'foes', *vratāni* (34) 'laws', *havyāni* (25), *kṛtāni* (20) 'done'.

A. m. The ending of this case is not the normal *-as*, but *-n*, before which the final vowel of the stem is lengthened³, e. g. *āsvā-n*. The form is frequent, being made from more than 250 stems in the RV. That the ending was originally *-ns* is shown by the treatment of *-ān* in Sandhi, where it becomes *-ām* before vowels and the sibilant itself occasionally survives before *c-* and *t-*⁴.

I. m. n. In this case there are two forms, the one adding the normal ending *-bhis* (before which the final vowel of the stem becomes *-e*), while the other ends in *-ais* (which does not appear in any other declension). The form in *-ais* is only slightly commoner in the RV., being made from 221 stems, while that in *-bhis* is made from 211. In the AV., however, the former is 5 times as frequent as the latter⁵. The two forms⁶ often appear in the same Pāda; e. g. *upamēbhir arkāis* (I. 33²) 'with highest songs'. The choice is often due to the metre; e. g. *yātām āsvēbhir āsvinā* (VIII. 5⁷) 'come with your steeds, O Āsvins', and *ādityāir yātām āsvinā* (VIII. 35¹³) 'with the Ādityas come, O Āsvins'.

In the RV. the m. forms are roughly twice as numerous as the n. Examples of the most frequent forms are: 1. *arkāis* (43), *ukthāis* (35), *yajñāis* (34), *devāis* (31), *āstāis* (30), *stāmais* (25). — 2. *devēbhis* (52), *stāmebhis* (26), *vājēbhis* (21).

D. m. n. This case is formed with the normal ending *-bhyas*, before which the final *-a* of the stem appears as *-e*. In the RV. it is made from over 40 stems in the m., but from only one in the n. In about half the forms occurring the ending has to be read as a dissyllable *-bhias*. The forms occurring are: *ajārebhyas* 'unaging', *āmavattarebhyas* 'mightier', *dranēbhyas* (Kh. v. 1²) 'foreign', *arbhakēbhyas* 'small', *ādityēbhyas*, *āsinēbhyas* 'aged', *āśv-āpastarebhyas* 'working more quickly', *ūmebhyas* 'helpers', *gārbhēbhyas* 'infants', *grhēbhyas*, *jānēbhyas*, *jīvēbhyas* 'living', *jñātēbhyas* (Kh. III. 16¹) 'known', *tāvakēbhyas* 'thy', *dāsa-kaksyēbhyas* 'having ten girths', *dāsa-yoktrebhyas* 'having ten traces', *dāsa-yojanēbhyas* 'having ten teams', *devēbhyas*, *pajrēbhyas* 'strong', *pārvatebhyas* 'mountains', *pasprdhānēbhyas* 'striving', *pitu-kṛttarebhyas* 'procuring more nourishment', *pīśanēbhyas* 'treacherous', *putrēbhyas* 'sons', *pūruṣēbhyas* 'men', *pūrvebhyas* 'former', *bādhitēbhyas* 'oppressed', *bharatēbhyas* 'descendants of Bharata', *mārtye-*

sāvanā purūṇi (III. 36⁸); *īrddhā śocīmṣi prāsthītā rājāṁsi* (III. 44); *rabhasā vāpūṁsi* (III. 18).

¹ There seems no sufficient reason to assume that in *viśvād āha* (I. 92³) as compared with *dhā viśvā* (I. 130²), *āha* is formed from the transition stem *āha-* rather than from *āhan-*; cp. LANMAN p. 348.

² On some probable mistakes made by the Pada in contracted forms see LANMAN 348.

³ This lengthening is at least Indo-Iranian: BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 672².

⁴ See above 77; and cp. LANMAN 346 on the Sandhi of *-ān* in general.

⁵ In the independent Mantra portions of the TS. the proportion is about the same as in the AV. The following four forms with *-bhis* occur: *ētāsebhis* (I. 2. 4¹), *devēbhis* (III. 1. 4³), *nudrēbhis* (II. 1. 11²), *su-yāmebhis* (IV. 7. 15³). In the Khilas 5 forms in *-ais* to 7 in *-ebhis* occur. The latter are: *amīva-cātanebhis* (I. 11⁷), *ārtavēbhis* (III. 166), *ukthēbhis* (v. 6³), *rṣvēbhis* (III. 1⁷), *kārvarebhis* (I. 5¹), *rāthebhis* (I. 11⁷), *sāraghēbhis* (I. 11⁷). In the later language the form in *-bhis* survives in the pronominal *ebhis* alone.

⁶ On the origin of the two forms cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 717.

bhyas, *mānavēbhyas* 'men', *mānuṣēbhyas* 'men', *mānēbhyas* 'descendants of Māna', *yajātēbhyas* 'adorable', *yajñīyēbhyas*, *rāthēbhyas* 'chariots', *vidhṛstarebhyas* 'very wise', *vīprebhyas* 'seers', *vy-āśvēbhyas* 'horseless', *śaśamānēbhyas* 'toiling', *suvidatṛīyēbhyas* 'bountiful', *śma-rabhastarebhyas* 'intoxicated with Soma', *somyēbhyas* 'preparers of Soma', *stēbhyas* 'thieves'. — n. *bhūtvanebhyas* 'beings'.

Ab. m. n. This case is formed like the D. with the normal ending *-bhyas* from nearly two dozen stems in the RV. about equally divided between the m. and n. In more than half of these forms the ending must be pronounced as a dissyllable. The forms occurring are: m. *āntēbhyas* 'ends', *āsurebhyas* 'divine spirits', *ugrēbhyas*, *grhēbhyas*, *jānēbhyas*, *jīvēbhyas* 'living beings', *devēbhyas*, *pārivatebhyas*, *makkhēbhyas* 'vigorous', *vīprebhyas*, *śūrēbhyas*, *śyenēbhyas* 'eagles'. — n. *anyā-kṛtēbhyas* 'done by others', *āntrēbhyas* 'entrails', *duritēbhyas*, *nakhēbhyas* 'nails', *padībhyas*, *pārthivēbhyas* 'terrestrial spaces', *bhūtvanebhyas*, *mṛdhrēbhyas* 'contempt', *vānēbhyas* 'forest trees', *harmyēbhyas* 'houses'.

G. m. n. Instead of the normal ending *-ām* these stems almost invariably add the ending *-nām*, before which the final vowel is lengthened as in the *-ī*, *-u* and *-r* stems. This ending (like *-āni* in the n. pl.) must have been due to the influence of the *-n* stems¹. The case is thus formed in the RV. from over 100 stems in the m. and over 20 in the n. In nearly half these forms the final syllable may be metrically read as *aam*². Two-thirds of these resolutions are, however, not necessary as they occur at the end of octosyllabic Pādas which may be catalectic; but many undoubted resolutions are required within the Pāda³. Among the forms of most frequent occurrence are m. *devānām* (148), *jānānām* (34), *yajñīyānām* (12), *ādityānām* (11), *adhvarāṇām* (10). — n. *dhānānām* (13).

a. The organic form e. g. from *devā-* would have been *devām* (= *devā-ām*). Not more than three or four examples of this survive in the RV., and only two of these seem undoubted: *yūthyām āsvānām* (VIII. 56⁴) 'of horses belonging to the herd' and *carāthām* in *gārbhaś ca śthātām gārbhaś carāthām* (I. 70⁵) 'offspring of things that are stationary, offspring of things that move'⁴. There are further some half dozen forms written with final *-ān* or *-āñ* which seem to stand for the G. pl. in *-ām*: *devāñ jānma* (I. 71⁵; VI. 11⁵) 'the race of the gods' (Pāda *devāñ*); *devāñ jānmanā* (X. 64¹⁴) 'with the race of the gods' (Pāda *devāñ*); *viśā ā ca mātān* (IV. 2⁵) 'and hither to the dwellings of mortals' (= *mātān*); *coṣkūyāte viśā indro manuṣyān* (VI. 47¹⁶) 'Indra protects the tribes of men'.

L. m. n. This case adds the normal ending *-su* before which (as before *-bhis* and *-bhyas*) *-e* takes the place of the final vowel of the stem and cerebralizes the following sibilant. It is formed from some 123 stems in the m. and some 92 in the n.⁵ It is almost invariably⁶ to be read with hiatus, even before *u*-⁷.

Among the most frequently occurring forms are: m. *devēsu* (99), *vājēsu* (41), *yajñēsu* (35), *adhvarēsu* (27), *mārtjēsu* (25), *sutēsu* (16). — n. *vidāthēsu* (33), *vānēsu* (20), *sāvaneṣu* (14), *bhūtvaneṣu* (12), *ukthēsu* (10).

¹ See LANMAN 352 c; BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 691.

² LANMAN (352, bottom) enumerates the forms in which resolution takes place.

³ LANMAN 352⁴, gives a list of the forms in which resolution is required; cp. ARNOLD, Vedic Metre 143 (p. 92).

⁴ Perhaps also *himsānām* (X. 142¹) if G. pl. of a participle *himsāna-*, and *śāsām* if G. of *śāsā-* 'ruler' (II. 23¹²). *vanām* (X. 46⁵) is G. pl. of *vān-* rather than *vāna-*. Cp. LANMAN 353.

⁵ The gender is doubtful in some instances.

⁶ The only undoubted exception to this rule in the RV. occurs in a late hymn (X. 121⁸), where *devēsu ādhi* must be read. Cp. LANMAN 354.

⁷ On the probable origin of the ending *-su* cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 700.

2 b. Derivative Stems in -ā.

LANMAN, Noun-Inflection 335-365. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar p. 131-137. — Cp. COLLITZ, die herkunft der ā-deklination, BB. 29, p. 81-114.

373. The derivative ā-declension corresponds to the derivative a-declension, for the m. adjectives of which it furnishes the f. stems. It includes more feminines than any other declension. Like the a-declension it has many irregularities of inflexion, every case in the singular, except the A., and two cases in the plural showing some abnormal feature. The N. sing. shares with the derivative ī-declension the peculiarity of not adding the ending -s; the I. sing. has an alternative form borrowed from the pronominal declension; the D. Ab. G. L. sing. are formed under the influence of the derivative ī-stems; and the V. sing. ends in -e instead of appearing in the form of the bare stem. In the plural the N. has to a limited extent the same alternative form in -āsas as the m. of the a-declension, and the G. is similarly formed with -nām.

As in the a-declension, the accent remains in the same position throughout except the V., where it of course shifts to the first syllable.

Inflexion.

374. The forms actually occurring, if made from *priyā*- 'dear', would be as follows:

Sing. N. *priyā*. A. *priyām*. I. *priyā* and *priyayā*. D. *priyāyai*. Ab. G. *priyāyās*. L. *priyāyām*. V. *priye*.

Du. N. A. *priyē*. I. Ab. *priyābhyām*. G. L. *priyāyos*.

Pl. N. *priyās* and *priyāsas*. V. *priyās*. A. *priyās*. I. *priyābhis*. D. Ab. *priyābhyas*. G. *priyānām*. L. *priyāsu*.

Sing. N. This case never adds the normal ending -s¹. It is formed in the RV. from 424 stems and occurs more than 1000 times. Examples of the most frequent forms are: *yōsā* (24) 'maiden', *dāksīṇā* (24) 'good milch cow', *līlā* (17) 'refreshment', *jāyā* (17) 'wife', *su-bhāgā* (13) 'beautiful', *sūñtā* (10) 'joyful', *citrā* (9) 'brilliant'.

a. At the end of odd Pādas the final -ā of this N. is regularly written with Sandhi, but must always be read with hiatus; coalescence with *c*- and *r*- is, however, twice avoided by nasalization², while twice³ the -ā is shortened before *r*-.

b. Within a Pāda the -ā is written with Sandhi in 160 instances in the RV., but is pronounced (unlike the -ā of the N. A. du. m.) with hiatus in 23 of these instances; while the nominatives *īṣā* 'car-pole' and *manīṣā* 'devotion' are written as well as pronounced with hiatus⁴, the former once, the latter four times.

A. This case, which is formed with the normal ending -m, is in the RV. made from over 200 nominal stems occurring more than 400 times. Examples of the most frequent forms are: *manīṣām* (21), *jāyām* (11), *āmṛvām* (9) 'distress', *yōṣām* (7), *yōṣaṇām* (6) 'maiden'.

a. This case is often identical in form with the L. sing. f. of stems in -ī; thus *pūrvayām* may be the A. of *pūrvā*- 'previous' or L. of *pūrvā*- 'much'. In one instance at least elision of the -m, followed by contraction, takes place⁵: *śatatanāmāvivēṣṭhē* (VII. 19⁵) for

¹ The stem *gnā*- 'woman', though originally dissyllabic, came to be regarded as a radical ā-stem and accordingly forms its N. sing. *gnā-s* (IV. 9⁴).

² *śāśadānām*¹ *lṣi* (I. 123¹⁰) and *yām*¹ *rṇamcayē* (V. 30¹⁴).

³ *priyā*¹ *r*- (I. 151⁴), *rju-hāstā*¹ *r*- (V. 41¹⁵).

Cp. 70.

⁴ *īṣā ākoṣ* (VIII. 52⁹); *manīṣā abhi* (I. 101⁷);

manīṣā iyām (V. 11⁵; VII. 70⁷); *manīṣā asmāt* (VII. 34¹); cp. RPr. II. 29. LANMAN 356 suggests that the comparative frequency of this hiatus justifies the restoration of the augment in Pādas short of a syllable; e.g. *prāśā* [a] *vāci* (VII. 58⁹).

⁵ On some contractions in which -m has probably been elided but explained wrongly by the Pāda as containing nominatives in -ā, see LANMAN 356.

śatataṁ avireṣṭh. In two or three instances the metre seems to require -ām to be read as -aam¹.

I. There are two forms of this case. In the one, the normal ending -ā is added directly to the stem and, by contracting with its final -ā, produces a form identical in appearance with the N., e. g. *jihvā* (= *jihvā-i*) 'tongue'. In the other, *y* is interposed between the ending -ā and the final -ā of the stem, which is shortened, e. g. *jihvā-y-ā*. The latter form is due to the influence of the regular pronominal I. sing. f., e. g. *tāyā*². This form is already slightly the more common in the RV.³, being made from 113 stems⁴ as compared with 95 which take the older form with -ā. In the later Saṁhitās the I. in -ā is very rare in original passages, the AV. using only five such forms independently⁵. Both forms are (unlike the N. pl. m. in -āsas and -as) comparatively seldom made from the same stem, as *jihvā* and *jihvāyā*. Two thirds of the total number of 95 stems which have the older form, end in the suffixes -tā and -yā, as *puruṣ-tā* 'after the manner of men', *hiranyayā* 'golden'. The choice of the alternative forms is, as elsewhere, often determined by the metre⁶.

Examples of the commonest forms are: 1. *doṣā* (13) 'evening', *barhāṇā* (13) 'might', *manīṣā* (13), *manīḥnā* (11) 'willingness', *śrāśyā* (7) 'desire to praise'⁷. — Also *āśir-dāyā* (TS. III. 2. 8¹) 'fulfilment of blessing', *viśvā-psnyā* (TS. I. 5. 3³; VS. XII. 10) 'omniform'. — 2. *dhārāyā* (53) 'stream', *jihvāyā* (24), *māyāyā* (20) 'craft'.

a. There are some instrumentals sing. f. formed from derivative *a*-stems, which are used as adverbs with shift of accent to the ending. Such are: *a-datrāyā* 'without a gift' (*a-datra-*), *ubhāyā* 'in both ways' (*ubhāya-*), *ṛtāyā* 'in the right way' (*ṛtā-*), *dakṣiṇā* 'on the right' (*dakṣiṇa-*), *naktāyā* 'by night' (*nakta-*), *madhyā* 'in the middle' (*mādhyā-*), *samanā* 'together' (*sāmāna-*), *svapnāyā* (AV.) 'in dream' (*svāpna-*)⁸.

D. This case is anomalously formed by adding -yai to the stem, e. g. *jarā-yai*⁹. It is not of common occurrence, being made from only 14 nominal¹⁰ stems in the RV. The forms occurring are: *a-ḡtāyai* 'lack of cows', *a-ṛitāyai* 'lack of sons', *ukhāyai* (TS. IV. 1. 9³) 'pot', *uttānāyai* (TS. IV. 1. 4¹; Kh. V. 16¹) 'supine', *ghṛīṣāyai* N. of a woman, *cārīyai* 'for going', *jarāyai* (AV.) 'old age', *tvā-yatāyai* 'presented by thee', *duccūlmāyai* 'mischievous demon', *putrā-kumāyai* (Kh. IV. 13¹) 'desiring sons', *pūtā-kratāyai* N. of a woman, *manāyai* 'eagerness', *viśpālāyai* N. of a woman, *śivāyai* 'auspicious', *śvetanāyai* 'dawn', *śmīṭāyai* 'joy', *sūryāyai* 'sun-goddess'.

a. Two forms have been preserved in which the D. is made by adding the normal ending -e directly to the stem with the -ā of which it coalesces to -ai: *mahīyāi* (I. 113⁶) 'greatness', *sv-āpatyāi*¹¹ (I. 54¹¹) 'accompanied with fair offspring'. These are formed like the D. infinitives from radical *ā*-stems such as *vi-khyāi* (584).

b. In one passage (VII. 119) the form *a-ṛitāe*, for *a-ṛitāyai* 'lack of sons',

¹ See LANMAN 357 (top).

² Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 629, 783.

³ The corresponding later form in the Avesta is much commoner than the older: BRUGMANN 2, p. 629.

⁴ This number given by LANMAN 357 includes some pronominal stems. BRUGMANN's statement (2, p. 629) that the form in -ayā is less common than the form in -ā in Vedic, is not applicable even to the RV.

⁵ The forms are *dakṣiṇā*, *devātā*, *doṣā*, *sumnayā*, *vitta-kāmāyā*; only the last is peculiar to the AV.

⁶ Euphony also has some influence; thus *hiranyayayā* does not occur.

⁷ LANMAN 358 enumerates the homophonous instrumentals.

⁸ These forms may have been due to the influence of the pronominal adverb *a-yā* 'in this way' (with adverbial shift of accent, cp. *āyā* etc.); see J. SCHMIDT, Pluralbildung 212 ff., and BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 629; otherwise BARTHOLOMAE, BB. 15, 20 f.

⁹ Formed in the Indo-Iranian period, probably under the influence of the derivative stems in -ā originally -yā, i. e. -yāi from -yā-i.

¹⁰ Also *svāyāi* from the possessive pronoun *svā-*.

¹¹ BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 600, thinks this form may be shortened for *sv-āpatyāyai*.

takes the ending *-e* direct, but with elision of the stem vowel, as in the radical *ā*-declension ¹.

Ab. This case is formed anomalously by adding the ending *-yās* to the stem ². It is rare, being made in the RV. from only seven stems, the AV. having three additional examples. The forms occurring are: *urdhvāyās* (AV.) 'upright', *kanīyās* 'maiden', *jihvāyās*, *dākṣiṇīyās*, *dur-bhāyās* 'ill-disposed', *dur-hiṇyās* 'mischief'. *dāivīyās* 'divine', *dhruvīyās* (AV.) 'firm', *nīdīyās* 'disgrace', *vy-adhvāyās* (AV.) ³ 'lying half-way'.

G. This case is formed in the same way as the Ab., but is much more frequent, being made from 26 stems in the RV. The forms occurring are: *aghnyāyās* and *aghnyīyās* 'cow (not to be killed)', *līyās*, *ukhīyās*, *usrīyāyās* 'ruddy cow', *īrmyāyās* 'night', *kanīyās*, *kāṣṭhāyās* 'course', *jihvāyās*, *dākṣiṇīyās*, *darśatīyās* 'conspicuous', *dūrīyās* 'Dūrvā grass', *dhīśāyās* 'offering', *dhīśamānīyās* ⁴ 'longing', *pājīyās* 'vigorous', *pāri-takmyāyās* 'wandering', *māhināyās* 'mighty', *rasāyās* a mythical river, *vayīyās* 'branch', *viśpātīyās*, *śaśvattamāyās* 'most recent', *śīphīyās* N. of a river, *śucīyās* 'pure', *sabar-dighāyās* 'yielding nectar', *śchānīyās* ⁵ 'victorious', *sūrīyās* 'intoxicating liquor', *sūryīyās*.

L. This case is formed by adding the anomalous ending *-yām* to the stem, e. g. *bhadrā-yām*. It is not common, being formed from only 16 or 17 stems in the RV. The forms occurring are: *āpayīyām* ⁶ N. of a river, *āmīyām* 'raw', *uttānīyām* 'outstretched', *usrīyāyām*, (*ā*)-*gatīyām* 'come', *grīvīyām* 'neck', *jūrīyām* 'ancient', *nāvīyām* 'new', *pāri-takmyāyām*, *bhadrāyām* 'beneficent', *yamūnīyām* N. of a river, *varatrīyām* 'thong', *vīśāyām* (Kh. II. 10⁵) 'cow', *śiṃśāpīyām* N. of a tree, *śrīṇīyām* 'night', *śubhīyām* (TS. I. 8. 3¹) 'assembly', *śīrīyām*, *su-śīmīyām* ⁷ N. of a river, *hariyūpīyām* N. of a locality.

V. This case has the abnormal ending *-e* ⁸ and is in the RV. formed from over 50 stems; e. g. *aśve*. The original form must have been the bare stem with the final vowel shortened; e. g. **aśva*, but of this there is no certain survival. The form *amba* which occurs in the RV. three times (unaccented) may originally have been an exclamation, and it can have this sense alone in one of the three passages of the RV. (x. 97²), where it is used with a plural. In the two other passages it may very well mean 'O mother' (II. 41¹⁶; x. 86⁷). The VS. (xxiii. 18) and the TS. (VII. 4. 19¹) have the V. *āmbe* as from a stem *āmbā* 'mother' ⁹.

The forms occurring are: *aghnyāsyē* ¹⁰ (Kh. IV. 5^{26, 32}) 'cow-faced', *aghnyē*, *apve* N. of a disease, *amartyē* 'immortal', *āmbike* (TS. VS.) 'mother', *ambitame* 'most motherly', *aśve* 'mare', *aśva-sūrte* 'rich in horses', *āditya-varṇē* ¹¹ (Kh. II. 6⁶) 'sun-coloured', *ārjikiyē* N. of a river, *iṣe* goddess of devotion, *iṣtake* (TS. IV. 2. 9²) 'brick', *ugra-putre* 'having mighty sons', *uttare* 'mightier', *uttāna-parṇē* 'having extended leaves', *uru-vraje* 'extending afar', *īrmye*, *īrṣve* 'exalted', *kadhā-priye* 'ever pleased', *kāṇe* 'one-eyed', *kāma-dughe* (TS. IV. 2. 9⁶) 'cow of plenty', *kṛtye* (Kh. IV. 5²⁵) 'magic', *ghōra-rūpe* (Kh. IV. 5²⁶) 'of awful form', *gaṅge* 'Ganges', *ghore* 'awful', *citre*, *citrā-maghe* 'having brilliant gifts', *jāye*, *dūrve* (TS. IV. 2. 9²), *deva-jūte* 'impelled by the gods'

¹ This forms a transition to the consonant declension like *devātūte* beside *devātūṭaye*; cp. LANMAN 359².

² Like the D. it is due to the influence of the stems in derivative *-ī*, to the fuller form of which, *-yā-*, the normal ending *-as* was added.

³ Also the pronominal *svāyās* 'own'.

⁴ Participle, perhaps desiderative, of *dhī-* 'think'.

⁵ Perfect participle middle of *sah-* 'conquer'.

⁶ A transition form from the radical *ā*-declension, see p. 249, note 11.

⁷ Also the pronominal form *svāyām*.

⁸ The origin of this ending is uncertain; cp. BRUGMANN 2, 541.

⁹ This is a common stem in post-Vedic Sanskrit.

¹⁰ The ed. has *aghnyāsyē*.

¹¹ The ed. has *ādityā-varṇē*.

*devi-tame*¹ 'most divine', *dhiṣaṇe* 'goddess of devotion', *nadī-tame* 'best of rivers', *pathye* 'path' (as goddess), *pastye* 'goddess of the house', *putra-kāme*, *puru-priye* 'much beloved', *prthu-jāghane* 'broad-hipped', *prthu-sṭuke* 'having broad braids of hair', *priye* (TS. VII. 1. 6⁸), *brahma-saṃśite* 'sharpened by prayer', *marud-vyāḍhe* N. of a river, *yamune*, *rāke* N. of a goddess, *vapusṭame* (Kh. IV. 7⁷) 'most beautiful', *vāra-rūpe* (Kh. IV. 5²⁶) 'of excellent form', *vi-kāte* 'monstrous', *vivasvad-vāte* (TS. IV. 4. 12⁴) 'desired by Vivasvat', *viśva-rūpe* (TS. IV. 2. 5²) 'omniform', *viśva-vāre* 'possessed of all goods', *śaravye* 'arrow', *śitike* 'cool', *śūṅge* (Kh. V. 15⁸) N. of a goddess, *śubhre* 'shining', *sa-dāṃte* 'associated with demons', *sarame* N. of a goddess, *site* 'furrow', *su-jāte* 'well-born', *su-putre* 'having good sons', *su-bhage*, *su-lābhike* 'easy to win', *su-snuṣe* 'having fair daughters-in-law', *sū-nyte*, *sūrya-varṇe* (Kh. IV. 7⁷) 'sun-coloured', *sūrye*, *stūma-trayastrimṣe* (TS. IV. 4. 12⁴), *hīriklike* (Kh. V. 15¹) 'yellowish', *hiraṇya-parṇe* (Kh. IV. 7⁷) 'gold-winged', *hlāḍike* 'refreshing'.

Du. N. A. V. These cases are identical in form, having final *-e* which doubtless contains the same dual ending *-ī* as N. A. V. du. of the *a*-declension². They are of frequent occurrence, being made from over 130 stems in the RV. The ending *-e* is Pragrhya, being distinguished by the Pada text with an appended *iti* from the *e* of the V. sing. f.; e. g. V. du. f. *śubhre iti*, but V. sing. f. *śubhre*.

Examples of the most frequent forms are: *ubhé* (66) 'both', *su-mīke*³ (8) 'well-established', *devā-putre* (7) 'having gods as sons', *vī-rūpe* (7) 'of different forms', *śīpre* (5) 'cheeks'. The compound *sītāsīte* 'black and white' occurs in a Khila (p. 171⁵).

I. Ab. These cases, made with the ending *-bhyām*, are identical in form with the I. D. Ab. m. n. of the *a*-declension. They are represented by only two forms in the RV.: *śīprābhyām* (x. 105⁶) which seems to be I.⁴, and *nāsikābhyām* (x. 163¹) 'nostrils', Ab. No form with a D. sense occurs.

G. L. Both these cases add, with interposing *-y-*, the normal ending *-os* to the final *-ā* of the stem, which is shortened. They are thus identical in form with the G. L. du. m. n. of the *a*-declension. There are only four nominal forms in the RV. and AV.: in the G. sense *jāṅghayos* (AV.) 'legs', *yamāyos* 'twins'; and in the L. sense *uttānāyos*, *svadhāyos* 'homestead'⁵.

Pl. N. V. The regular form ends in *-ās* and is very common, being formed from nearly 260 stems in the RV. Examples of the commonest forms are: *bhadrās* (19), *dhārās* (16), *manṣās* (10)⁶.

There is, however, a second form in *-āsas* which occurs nearly 20 times in the RV. Considering the rarity of this form here, while it is the commoner as N. pl. m. in the *a*-declension, the probability is that its introduction was due to those very numerous masculines. The forms occurring are: *ā-tandrāsas* 'indefatigable', *a-mṛtāsas* (AV.) 'immortal', *dur-mitrāsas* 'unfriendly', *pasprdhānāsas* 'vying'⁷, *pārthivāsas*⁸ 'terrestrial', *pāvākāsas* 'pure', *bhejānāsas*⁹ 'having obtained', *vanvānāsas*¹⁰ (SV.) 'having obtained', *vaśāsas*,

¹ Superlative of *devī*, the final being shortened as in the simple vocative *devī*.

² Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 286 (p. 643).

³ Cp. WINDISCH in Festgruss an O. v. BÖHTLINGK 114 f.

⁴ The pronominal form *tābhyām* (x. 88¹⁵) has a locative meaning.

⁵ There are also the pronominal forms *ayós* and *yáyos*. In III. 54² the Pada text reads *āyós* probably for *ayós*.

⁶ In two or three passages the Pada text seems to confuse forms in *-ās* with others in *-ā*; see LANMAN 362.

⁷ Perfect participle middle of *√sprdh-*.

⁸ Cp. LANMAN 362.

⁹ Perfect participle middle of *bhaj-* 'share'.

¹⁰ The variant of the SV. for *bhejānāsas* of the RV.

vāśrāsas 'roaring', *vidānāsas*¹ 'being found', *vr̥dhāsas* 'helping', *ā-śuśānāsas*² 'stimulating', *sūghanāsas*³ 'swift', *sānmitāsas* (AV.) 'corresponding', *smāyamānāsas* 'smiling', *hāvamānāsas* 'calling'⁴.

A. This case is formed with the normal ending *-as* which coalesces with the final of the stem to *-ās*, e. g. *sūnftās*. It is very frequent, being made from more than 160 stems in the RV. Examples of the commonest forms are: *māyās* (22), *pṛtanās* (13) 'battles', *usrās* (12) 'dawns', *dhārās* (11), *usrīyās* (10)⁵. Two instances occur of forms in *-āsas* being wrongly used as A. pl. f.: *saṃvidānāsas* (x. 30¹⁴) 'united' and *aram-gamāsas* (AV. XIII. 2¹³) 'ready to help'.

I. This case is always formed by adding the ending *-bhis* directly to the stem, e. g. *sūnftā-bhis*. It is made from over 80 stems in the RV. Examples of the most frequent forms are: *māyābhis* (13), *citrābhis* (8), *dhārābhis* (7), *hītrābhis* (7) 'libations', *lābhis* (6). The form *drāghīṣṭhābhis* (III. 62¹⁷) 'for longest times'⁶ is used adverbially.

D. Ab. These cases are formed with the same ending *-bhyas* (sometimes to be read as two syllables) added directly to the stem. In the RV. only 4 datives and 11 ablatives occur from nominal stems⁷. The forms occurring are: D. *aghnyābhyas*, *usrīyābhyas*, *duccchinābhyas*, *devātābhyas* (TS. IV. 2. 9⁶) 'deities', *vr̥tābhyas* 'movements'. — Ab. *ādharābhyas* 'lower', *āśābhyas* 'regions', *ūtтарābhyas*, *uṣṇīhābhyas* 'nape of the neck', *kīkasābhyas* 'cartilages of the breast-bone', *gl̥dābhyas* 'intestines', *gr̥tvābhyas*, *daṃśnābhyas* 'wondrous powers', *dhīśānābhyas* 'Soma bowls', *vakṣānābhyas* 'bellies', *śyāyābhyas* 'darkness'.

G. This case being made with the abnormal ending *-nām* is identical in form with the G. pl. m. of the *a*-declension. It is formed in the RV. from 22 stems. There is no certain example here of forms with the normal ending *-ām* which is found in a few genitives of the *a*-declension (372). There are only a couple of instances in which the resolution of the final syllable as *-aam* seems required by the metre⁸. The G. of *kanyā-* 'girl' always appears in the contracted form of *kanīnām*⁹ (occurring five times) in the RV.¹⁰

The forms actually occurring are: *ākṣarānām* 'speech', *āghnyānām*, *a-nīveśanānām* 'affording no place of rest', *ā-bhayañānām* 'free from danger', *āśma-vrajanām* 'whose pen is a rock', *āśānām* (TS. IV. 4. 12³), *urudrānām* 'arable fields', *usrānām*, *usrīyānām*, *kāṣṭhānām*, *kṛtyānām* (Kh. IV. 5³⁰), *jīhmānām* 'transverse', *divyānām* 'heavenly', *dūghānām* 'milk kine', *devātānām* (Kh. II. 4¹), *deva-senānām* 'hosts of the gods', *dhīśānānām*, *ndvānām*, *navyānām* 'navigable rivers', *pastyānām* 'abodes', *manīṣānām*, *rāmyānām* 'nights', *sāmānām* 'years', *sūnftānām* 'songs of joy', *stīyānām* 'still waters'.

L. This case is formed by adding the ending *-su* directly to the stem. The final *-u* though always combined with a following vowel both at the end of an internal Pāda or within a Pāda, is invariably to be read with hiatus

¹ Participle middle, with passive sense, of *vid-* 'find'.

² Participle middle of *√śvas-*.

³ This word (AV.) is of uncertain derivation.

⁴ There are besides two or three doubtful instances which may be m.; see LANMAN 362.

⁵ In several instances *-ās* is most probably to be read where the Pāda text has *-ā*, see LANMAN 363. In a few forms the resolution of *-ās* as *-aas* or *-aās* seems necessary; LANMAN l. c.

⁶ Cp. *aparābhyas* 'for future times'.

⁷ There are also the pronominal forms *abhyās* and *ābhyas*, *tābhyas*, *yābhyas*.

⁸ *dhanānām* in VIII. 59¹² and *pṛtanānām* in VIII. 59¹. In *sūnftānām* (I. 3¹¹) the metre seems to require the shortening of the final of the stem: *sūnftānām*; LANMAN 364.

⁹ This is a form of some importance as showing how the suffix *-ī* arose from *-yā-*.

¹⁰ It also occurs once in Kh. I. 5⁷.

in the RV.; e. g. *śvaśu urvāśu* (x. 50³) for *śvaśūrvāśu*¹. This case is formed from over 50 nominal stems in the RV. The forms occurring are: *aghāśu* 'evil', *amīśu*, *āvarāśu* 'later', *āmīśu*, *ārtanāśu* 'uncultivated', *līśu*, *lparāśu* 'neighbouring', *urvāśu*, *usriyāśu*, *ūrmyāśu*, *kanyāśu*, *kāśhāśu*, *kṣhāśu* 'black', *grīvāśu* (TS. iv. 2. 5³), *cittā-gārbhāśu* 'visibly pregnant', *citrāśu*, *jagmanāśu*² 'having gone', *jāśu* 'horn', *tīgryāśu* 'descended from Tugra', *dīryāśu* 'abodes', *devdāśu* (TS. i. 6. 4³), *dhiśnyāśu* 'fire-places', *dhrutāśu* 'unchangeable', *nivāśu*, *pathyāśu*, *phdyāśu* 'footsteps', *pastyāśu*, *pañca-janyāśu* 'relating to the five tribes', *puru-ṣāśu* 'multiform', *phrvāśu* 'earlier', *ṣṭanāśu*, *pradhanyāśu* 'forming the spoil', *priyāśu*, *mādyāśu* 'fond of exhilaration', *madhyamāśu* 'middlemost', *manuṣyāśu* 'human', *mandrāśu* (TS. iv. i. 8³), *māryāśu* 'mortal', *mahināśu* 'mighty', *yajñīyāśu* 'devout', (*prī-*) *yatāśu* 'presented', *yśanāśu*, *rāmyāśu*, *ropanāśu* a kind of bird, *rakṣināśu* 'bellies', *ṛddhāśu* 'great', *ṛdhasānāśu*³ 'growing', *śayāśu* 'resting-places', *śhṣkāśu* 'dry', *śyāvāśu* 'nights', *śrutāśu* 'famous', *śanayāśu* 'old', *saptā-śivāśu* 'blessing the seven (worlds)', *śirāśu* 'streams', *su-vṛjānāśu* 'dwelling in fair regions', *hāvāśu* 'to be invoked'.

3. a. Stems in radical -ī.

LANMAN, Noun-Inflection 365—400. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 348—359.

375. This declension consists primarily of fewer than 50 m. and f. nouns derived from 9 roots. Only four of these words appear as monosyllables, the rest being compounds. The analogy of this primary group (A) is closely followed both in inflexion and accentuation by a second group of about 80 polysyllabic stems which, though formed with derivative -ī, are for the sake of clearness best treated as a division (B) of this declension. The normal endings as they appear in the inflexion of consonant stems are taken throughout this declension. The G. pl., however, with the exception of a single form occurring only once (*dhiyām*), takes the ending -*nīm*; and the N. sing. always adds -*s*. Accentuation on the final syllable of the stem is characteristic of this declension; and except in monosyllabic stems the acute remains on that syllable throughout⁴. Before vowel endings the -ī is split to -*iy* in the monosyllabic nouns; e. g. *dhiy-am*; this is also the case in compounds formed with these nouns, except -*dhī* when it is accented, e. g. *jana-śrīyam*, *nānā-dhiyas*, but *ā-dhīam*; in compounds formed with roots it is split only when two consonants precede; e. g. *yajña-priyam*, but *yajña-nīam*; in the secondary group it is split in *samudrī-* and partly in *cakrī-*, e. g. *samudriyas* and *cakriyau*, but *cakrias*. Otherwise the ī is always written as *y*, but is in the RV. invariably⁵ to be pronounced as a vowel; e. g. *nadyām* pronounced *nadīam*⁶.

A. The stems belonging to the primary group are: 1. the monosyllabic feminines *dhī-* 'thought', *bhī-* 'fear', *śrī-* 'glory'; and the m. *vī-* 'receiver' (which occurs only once in the N. sing.). — 2. Compounds (mostly Bahuvrihis) formed with the first three: *ā-dhī-* f. 'care', *itthā-dhī-* 'right devout', *dīrghādhi-*

¹ Cp. the L. pl. of the *a*-declension.

² Perfect participle middle of *gam-* 'go'.

³ Participle middle from *vṛdh-* 'grow'.

⁴ There are one or two exceptions to this rule in compound words in the A group, and a few others, in the AV., in the B group.

⁵ There are only two exceptions in the RV.: A. sing. *staryām* (VII. 68⁸) in a late

verse (cp. LANMAN 379¹) and N. pl. *nadyās* (VII. 50⁴). The AV. has six such forms: *āvataryās*, *nadyās*, *naptyās*, *nādyās*, *pippalyās*, *vṛkṣa-sarpyās*.

⁶ The resolved forms are therefore always given below, spelt with *i* in this declension. This will not lead to any confusion with the written forms of the Samhitā text in which the ī of the stem always appears as *iy* or *y*.

'having a far-reaching mind' (*ā-dhī-*), *dur-ā-dhī-* 'malevolent', *dūrāt-ādhi-*¹ 'longing for the distance', *su-ādhi-* 'attentive', *dū-dhī-*² 'malevolent', *nānā-dhī-* 'of various intent', *viśvato-dhī-* 'all-attending', *su-dhī-* 'devout'; *avadya-bhī-* f. 'fear of blame'; *agni-śrī-* 'fire-bright', *adhvara-śrī-* 'adorning the sacrifice', *ksatra-śrī-* 'blessing dominion', *ghṛta-śrī-* 'glittering with ghee', *jana-śrī-* 'blessing men', *darsata-śrī-* 'of beauteous splendour', *mārya-śrī-* 'adorned like a wooer', *yajña-śrī-* 'beautifying the sacrifice', *su-śrī-* 'glorious', *hari-śrī-* 'of golden glory'. — 3. Compounds³ formed with the roots *krī-* 'buy', *nī-* 'lead', *prī-* 'love', *mī-* 'diminish'. *vī-* 'move' and 'cover', *śī-* 'lie', *śrī-* 'mix': *pra-krī-* (AV.) 'purchasable', *sadyaḥ-krī-* (AV.) 'bought on the same day'; *agre-nī-* (VS.) 'leading', *ṛta-nī-* 'leading the rite', *grāma-nī-* 'leading the community', *pada-nī-* (AV.) 'following the steps of another', *pra-nī-* f. 'furtherance', *pra-nenī-*⁴ 'powerfully furthering', *mana-nī-* 'spirit-leading', *yajña-nī-* 'leading the sacrifice', *vaśa-nī-* m. 'commander', *vratā-nī-* 'carrying out the ordinance', *sadha-nī-* 'accompanying', *senī-nī-* m. 'leader of an army', *skambha-nī-* (VS.) 'furnishing a prop'; *abhi-prī-* 'gladdening', *kadha-prī-* 'gladdening whom?', *pari-prī-* 'dear', *brahma-prī-* 'prayer-loving', *yajña-prī-* 'sacrifice-loving', *manyu-mī-* 'rage-obstructing', *vāta-pra-mī-* 'surpassing the wind'; *takva-vī-* m. '(swiftly darting) bird', *deva-vī-* and *devā-vī-* 'god-refreshing', *pada-vī-* m. 'leader', *parṇa-vī-* 'moving with wings', *prati-vī-*⁵ 'gladly accepting', *hiranya-vī-* 'gold-bringing'; *pra-vī-* (VS.) 'wound round'; *jihma-śī-* 'lying prostrate', *patsu-tas-śī-*⁶ 'lying at the feet', *madhyama-śī-* 'lying in the midst', *syona-śī-* 'lying on a soft couch'; *abhi-śrī-*⁷ 'admixture', *gaṇa-śrī-*⁷ 'mixing in troops'.

B. This secondary group comprises upwards of 80 polysyllabic stems, accented on the final vowel, which are all substantives except about half a dozen. It includes fewer than a dozen masculines. Of the remainder, which are feminine, more than half are names of female beings; about 30 are the f. form of m. stems that are not accented on the final vowel, as *puruṣī-* 'woman' beside *pīruṣa-* 'man'. There are also some f. adjectives corresponding to m. in *-ya*, as *svarī-* beside *svaryā-* 'resounding'. This derivative group closely follows the analogy of the third division of the radical group (compounds ending in roots with final accented *-ī*); it joined the radical declension doubtless owing to the accentuation of the final vowel.

The m. stems are: *ahī-* 'serpent', *upāvi-* (VS.)⁸ 'encouraging', *dakṣī-*⁹ 'flaming'; *prāvi-*⁸ 'attentive', *duṣ-prāvi-* 'unfriendly', *su-prāvi-* 'very attentive'; *yayī-*¹⁰ 'going'; *rathī-* 'charioteer', *ā-rathī-* 'not a charioteer'; *sahāśra-starī-* 'having a thousand barren cows', *hiraṇya-vāśī-* 'wielding a golden axe'.

The f. stems are: *atharī-* 'flame', *atharvī-* 'priestess' (m. *dīharvan-*), *ā-durmanṅgalī-* 'not unlucky', *aparī-* pl. 'future days' (m. *āpara-*), *apastī-* (VS.) 'industrious' (m. *apīśya-*), *ambī-* 'mother', *arāyī-* 'demoness' (m. *ārāya-*), *aruṇī-* 'dawn', *aśvatarī-* (AV.) 'she-mule', *aṣṭa-karṇī-* 'cow with notched ear', *ā-pathī-* 'impediment', *enī-* 'doe' (m. *ēta-*), *onī-* 'breast', *kalyānī-* 'fair woman' (m. *kalyāṇa-*), *kavaśī-* 'creaking' (m. *kavāśa-*), *kilāśī-* 'spotted deer' (m. *kilāsa-*), *kumārī-* (AV.) 'girl', *kūdī-* (AV.) 'fetter', *kṣṇī-* 'night', *kṣoṇī-* 'flood', *khārī-* 'measure', *gandharvī-* 'female Gandharva', *gaurī-* 'buffalo cow', *cakrī-* 'wheel', *tandri-*

¹ For *dūrāt-ādhi-*.

² From *dus-dhī-*.

³ Mostly Tatpuruṣas, generally with accusative sense; some Karmadhārayas.

⁴ An intensive formation from *nī-* 'lead'.

⁵ 'Coming towards', *prāti*, with lengthened final vowel.

⁶ From *patsu-tas*, an adverb anomalously

formed by adding the suffix *-tas* to the L. pl. of *pād-* 'foot'.

⁷ Formed directly from the root *śrī-* = 'mix', and not from the substantive *śrī-*.

⁸ From *upa* and *pra+av-* 'favour'.

⁹ To be assumed as the stem of the V. *dakṣi*, Pada text *dhakṣi*.

¹⁰ The final vowel is here perhaps radical in origin.

(AV.) 'weariness' (m. *tándra-*), *tapaní-* 'heat' (m. *tápana-*), *tila-pīñjī*¹ (AV.) N. of a plant (m. *tila-pīñja-*), *tikṣṇa-sṛṅgī-* (AV.) 'sharp-horned' (m. *tikṣṇá-sṛṅga-*), *dūtī-* 'messenger', *dehī-* 'dam', *nadī-* 'stream', *nap̥tī-* 'daughter' (m. *nap̥ty-*), *nādī-* 'pipe', *nāndī-* 'joy', *niṣṭigṛī-* N. of Indra's mother, *palūṭī*² (AV.) 'stalk', *pippalī-* (AV.), 'berry' (m. *pippala-*), *puruṣī-* 'woman' (m. *p̥ruruṣa-*), *prapharvī-* 'voluptuous girl', *mañḍukī-* 'female frog' (m. *mañḍūkā-*), *mayūri-* 'peahen' (m. *mayūra-*), *mahī-nadī-* 'great stream', *mahiṣī-* (TS.) 'buffalo cow', *meśī-* 'ewe', *yamī-* 'Yami', *yayī*³ 'quick', *yātudhānī-* 'sorceress' (m. *yātudhāna-*), *rathī-* 'female charioteer' (m. *rātha-* 'car'), *lakṣmī-* 'mark', *lalāmī-* 'speckled mare' (m. *lahīma-*), *vakṣī-* 'flame', *vi-keṣī-* (AV.) 'shaggy hog', *vibālī-* N. of a river, *vi-liptī-* (AV.) 'cow', *vi-lūḍhī-* (AV.) 'female monster', *viśva-rūpī-* 'brindled cow' (m. *viśvā-rūpa-*), *vṛkī-* 'she-wolf' (m. *vṛka-*), *vṛkṣa-sarpī-* (AV.) 'tree-serpent', *veśī-* 'needle', *vyasta-keṣī-* (AV.) 'shaggy hog', *śakaṭī-* 'cart' (*śikāṭa-*), *śabalī-* (TS.) 'cow of plenty' (m. *śabāla-*), *sakthī-* 'thigh' (n. *sákthi-*), *sasarparī-* 'trumpet', *sahasraparūṣī-* (AV.) N. of a plant (m. *sahāsra-parṇa-*), *simhī-* 'lioness', *su-maṅgalī*⁴ 'lucky woman' (m. *su-maṅgāla-*), *sūrmī-* 'pipe', *sṛṇī-* 'sickle', *starī-* 'barren cow', *sphigī-* 'hip', *hastinī*⁵ (AV.) 'female elephant', *hiranya-keśī-* 'gold-haired' (AV.) (m. *hiranya-keśa-*).

a. There are further a few f. adjectives in -ī from m. stems in -ya: *āpī-* 'watery' (m. *āpya-*), *samudrī*⁶ 'belonging to the sea' (m. *samudriya-*), *svarī-* 'resounding' (m. *svaryā-*).

a. There are a few transition forms from the i-stems: *karkarīyas*⁷ (AV.) from *karkarī-* 'lute' (*karkarī-*); N. sing. *arīṣ* (VS. VI. 36) from *arī-* 'faithful' beside the usual *arī-*; and the stems *yayī*, *sakthī*, *sṛṇī* also occur beside *yayī*, *sakthī*, *sṛṇī* respectively. The only certain transition from the derivative ī-declension to the radical ī-declension is represented by *svī-* 'woman', originally a dissyllable⁸, from which occur the forms A. sing. *stīyam*, N. A. pl. *stīyas*, I. *stībhis*. Other transition forms are probably *pr̥ṣṇīyas* G. sing. N. pl., *yahvīas* A. pl., *suparṇīas*⁹ N. A. pl.

Inflexion.

376. The forms actually occurring if made from *dhi-* 'thought', *yajña-sṛī-* m. f. 'adorning the sacrifice', *senā-nī-* m. 'leader of an army', *rathī-* m. f. 'charioteer' respectively, would be the following:

A. 1. sing. N. *dhis*. A. *dhiyam*. I. *dhiyā*. D. *dhiyē*. G. *dhiyās*. — Pl. N. *dhiyas*. A. *dhiyas*. I. *dhibhis*. G. *dhinām*¹⁰. L. *dhiṣṭh*.

2. sing. N. *yajña-sṛīs*. A. *yajña-sṛiyam*. I. *yajña-sṛiyā*. D. *yajña-sṛiye*. G. *yajña-sṛiyas*. — Du. N. A. *yajña-sṛiyā* and *yajña-sṛiyau* (AV.). — Pl. N. *yajña-sṛiyas*. A. *yajña-sṛiyas*. I. *yajña-sṛībhis*.

3. sing. N. *senā-nīs*. A. *senā-nīam*. D. *senā-nīe*. G. *senā-nīas*. — Du. N. A. *senā-nīā*. G. *senā-nīos*. — Pl. N. *senā-nīas*. A. *senā-nīas*. D. *senā-nībhyas*. G. *senā-nīnām*.

B. Sing. N. *rathīs*. A. *rathīam*. I. *rathīā*. D. *rathīe*. G. *rathīas*. V. *rathī*. — Du. N. A. *rathīā*. I. f. *rathībhyām*. G. f. *rathīos*. L. *rathīos*. — Pl. N. *rathīas*. A. *rathīas*. I. *rathībhis*. D. f. *rathībhyas*. G. *rathīnām*. L. f. *rathīṣu*.

¹ In these words the accent is shifted to a vowel ending in weak cases.

² The final vowel in this word is perhaps radical in origin (from *yā-* 'go').

³ The V. pl. *su-hastīas* (IX. 46¹), presupposes a stem *su-hastī-*, but as the form is a m., the reading ought perhaps to be emended to *su-hastīās* with BR.

⁴ *hastinī-* (IX. 31⁷) means 'having a hand'.

⁵ GRASSMANN regards this as a f. of an adjective *samudrī-*.

⁶ See WHITNEY on AV. IV. 37⁵.

⁷ See LANMAN 371³.

⁸ In I. 122⁷ *starīs* seems to be the equivalent of *svī-*. See pw. s. v.

⁹ Cp. LANMAN 372².

¹⁰ The form *dhinām* occurs 7 times in the RV., *dhiyām* only once.

The forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. A. 1. m. *vīs*. — f. *dhīs*, *bhīs*, *śrīs*. — 2. m. *itthādhlīs*, *ṣṣatra-śrīs*, *ghṛta-śrīs*, *darśata-śrīs*, *dūrd-ādhlīs*, *mārya-śrīs*, *viśvato-dhlīs*, *sv-ādhlīs*. — f. *abhi-śrīs*. — 3. m. *agre-nīs* (VS. VI. 2), *grāma-nīs*, *takva-vīs*, *deva-vīs* and *devā-vīs*, *patsu-taś-śīs*, *pada-nīs* (AV.), *pada-vīs*, *pari-vīs* (VS. VI. 6), *parṇa-vīs*, *pra-kṛīs* (AV.), *pra-ṇenīs*, *madhyama-śīs*, *manyu-mīs*, *yajña-nīs*, *yajña-prīs* (VS. XXVII. 31), *vaśa-nīs*, *sadyah-kṛīs*, *senā-nīs*, *skambha-nīs* (VS. I. 19), *syona-śīs*. — f. *pra-kṛīs* (AV.), *vrata-nīs*. — B. m. *ā-rathīs*¹, *prāvīs*, *su-prāvīs*, *rathīs*², *sahasra-startīs*, *hiranya-vāśīs*. — f. *ā-dur-māṅgalīs*, *arunīs*, *kalyāṇīs*, *ṣṣnīs*, *ṣṣonīs*³, *gandharvīs*, *gaurīs*, *jātrīs*⁴ (AV.), *tandṛīs* (AV.), *dūtīs*, *nāptīs*, *nāḍīs*, *mahiṣīs*⁵ (TS. I. 2. 12²), *yamīs*, *yātudhānīs* (AV.), *rathīs*, *lakṣmīs*, *lalāmīs*, *viśva-rūpīs* (TS. I. 5. 6⁴), *vrkīs*, *śakaṭīs*, *śabalīs* (TS. IV. 3. 11⁵), *sasarparīs*, *sinhīs* (TS. I. 2. 12²), *su-māṅgalīs*⁶, *startīs*⁷.

Acc. A. 1. f. *dhiyam*, *bhiyam*, *śriyam*. — 2. m. *dur-ādhlīam*, *sv-ādhlīam*, *adhvara-śriyam*, *ṣṣatra-śriyam*, *ghṛta-śriyam*, *jana-śriyam*, *yajña-śriyam*, *su-śriyam*, *hari-śriyam*⁸. — f. *abhi-śriyam*. — 3. m. *gāthā-nīam*, *grāma-nīam* (VS. XXX. 20), *yajña-nīam*; *devā-vīam*, *prati-vīam*; *abhi-priyam*, *ghṛta-priyam* (AV.), *brahma-priyam*. — f. *devā-vīam*⁹. — B. m. *rathīam*, *su-prāvīam*. — f. *atharvīam*, *arāyīam*, *kumāriam* (AV.), *kādīam* (AV.), *gaurīam*, *nadīam*, *naṭīam*, *nāndīam*, *prapharvīam*, *yamīam*, *lakṣmīam* (AV.), *lalāmīam* (AV.), *vibālīam*, *viliptīam* (AV.), *viliḍhīam* (AV.), *viśva-rūpīam*, *vrkīam*, *sinhīam*, *sūrmīam*, *stariam*¹⁰, *sphigīam*, *svarīam*.

I. A. 1. f. *dhiyā*, *bhiyā*, *śriyā*. — 2. m. *dū-dhiā*. — f. *avadya-bhiyā*¹¹, *ā-dhiā*¹² (AV.). — B. m. *rathīā*. — f. *tila-piñjīā*¹² (AV.), *palāḍīā*¹² (AV.), *maṇḍūkīā*, *veśīā*, *sahasra-parṇīā*¹² (AV.), *sūrmīā*, *sphigīā*. — The form *tapantī* may be a contraction for *tapantīā*¹³.

D. A. 1. f. *dhiyē*, *śriyē*. — 2. m. *itthā-dhiye*, *dur-ādhlīe*, *dū-dhlīe*. — f. *ā-dhlīe*. — 3. m. *gaṇa-śriye* (VS. XXII. 30), *yajña-priye*; *jihma-śīe*, *senā-nīe* (VS. XVI. 17). — B. m. *rathīe*, *su-prāvīe*¹⁴. — f. *nāndīe*, *meṣīe*, *vrkīe*.

G.¹⁵ A. 1. f. *dhiyās*. — 2. m. *dū-dhīas*, *su-dhīas*. — n. *sv-ādhlīas*¹⁶. — 3. m. *gaṇa-śriyas*; *gāthā-nīas*, *manyu-mīas*¹⁷. — B. m. *dhīas*, *su-prāvīas*. — f. *atharīas*, *āpīas*¹⁸, *nadīas*, *niṣṭi-grīas*, *prśanīas*, *meṣīas*, *srīas*.

L. f. *gaurī* (IX. 12³) and *sarasī* (VII. 103²) may be locatives containing the normal ending *-ī*.

¹ There is also the transition form *arīs* (VS. VI. 36).

² On *rathīva* occurring once or twice for *rathir iva*, cp. LANMAN 375 (bottom).

³ The N. sing. once (I. 180²) appears without the *-s* as *ṣṣonīs*. This word has other forms also according to the derivative *-ī* declension; cp. LANMAN 372 (bottom).

⁴ The reading of the Mss. in AV. XX. 48² is *jātrīs*; the edition has *jānis*.

⁵ This is a transition from the derivative *-ī* declension for the *mahiṣī* of the RV.

⁶ The AV. has *su-māṅgalī* three times; cp. LANMAN 377 (top).

⁷ There are also the transition forms *ārīśīs* (VI. 45), *śakvarīs* (TS. IV. 4. 4¹), *devīs* (AV. VI. 59²); *varīantīs* (I. 140⁹) is a purely metrical lengthening; cp. LANMAN 377².

⁸ This form is also once (Val. II. 10) used in agreement with a neuter substantive (*gotrām*).

⁹ In agreement with *ivācam* (IX. 74⁵).

¹⁰ This form is once (VII. 688) pronounced *staryām*, being one of the two only examples in the RV. of the *ī* in this declension being pronounced as *y* before a vowel.

¹¹ Accented as if *-bhiyā* were used independently; the form occurs in a late hymn (X. 107³).

¹² Irregular accentuation of the ending.

¹³ Otherwise it may be an I. of the derivative *-ī* declension.

¹⁴ Cp. LANMAN 382³.

¹⁵ There is no example of an ablative.

¹⁶ This seems to be the only actual n. form of this declension in the RV.

¹⁷ The form *ahī-ghnyās* (AV.) is a transition form with shift of accent from the derivative *-ī* declension.

¹⁸ The form *arunīs* (I. 121³) may be contracted for *arunīs*.

V. B. m. *dakṣi*¹. — f. *arāyi*, *mahe-nadi*², *yami*, *lakṣmi* (AV.).

Du. N. A. A. 2. f. *abhi-śrīyā*, *ghṛta-śrīyā*. — 3. m. *mana-nā*, *sadha-nā*; *senānī-grāmanīyāu* (VS. xv. 15). — f. *abhi-śrīyau* (AV.). — B. m. *rathlā*. — f. *cakrīyā*, *nadlā*, *naptlā*, *yamlā*, *sakthlā*, *srñlā*; *cakrīyau* (SV.), *nādyāu* (AV.), *sakthīau* (AV.)³.

I. B. f. *kṣonibhyām*. — G. A. 3. m. *yajña-nlos*. — B. f. *onlos*⁴, *cakrīos*. — L. B. f. *onlos*, *naptlōs*.

Pl. N. V. A. 1. f. *dhiyas*, *śrīyas*⁵. — 2. m. *dirghādhiyas*, *durādhiyas*, *dūdhīas*, *nāna-dhiyas*, *su-dhiyas*, *sv-ādhiyas*; *agni-śrīyas*, *adhvara-śrīyas*, *su-śrīyas*. — f. *ādhiyas*, *vyādhiyas*⁶ (AV.). — 3. m. *grāma-nlas* (AV.), *devā-nlas*, *pada-nlas*, *sadha-nlas*; *abhi-priyas*, *kadha-śrīyas*, *gaṇa-śrīyas*, *pari-priyas*. — f. *abhi-śrīyas*, *ā-priyas* (AV.), *pra-nlas*, *vāta-pramiyas*. — B. m. *ahīas*, *āpathīas*, *rathīas*, *su-hastīas*⁷. — f. *apasīas* (VS. x. 7), *arāyīas* (AV.), *aruṇīas*, *enīas*, *kalyāṇīas*, *kavaśīas* (VS. xx. 40, 60), *gaurīas*, *tikṣṇa-śrṅgīas*, *nadīas*, *nādīas* (AV.), *mayūrīas*, *yātu-dhānīas* (AV.), *rathīas*, *lakṣmīas* (AV.), *vaksīas*, *vī-keśīas* (AV.), *vyasta-keśīas* (AV.), *samudrīyas*, *sahasra-parṇīas* (AV.), *starīas*. — With *ī* pronounced as *y*: once *nadyās* (VII. 50⁴) and 6 forms in the AV., *aśvataryās*, *nadyās*, *naptyās*, *nādyās*, *pippalyās*, *vṛkṣa-sarpyās*.

Acc. A. 1. f. *dhiyas*, *bhiyas* (AV.), *bhiyās* (TS. IV. 1. 7³ = VS. xxvii. 7), *śrīyas*. — 2. m. *durādhiyas*, *dūdhīas*, *su-śrīyas*⁸. — f. *ādhiyas* (AV.). — 3. m. *sadha-nlas*. — B. m. *ahīas*, *duṣprāyīas*, *rathīas*. — f. *arāyīas* (AV.), *aṣṭa-karṇīas*, *kilāśīas*, *khārīas*, *dehīas*, *nadīas*, *naptlīas*, *meśīas*, *yamīas*, *yātu-dhānīas*, *samudrīyas*, *sambādha-tandīas* (AV.) 'affliction and exhaustion', *starīas*⁹.

I. A. 1. f. *dhibhis*, *śrībhis*¹⁰. — 2. m. *sv-ādhibhis*. — 3. m. *gaṇa-śrībhis*¹¹. — B. m. *hiraṇya-vāsibhis*. — f. *kalyāṇibhis*, *kṣonibhis*, *nadibhis*, *naptibhis*.

D.¹² A. 3. m. *ṛta-nibhyas*¹³, *śva-nibhyas*¹⁴ (VS. xvi. 27), *senā-nibhyas*¹⁵ (VS. xvi. 26). — B. f. *aparibhyas*, *nadibhyas* (VS. xxx. 8).

G. A. 1. f. *dhīnām* and *dhiyām*, *śrīnām*. — 3. f. *hiraṇya-vīnām*. — B. m. *ahīnām*, *nadīnām* 'invokers', *rathīnām*¹⁶. — f. *aruṇīnām*, *krimīnām* (AV.), *nadīnām*, *puruṣīnām*, *svarīnām*.

L. A. 1. f. *dhiṣū*. — B. f. *aparīṣu*, *aruṇīṣu*, *nadīṣu*¹⁴.

3. b. Stems in derivative -ī.

LANMAN, Noun-Inflection 365–400. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 362–366.

377. 1. This declension embraces a very considerable number of stems which are formed by means of the suffix -ī (originally -yā) and, except seven masculines, are restricted to the f. gender. It largely supplies the f. form of words requiring inflexion in more than one gender. Feminine stems are thus made from nouns in -a, e. g. *devī-* (m. *devā-*); from adjectives in -u; e. g. *pṛthivī-* (m. *pṛthiv-*); from present participles in -ant; e. g. *mūdantī-*

¹ Pada *dhukṣi*; cp. RPr. iv. 41.

² Treated as a compound in the Pada (VIII. 74¹⁵) though *mahe* is V.

³ The AV. shows no example of -lā. It has three transition forms *āṇḍīau*, *phālgūnyau*, *akṣyāu*.

⁴ Cp. APr. III. 61.

⁵ Also the transition form *striyas*.

⁶ This would be *vyā-dhiyas* in the RV. where in compounds ending in -dhī- the *ī* if unaccented is split.

⁷ See above, 375 B a α, note 3.

⁸ Also the transition form to the deriva-

tive *ī*-declension *deva-śrīs* (TS. IV. 6. 3² = VS. xvii. 56) 'worshipping the gods'.

⁹ Also the transition form *striyas*; on *yahvīas* and *suparṇīas* see 375 a α.

¹⁰ Also the transition form *śrībhis* (accented as a monosyllabic stem).

¹¹ Metrical shortening; see LANMAN 372³.

¹² There is no example of an Ab. m. or f.

¹³ The accent of the G. *ataśīnām* 'beggars' would seem to require a stem *ataśī-* and not *ataśi-*.

¹⁴ There is also the transition form *striṣū* accented as a monosyllable.

(m. *mādan̄t̄*-), -*ānt̄*, e. g. *adat̄-ī* (m. *adānt̄*-), or -*at̄*, e. g. *pīprat̄-ī* (m. *pīprat̄*-); from perfect participles in -*vāms*, e. g. *jagmīs̄-ī* (m. *jaganvāms̄*-); from comparatives in -*yāms*, e. g. *nāvtyas̄-ī* (m. *nāvtyāms̄*-); from words in -*tar* (-*īr*), e. g. *avit̄r̄-ī* (m. *avitār̄*-); from adjectives in -*mant̄*, e. g. *dhenu-māt̄-ī* (m. *dhenu-mānt̄*-), and -*vant̄*, e. g. *āma-vat̄-ī* (m. *āma-vant̄*-); from nouns in -*an*, e. g. *sam-rājñ-ī* (m. *rājan̄*-), -*van*, e. g. *ṛtā-var̄-ī* (m. *ṛtā-van̄*-); from adjectives¹ in -*in*, e. g. *arkñ-ī* (m. *arkin̄*-); from compounds ending in -*āñc*, e. g. *arvāc̄-ī* (m. *arvāñc̄*-), in -*dṛś*, e. g. *su-dṛś̄-ī*, in -*pad*, e. g. *a-pād̄-ī*, and in -*han*, e. g. *d-pati-ghn̄-ī*.

2. There is besides a large group of miscellaneous f. stems of an independent character, having no corresponding m.², e. g. *sāc̄-ī* 'might'.

3. The seven m. stems³, of which five are proper names, are: *Tiraśc̄t̄*, *Nām̄t̄*, *Pṛth̄t̄*, *Mātāt̄*, *Sūbhart̄*; *rāṣṭr̄*- 'ruler', *sir̄t̄*- 'weaver'.

a. The stems of this declension (in contrast with those of the B group of the radical ī-declension) do not normally accent the suffix. The exceptions to this rule are of a definite character.

i. When in the first f. group there is a corresponding m. accented on a final syllable which is liable to be reduced in such a way as to be incapable of bearing the accent, the acute is thrown forward on the -ī; e. g. m. *ur̄t̄*, f. *ur̄v̄-ī*; m. *net̄ar̄*, f. *net̄r̄-ī*; m. *ad-ānt̄*, f. *ad-at̄-ī*; m. *praty-āñc̄*, f. *prat̄ic̄-ī*; m. -*han̄*, f. -*ghn̄-ī*. When the m. ends in -*ā*, the accent also in several stems remains on the corresponding -ī; thus m. *dev̄ā*, f. *dev̄t̄*; *pāp̄ā*- 'evil', f. *pāp̄t̄-ī*; m. *puro-gav̄ā*- 'leader', f. *puro-gav̄t̄*; m. *rām̄ā*- 'night', f. *rām̄t̄*; m. *vam̄r̄ā*- 'ant', f. *vam̄r̄t̄*. More usually, however, the accent of such feminines is thrown back on the first syllable⁵; thus m. *āyas̄ā*- 'made of iron', f. *āyas̄-ī*; m. *aruṣ̄ā*- 'red', f. *aruṣ̄t̄*; m. *gāndharv̄ā*- 'belonging to the Gandharvas', f. *gāndharv̄t̄*; m. *tavis̄ā*- 'strong', f. *tavis̄t̄*- 'strength'; m. *paruṣ̄ā*- 'reed', f. *paruṣ̄t̄*- 'reedy', N. of a river; m. *palit̄ā*- 'grey', f. *palikn̄t̄*; m. *mahiṣ̄ā*-⁶ 'buffalo', f. *mahiṣ̄t̄*; m. *rohīt̄ā*- 'ruddy', f. *rohīñt̄*- 'ruddy cow', m. *śam̄-gaȳā*- 'procuring prosperity for the household', f. *śam̄-gaȳt̄*; m. *śyāv̄ā*- 'brown', f. *śyāv̄t̄*; m. *śyēt̄ā*- 'white', f. *śyēñt̄*- 'white cow'.

2. Again, the miscellaneous group of feminines hardly ever accents the final -ī of the stem except when it is a proper name, a shift of accent having here probably taken place to indicate a change of meaning; thus *aranyāñt̄*- 'Forest-goddess', *arundhat̄-ī*⁷ (AV.) N. of a plant and a star, *indrāñt̄*- 'Indra's wife', *rodas̄t̄*- N. of the Aśvins' wife, *vaidhri-mat̄*- N. of a mythical female, *varuṇāñt̄*- 'Varuṇa's wife', *śavast̄*- N. of Indra's mother, *sinv̄āñt̄*- N. of a goddess; and the river names *añjast̄*, *asikn̄t̄*⁸ (but *āsikn̄t̄*- 'black' and 'night'), *go-mat̄-ī* (but *gō-mat̄-ī*- 'rich in cows'), *śutudr̄t̄*.

Inflexion.

378. The inflexion of the derivative ī-stems stands in marked contrast with that of the radical ī-stems in three respects: (1) no -s is added in the N. sing. masculine or feminine; (2) the endings diverge considerably from the normal ones, the Sing. A. taking -m, the D. -ai, the Ab. G. -ās, the L. -ām, the du. N. A. -ī, the pl. N. A. -s; (3) stems accented on the final vowel shift the acute to the ending in the weak cases of the sing., in the G. L. du., and the G. pl.

¹ Adjectives ending in -a do not form their f. in -ī unless they are accented on the final syllable, when the accent almost always shifts to the first syllable; e. g. *aruṣ̄t̄*- from *aruṣ̄ā*; but *pāp̄ā*- has *pāp̄t̄*- beside *pāp̄ā*.

² A list of these is given by GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch 1722—23.

³ Cp. ZUBATÝ, zu den altindischen männlichen ī-stämmen, Sitzungsberichte d. Böhm. Ges. d. Wiss. 1897, XIX (treats also of the radical ī-stems used in the masc.).

⁴ Beside *pāp̄ā*-. The great majority of Indo-arische Philologie. I. 4.

adjectives and all participles ending in -a form their f. with -ā.

⁵ This is the converse of the accentuation in the B group of the radical -ī declension, where the m. in unaccented -a throws the acute on the final -ī of the f.

⁶ Similarly *varūt̄t̄*- 'protector', f. *varūt̄r̄-ī*.

⁷ Originally a present participle *ā-rundhat̄-ī 'not hindering'.

⁸ *āsikn̄t̄*- also occurs once as the N. of the river.

The forms actually occurring, if made from *devī* 'goddess', would be as follows:

Sing. N. *devī*. A. *devīm*. I. *devyā*. D. *devyāi*. Ab. *devyās*. G. *devyās*. L. *devyām*. V. *devi*.

Du. N. A. *devī*, V. *devi*. D. Ab. *devibhyām*. G. L. *devyās*.

Pl. N. *devīs*. A. *devīs*. I. *devibhis*. D. *devibhyas*. Ab. *devibhyas*. G. *devinām*. L. *devīsu*. V. *devīs*.

Forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. The m. forms are: *nāmī*, *pṛthī*, *mātali*, *rāṣṭrī*, *sābharī*. The f. forms are very common, being made from nearly 300 stems in the RV. Among the most frequent are: *pṛthivī* 'earth' (57), *devī* (48), *sārasvatī* (43) N. of a goddess, *mahī* 'great' (35), *ucchāntī* 'shining' (16), *yatī* 'going' (14), *jānitṛī* 'mother' (10), *bṛhatī* 'great' (10), *ghṛtācī* 'filled with ghee' (9), *maghānī* 'bountiful' (9), *strī*¹ 'woman' (3)².

A. m. *nāmīm*. — The f. is formed from over 100 stems in the RV. Among the commonest forms are: *pṛthivīm* (62), *mahīm*³ (35), *devīm* (18), *tāviṣṭm* (13), *urvīm* (9) 'wide', *pīpīlīṣṭm*⁴ (9) 'swelling'⁵.

I. This case is formed with the normal ending *-ā*. The only m. form is *nāmīyā*. But there are about 40 f. forms in the RV. In more than two-thirds of these the suffix is pronounced as a vowel⁶ *-iā* (in oxytones *-iā*), in the rest as a semivowel *-yā* (in oxytones *-yā*). The stem *sāmī* 'labour' has, beside *sāmīyā*, the contracted form *sāmī*, which also appears in the compound *su-sāmī* 'with great care'. At the end of a Pāda and before vowels⁷ this I. *sāmī* is shortened to *sāmī*⁸. The forms occurring are: I. *āpvyā* 'subtile', *āsvābhīdhānyā* (AV.) 'halter', *āsvāvatyā* 'furnished with horses', *āsiknyā*⁹ (AV.), *kunḍrñācyā* 'house lizard', *kumbhīyā* (TS. III. 2. 8⁴) 'jar', *gātū-mātyā* 'spacious', *gāyatrīyā* (TS. II. 2. 4⁸) a metre, *ghṛtācyā*, *citāntīyā* 'observing', *citāyantiyā* 'appearing', *jāgatīyā* (TS. II. 2. 1. 4⁸) a metre, *tmānyā* 'by oneself', *dāvidyutatyā* 'glittering', *devācyā* 'directed towards the gods', *dāivyā* (AV.) 'divine', *nāvyaśyā* 'new', *pātīnyā* 'wife', *mādhū-matyā* 'accompanied by sweetness', *rūhīnyā*, *vāśyā* 'good', *vājavatyā* 'rich in treasure', *vāśyā* (AV.) 'knife', *viśvā-bheśajīyā* (AV.) 'all-healing', *viśvācyā* 'universal', *viśvīyā* 'everywhere' (adv.), *śācyā* 'might', *śānyā*, *śarmayāntīyā* 'protecting', *śīnyā* 'work', *satrācyā* 'attentive', *samīcyā* (Kh. III. 10⁵) a goddess, *sārasvatīyā* (AV.), *sōma-vatyā* 'accompanied with Soma', *stūbhāntīyā* 'praising', *hātrīnyā* 'yellow', *hīranyāyā*¹⁰ 'golden'. — Oxytones with shift of accent: *annādyā* (AV.) 'proper food', *āsiknyā*, *devyā*, *purānyā* 'ancient', *pṛthivīyā*, *mahyā*, *samānyā* 'similar', *sādhāranyā*¹¹ 'common', *sūcyā* 'needle', *sautrāmanyā* (AV.) a kind of Indra sacrifice. The TS. and VS. also have *urvyā* as an adverb 'afar', which in the RV. appears only in the modified form *urvyā*.

D. The ending looks like *-ai*, e. g. *devy-dī*; but it is doubtless in origin the normal ending *-e* fused with the suffix *-yā*, i. e. *-yai* = *-yā-e*¹². Only 13 forms (all f.) occur in the RV. These are, besides a few others from the later

¹ Cp. WIEDEMANN, BB. 27, 211, footnote.

² In the AV. there are also the transition forms *ā-durmanīgālī*, *su-manīgālī*, *nadī*. In RV. I. 180⁵ *kṣonī* has perhaps dropped its *-s* owing to the following *-s*.

³ Perhaps to be read uncontracted as *māhīm* in X. 50⁵; *vānim* (II. 118) is also to be read as *vānīm*.

⁴ Perfect participle of *pī* 'swell'.

⁵ There is also the transition form *nādīm* (AV.).

⁶ The vocalic pronunciation seems to be the commoner in the AV. also; cp. LANMAN 381.

⁷ This also occurs in the compound *urvi-ūtiḥ* (VI. 24²), if *urvi* = the adv. instr. *urvyā*.

⁸ The compound *su-sāmī* also occurs once in the TS. VS. as well as the RV.

⁹ Probably an error for *āsiknyās*; see WHITNEY on AV. v. 138.

¹⁰ For *hīranyāyā*.

¹¹ Cp. LANMAN 368 (top).

¹² An indication of this origin is perhaps to be found in the fact that of the 13 stems in the RV. taking this dative only one, *-patnyai*, has the vocalic pronunciation *-iai*

Samhitās: 1. *arvācyai* (VS. XXII. 24) 'hitherward', *āvācyai* (VS. XXII. 24) 'downward', *āvyatyai* 'not desiring', *lyatyai* 'so great', *ūdīcyai* (VS. XXII. 24) 'northern', *jāgatyai* (VS. XXIV. 12), *jāryāi* (TS. III. 2. 2²) 'mistress', *jīryantyai* 'aging', *jyāvasyai* 'elder', *dhenumātyai* 'yielding milk', *parjānya-pātnyai*¹ 'having Parjanya for a husband', *paśumātyai* 'consisting of cattle', *prācīcyai* (VS. XXII. 24) 'western', *prācyai* (VS. XXII. 24) 'eastern', *yaśo-bhagīnyai* (VS. II. 20) 'rich in glory', *rātryai* (VS. XXIV. 25) 'night', *vājavatyai*, *viś-pātnyai*, *sahā-pātnyai*¹ (AV.) 'united with the husband'. — 2. Oxytones: *indrānyāi* (VS. XXXVIII. 3), *urvyāi* (VS. XXII. 27), *kalyānyāi*² (AV.) 'good', *gāyatyāi* (VS. XIII. 54), *devyāi*, *prthiviyāi*, *brhatyāi*, *mahyāi*, *rājāsandyāi* (VS. XIX. 16) 'Soma stand', *śintvālyāi*, *striyāi*³ (AV.), *hiraṇya-keśyāi*⁴ (AV.) 'gold-haired'.

Ab. The ending looks like -ās, e. g. *prthivy-ās*; but it is doubtless the normal ending -as fused with the suffix -yā, i. e. -yās = -yā-as⁵. Only five forms occur in the RV., besides a few others in the later Samhitās: *avadyāvatyās* (AV.) 'disgraceful', *urvāśyās* N. of a nymph, *jāgatyās* (VS. XIII. 56), *jīvantiyās*⁵ 'living', *dur-admanyās* (VS. II. 20) 'bad food', *pātantiyās* 'flying', *prthivyās*, *brhatyās* (AV.), *mahyās*⁶.

G. The ending is the same as in the Ab. and of similar origin. m. *tiraścyās*⁷, *prthyās*, *sūbharyās*. — f. The forms occurring in the RV.⁸ are: 1. *aṇṣu-mātyās*⁹ N. of a river, *aṇhu-bhēdyās* (VS. XXIII. 28) 'having a narrow slit', *uśināranyās* N. of a people, *ūrjāyantiyās* 'vigorous', *śradhyās* (VS. I. 25) 'plant', *tāvisyās*, *dānumatyās* 'rich in drops', *māṃs-pācanyās* 'flesh-cooking', *rātryās*, *vivāsvatyās* 'shining', *sāmyās*, *śśucatyās* 'shining', *sāsyantiyās* 'about to bear'. — 2. *urvyās* 'earth', *devyās*, *prthivyās*, *mahatyās* 'great', *yatyās*, *yātyās* 'going', *vadhrimatyās* N. of a woman, *striyās*¹⁰.

L. This case seems to be formed with the ending -ām, e. g. *devy-ām*; but it may be due to the fusion of a particle *-am¹¹ with the suffix -yā. It is formed from 15 stems in the RV., where the pronunciation -iām is considerably less than half as common¹² as -yām. Forms occurring are: 1. *āsiknyām*, *ucchāntiyām*, *ūdīcyām* (TS. II. 4. 14¹), *jāgatyām* (VS. XXXVIII. 18), *jahnūvyām* 'race of Jahnū', *drśādvyām* N. of a river, *nāryām* (Kh. IV. 13²) 'woman', *pāruṣyām* N. of a river, *prācyām* (TS. II. 4. 14¹), *yavyādvatyām* 'rich in streams', *rātryām*, *varaṇādvatyām* (AV.) N. of a river, *vasāvyām* 'treasury', *śūcyām*, *sārasvatyām* N. of a river, *soma-kṛdyanyām* (VS. VIII. 54) 'serving as the price of Soma'. — 2. *aranyānyām*, *āṣṭryām* 'fire-place', *āsandyām* (AV.) 'stool', *gavīnyām* (Kh. IV. 13³) 'groin', *gāyatyām* (VS. AV.), *catvāriṃśyām* 'fortieth', *jyēṣṭhaghnyām* (AV.) N. of an asterism, *devyām*, *narācyām* (AV.) N. of a river, *prthivyām*, *striyām* (AV.)¹³.

(and here the *i* is preceded by two consonants).

¹ To be pronounced -iai.

² This is an emendation for the reading *kalyānyāi* of the edition; cp. LANMAN 383².

³ With split *ī* as in the radical *ī*-stems.

⁴ There are also the transition forms *bhiyāi*, *śriyāi* (VS. XIX. 94), *hriyāi* (VS. XIV. 35) from the radical *ī*-declension, and from the *i*-declension *devā-hītyai*, *turyāi*, *nūrtyai*, *puṣṭyāi*, *bhujyāi*, *bhṛtyāi*, *śrūtyai*.

⁵ -yās is read -iās 4 times out of 25 in the RV.: *prthivīdās* 3 times and *jīvantiās* once, always for metrical reasons, cp. LANMAN 384 (top).

⁶ There are also the transition forms from the *i*-declension, *nābhīyās*, *bhūmyās*, *hetyās*; and from the AV. *ā-bhūtyās*, *ā-rātyās*, *ā-śastyās*,

dhūtyās, *kṛsyās*, *deva-hetyās*, *rātryās*, *śrīśaktyās*; probably also *yānyās* (VI. 121⁴), *Paḍa yānyā*.

⁷ Pronounced *tiraściās*. But cp. ROTH, ZDMG. 48, 115 (bottom).

⁸ This case is formed from more stems in the AV. than in the RV.; cp. LANMAN 355.

⁹ In about 15 per cent of the following genitives the ending is pronounced -iās.

¹⁰ There are also half a dozen transition forms from the *i*-declension in the RV.: *anumātyās*, *ārātyās*, *nūrtyās*, *pṛṣṇyās*, *bhūmyās* (once with crasis in *bhūmyopāri* X. 753), *yuvatyās*; there are many others in the AV.; as *jāmyās* (also Kh. v. 5¹⁹); see LANMAN 385².

¹¹ Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 265 (p. 619).

¹² It is much less common than this is in the AV.

¹³ There are also two transition forms

V. This case is formed, by shortening the final, from 38 stems (all f.) in the RV. Examples are: *devi* (23), *sarasvati* (16), *prthivi* (11), *maghoni* (9), *vibhāvāri* 'radiant' (8), *mahi* (6). From the TS.: *āmbālī* (VII.4.19¹) 'mother', *kāmpilavāsini* (VII.4.19¹; VS.) 'living in Kāmpila', *darvi* (1.8.4¹) 'ladle', *patni* (IV.4.12⁴), *māṇḍūki* (IV.6.1²; VS.) 'frog', *deva-yajani* (VS.) 'whereon gods are adored'.

Du. N. A. V. This form in the RV. ends in -ī exclusively, being made probably with the ending -ī (like the f. du. of the derivative -ā stems), which coalesces with the -ī of the stem¹. There is only one m. form, the V. *mādhvī* 'fond of sweetness', an epithet of the Aśvins. The f. is very frequent, being made from 76 stems in the RV. and from over 20 in the VS. The commonest forms in the RV. are: *rodasī* (87) 'the two worlds', *dyāvā-prthivī* (65) 'heaven and earth', *mahi* (27), *urvi* (20), *prthivī* (20), *devī* (13), *samīcī* (11) 'united', *brhatī* (10), *yahvī* (6) 'active', *akṣī* (6) 'eyes', *prthivī* (5). From the TS.: N. *chāndasvatī* 'desiring' and *sūrya-patnī* (IV.3.11⁴) 'having the sun as husband', V. *ūrvī*, *rodasī*, *patnī* (IV.7.15⁶).

a. The -ī is twice metrically shortened in *prthivī* (II.31⁵; III.54⁴) and in *mahi* (IV.56⁹; X.93¹).

b. In the AV. three stems of this declension form transition duals² according to the radical ī-declension: *akṣyāu*, *ārdyāu*, *phālgunyau*³; in other texts: *gavīnyāu* (TS. III.3.10⁴) 'the groins', *pātnyau* (VS. XXXI.22), *rēbhatyau* and *su-pārnyau* (Kh. I.37).

I. *akṣībhyām* (AV.), *kumbhībhyām* (VS. XIX.27), *jōṣtribhyām* (VS. XXI.51) 'cherishing', *mādhucībhyām* (VS.) 'sweetness-loving', *mādhvībhyām* (VS.).

D. *rodasībhyām*. — Ab. *akṣībhyām*, *dyāvāprthivībhyām* (VS. XXXVII.18).

G. *akṣyós*⁴ (AV.; TS. III.2.5⁵), *ārtniyos* (TS. IV.5.2³) 'ends of the bow', *ārtnyos* (VS. XVI.9), *dīvas-prthivyós*⁵, *nīnyós*⁶ 'secret', *pari-nṛtantyos* (AV.) 'dancing round', *rodasyós*⁷. — L. *akṣyós* (AV.), *arānyos*, *ārjunyos*, *dyāvāprthivyós* (VS. XX.10), *pātantyos*, *rodasyos*, *samīcyós*.

Pl. N. V. The ending seems to be simply -s, but it is doubtless the normal ending -as, which originally coalesced with the suffix -yā to -yās, the latter then contracting to -īs. In the m. the only example is *siris*. But the f. is very frequent, being formed from 166 stems in the RV., and occurring in the independent parts of the TS. at least 25 and of the VS. at least 40 times. The commonest forms are: *devīs* (43), *pūrvīs* (36) 'many', *śadhiṣ* (27), *vānīs* (12) 'songs', *pātīs* (11), *mahiṣ* (11), *bhātīs* (8) 'shining', *ya/hvīs* (7), *devayānīs* (6) 'serving the gods', *vāsvīs*⁸ (6). In the Khilas occur the 7 forms *a-lakṣmīs* (II.6⁶), *ānīs* (IV.8⁵), *devīs* (III.10²), *pāvamānīs* (III.10¹) N. of certain hymns, *bahvīs* (II.8⁴ etc.) 'many', *svastyāyanīs* (III.10¹), *hiraṇyadyīs* (V.15¹¹).

a. Transitions from this to the radical ī-declension are almost unknown to the RV.: *striyas* is the only certain example, and *prśanyās* and *suparanyās* are probably such; the tendency to use such transition forms is only incipient even in the AV.9, where *urvyās*¹⁰ (once) and *rudatyās* (once) occur¹¹. In the Khilas also, occur the three forms *ghṛtācyas*

from the radical ī-declension: *śriyām* (AV.) and *dūtyām*; five from the ī-declension: *pūramādhyaṁ*, *bhūmyām*, *bhṛtyām*, *yuvatyām*, *sāṁgatyaṁ*; besides at least 10 additional ones from the AV.: *āyām*, *ākūtyām*, *cūtyām*, *devā-hūtyām*, *nābhyaṁ* (+ VS. XXIV.1), *prśtyām*, *bhūtyām*, *yōnyām* (+ VS.), *vēdyām*, *sāmītyām*.

¹ Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 287 (p. 644).

² There are also the transition forms from the radical ī-declension *hṣonī* and once *nadī*.

³ This form in -yau becomes universal in the post-Vedic language.

⁴ The Mss. in AV. V. 4¹⁰ read *akṣós*; see WHITNEY's note.

⁵ With the first member of the Dvandva inflected in the sing. G.

⁶ Either the G. of *nīnī-* (m. *nīnyā-*) or shortened for *nīnyāyos*.

⁷ Once (VI.24³) used in the sense of an Ab.

⁸ *ēka-patnīs* (AV. X.83⁹) 'having one husband' is N. pl. f., not N. sing. m.

⁹ There seem to be no such transitions in the TS.; but there are at least 3 to the ī-declension: *śadhayas* (IV.1.4⁴), *revādayas* (IV.2.11⁴), *pātdayas* (V.2.11²).

¹⁰ Beside *urvīs* which occurs 9 times.

¹¹ And yet this form is the only one in the post-Vedic language.

(II.8⁴), *bakṛyās* (III. 112), *ṣāvamānyās* (III. 103). The VS. has about 10 such forms: *devyās* (XXXVII. 4) beside *devīs*, *pātnyās* (XXIII. 36) beside *pātnīs* (VI. 34), *phālavatyās* (XXII. 22), *bakṛyās* (XIX. 44) beside *bakṛīs*, *mahānāmyās* (XXIII. 35), *maitrāvaruṇyās* (XXIV. 2), *maitrīyās* (XXIV. 8), *vatsalīyās* (XXIV. 5), *V. vāmryās* (XXXVII. 4), *vaiśvadevyās* (XXIV. 5), *sīrasvatīyās* (XXIV. 4).

b. There are no transitions from the radical *i*-declension to this one in the RV., and in the AV. only *nadīs* (beside *nadyās*) and *lakṣmīs* (beside *lakṣmyās*). But the transitions from the *i*-declension are numerous: *aṅgūlīs* (AV.), *avānīs*, *ājānīs*, *ūtīs*, *ṛśīs* (AV.), *dhamānīs* (AV.), *nāktīs*, *nābhīs* (AV.), *nīrṛtīs*, *nīkṛtīs*, *pārṣṇīs* (AV.), *pīramdhīs*, *pṛṣṭīs* (AV.), *bhūmīs*, *vīśvā-kṛṣṭīs*, *śrēṇīs*¹, *sāyonīs*.

A. This case is identical in form with the N., and its origin is doubtless similar. It is very frequent, being made from more than 100 stems in the RV. The commonest forms are: *pūrvīs* (40), *ṣadadhīs* (24), *mahīs* (18), *brhatīs* (12), *dāsīs* (9) 'demonesses', *pātnīs* (7), *pṛṣatīs* (7)² 'dappled mares'.

I. This case is fairly frequent, being made from 32 stems in the RV. The commonest forms are: *śācībhis* (36), *tāviṣībhis* (13), *śāmībhis* (8), *ṣadadhībhis* (6), *pṛṣatībhis*³ (5). The TS. has also *śīmībhis* (v. 2. 12¹), *sūcībhis* (v. 2. 11¹⁻²); the VS. *aruṇībhis* (XII. 74), *jāgatībhis* (I. 21), *sthālībhis* (XIX. 27) 'cooking-pots'.

D. This case is rare, being formed from only three stems in the RV. and a few others in the later Samhitās: *avyādhinībhyas* (VS. XVI. 24) 'assailing bands', *ṣadadhībhyas*, *keśinībhyas* (AV.) 'hairy', *gandharvā-patnībhyas* (VS. AV.) 'having Gandharvas for spouses', *ghoṣinībhyas* (AV.) 'noisy', *tāviṣībhyas*⁴, *tiṣṭhantībhyas* (VS. XXII. 25) 'standing', *trṇhatībhyas* (VS. XVI. 24) 'piercing', *mānuṣībhyas* (TS. IV. 1. 4³; VS. XI. 45) 'human', *vṛṣaṇyāntībhyas* 'desiring a male', *śāsvatībhyas*⁵ (AV.) 'everlasting', *śrāvantībhyas* (VS. XXII. 25) 'flowing', *hrādīnībhyas* (VS. XXII. 26) 'hail'.

Ab. Only three forms of this case occur in the RV.: *ṣadadhībhyas*, *padvatībhyas*⁶ 'possessed of feet', *brhatībhyas*.

G. This case, which as is usual in the vowel declension takes the ending -nām, is found in only one m. form, *śbharīnām*; but it is fairly common in the f., being formed from 34 stems in the RV. The oxytones which number only six⁶, throw the accent (as in the *i*-declension) on the ending: *bahvīnām*, *bhañjatīnām* 'breaking', *bhātīnām*, *bhuñjatīnām* 'gladdening', *mahīnām*⁷, *yatīnām*. This rule does not, however, hold in the SV. and VS., which have *mahīnām* (VS. I. 70; IV. 3); nor in the AV. where the forms *nārāsaṃsīnām* 'eulogies' and *rāthajiteyīnām* 'chariot-conquering' occur. Of the remaining 28 genitives in the RV.⁸ the commonest are: *śāsvatīnām* (10), *ṣadadhīnām*⁹ (9), *mānuṣīnām* (8), *śācīnām* (4), *īyīṣīnām*¹⁰ (3) 'having departed'. From the VS.: *avyādhinīnām* (XVI. 21).

L. This case is fairly common, being formed from 30 stems (all f.) in the RV. The most frequent forms are: *ṣadadhīṣu* (20), *mānuṣīṣu* (8), *nānuṣīṣu* 'neighbouring', *jāgatīṣu* (2) 'females', *tāviṣīṣu* (2), *yahvīṣu* (2), *rōhiṇīṣu*¹¹ (2). The rest occur only once each¹². From Khila III. 15¹⁷: *ślādha-dantīṣu* 'white-toothed'.

¹ This form should perhaps be read as *śrēṇayas* in v. 597.

² Also the transitions from the radical *i*-declension *aruṇīs* and *yātudhānīs* (AV.).

³ The stems forming this case in the RV. are enumerated by LANMAN 396.

⁴ *nārī* 'woman', by shortening its final vowel, forms its D. according to the *i*-declension: *nārībhyas*.

⁵ Irregularly accented on the final of the stem, otherwise, *śāsvatī*.

⁶ Or 7 including *strī*: *strīnām*.

⁷ In the exceptions *mahīnām* (X. 134¹), *yatīnām* (I. 158²), *devayatinām* (I. 36¹), see LANMAN 398 (bottom).

⁸ The G. *nāvyasīnām* is once used in agreement with the m. *marūtām*.

⁹ *kanīnām*, with contracted -yā-, is the only G. pl. of *kanyā* in the RV.; *kanyānām* occurs once in the AV.; see LANMAN 399 (top).

¹⁰ Perfect participle of *i* 'go'.

¹¹ There is also the transfer form from the *i*-declension *svāhākṛīṣu*, in which the long vowel is perhaps metrical. On the other hand *strīṣu* (accent) is a transfer to the radical *i*-declension.

¹² LANMAN enumerates the stems, 399 (bottom).

4. a. Radical stems in *-i*.

379. No nominal *i*-stems are derived from roots originally ending in *-i*, as these (some six or seven) have all joined the consonant declension by adding a determinative *-t*¹. There are, however, about a dozen stems in which *i* is probably radical in a secondary sense, as representing a reduced form of roots ending in *-ā*². These are with one or two exceptions m. compounds formed with *-dhi* = *dhā* 'put': *api-dhi* 'covering', *ā-dhi* 'pledge', *utsa-dhi* 'receptacle of a spring', *uda-dhi* 'receptacle of water', *upa-dhi* 'part of the wheel between nave and felly', *garbha-dhi* 'nest', *ni-dhi* 'treasury', *pari-dhi* 'fence', *prati-dhi* 'cross-piece of car-pole', *pra-dhi* 'felly', *seva-dhi* 'treasure', *sā-dhi* 'abode'; perhaps also *śa-dhi* f. as a shortened form of *śa-dhi* 'plant'. Besides these there is *prati-śhī* f. 'resistance', from *sthā* 'stand', and probably the reduplicated stem *yayī* 'speeding', in which the *-i* is secondarily reduced through the older form *yayī* from the *-ā* of the root *yā* 'go'. These few stems have nothing distinctive in their inflexion, which follows that of the derivative *i*-stems in every particular.

The forms which occur from these words are the following:

Sing. N. *ā-dhi-s*, *śa-dhi-s*, *nidhi-s*, *pari-dhi-s*, *prati-śhī-s*, *yayī-s*, *sā-dhi-s*. — A. *utsa-dhi-m*, *uda-dhi-m*, *śa-dhi-m*, *garbha-dhi-m*, *ni-dhi-m*, *pari-dhi-m*, *pra-dhi-m*, *yayī-m*, *seva-dhi-m*. — I. *yayinā*. — Ab. *uda-dhīs*. — Du. N. *upa-dhī*, *pra-dhī*. — Pl. N. *śa-dhāyas*, *ni-dhāyas*, *pari-dhāyas*, *prati-dhāyas*, *pra-dhāyas*. — A. *api dhīn*, *uda-dhīn*, *ni-dhīn*, *pari-dhīn*, *pra-dhīn*. — I. *nidhibhis*. — G. *ni-dhīnām*. — L. *ni-dhīsu*.

4. b. Derivative stems in *-i*.

LANMAN, Noun Inflection 365—400. — WHITNEY, Grammar 335—340, 343. — Cp. REICHELT, Die abgeleiteten *i*- und *u*-stämme, BB. 25, 238—252.

380. This declension embraces a large number of m. and f. stems. There are comparatively few neuter stems; and, except the N. A. sing. and pl., neuter forms are rare, not occurring at all in several cases. The regular inflexion is practically the same in all genders, except that the N. A. sing. and pl. n. differ from the m. and f., and the A. pl. m. and f. differ from each other. There are several peculiarities here as regards the formation of the stem, the endings, and accentuation. The final vowel of the stems shows Guṇa in three of the weak cases of the singular (D. Ab. G.) as well as in the V. sing. and the N. pl. m. f., while it is abnormally strengthened in the L. sing. The normal ending *-as* of the Ab. G. sing. is reduced to *-s*, while that of the L. sing. is lost. Oxytone stems, when the vowel is changed to *y*, throw the accent on a following vowel not as Svarita but as Udātta; and even on the *-nām* of the G. pl., though the stem vowel in that case does not lose its syllabic value.

a. The only word which distinguishes strong forms is *sākhi* 'friend', which takes Vrddhi in its strong stem *sākhāy*. These strong forms are frequent: Sing. N. *sākhā*³, A. *sākhāyam*. Du. N. A. *sākhāyā*⁴ and *sākhāyau*. Pl. N. *sākhāyas*. This word has two further irregularities, the simple stem *sākhi* adding *-e* in the D. *sākhī-e*, and the abnormal ending *-ur* in the Ab. G. *sākhī-ur*. The other forms occurring are regular: Sing. I. *sākhya*, V. *sākhe*. Pl. A. *sākhīn*, I. *sākhībhis*, D. Ab. *sākhībhas*, G. *sākhīnām*. Eight compounds in the RV.⁵ are inflected in the same way (also *sōma-sākhā*, VS. iv. 20); but of four others, which have joined the *a*-declension, there occur the forms A. *drāvayāt-sākha-m* (x. 39¹⁰), N. *yāvayāt-sākhā-s* (x. 26⁵), A. *patayāt-sākha-m* and *mandayāt-sākha-m* (i. 4¹).

¹ See above, stems in derivative *-t* (307).

² Cp. LINDNER 56 and LANMAN 453.

³ See J. Schmidt, KZ. 29, 526, note 1.

⁴ *sākhāyā* occurs 6 times (also VS. xxviii. 7), *sākhāyau* only once.

⁵ See LANMAN 400³.

b. 1. The stem *pātu-*, when it means 'husband' and is uncompounded, shows irregular inflexion in the Sing. D. and G. (like *sākhī-*) and the L.: D. *pātye*, G. *pātyur* 1, L. *pātyau*. When it means 'lord' 2 or is compounded, it is regular: D. *pātye*, *īśha-pātye*, G. *pātes*, *prajā-pātes* (TS.), L. *gō-patau*. — 2. The stem *jāni-* 'wife' also takes the abnormal ending *-ur* in the G. sing.: *jānyur* 1. This stem has the further irregularity of forming its N. sing. *jāni* according to the derivative *ī-* declension. — 3. The stem *arī-* 'devout' is irregular in forming several cases like the radical *ī-* stems (except in accentuation): Sing. A. *aryām* (beside *arim*), G. *aryās* 3. Pl. N. A. m. f. *aryās*. The VS. has also the N. sing. *arīs* beside the *aris* of the RV.

c. Twenty-seven stems in the RV. show forms according to the derivative *ī-* declension in the D. Ab. G. L. sing. f. 4, perhaps from a desire to add a distinctively f. ending in a declension which does not distinguish genders in these cases. There is a steady increase of such forms in the later Samhitās; thus while the RV. has only 7 datives in *-ai* from *ī-* stems, the VS. has about 40.

d. In the RV. 4 or 5 stems show the influence of the *n-* declension in the incipient use of the ending *-nī* in the N. A. n. du., and (*ī*)-*nī* in N. A. n. pl.; and in the I. sing., stems taking the ending *-nā* are already 5 times as numerous as those adding the normal *-ā*.

Inflection.

381. The N. sing. m. f. always takes *-s* 5, the A. simply *-m*. The D. Ab. G. V. gunate the suffix, to which the Ab. G. add only *-s* instead of *-as*. The L. sing. has an altogether abnormal form ending in *-ā* or *-au*. The N. pl. m. f. gunates the *-i*, to which the normal ending *-as* is added. The A. pl. in the m. adds *-n*, in the f. *-s*, before which the vowel is lengthened. The G. pl. always takes *-nām*, lengthening the preceding vowel. The frequent adjective *śūci-* 'bright' may be used to illustrate the forms actually occurring in the three genders:

Sing. N. m. f. *śūcis*, n. *śūci*. A. m. f. *śūcim*, n. *śūci*. I. m. *śūcyā*, *śūcinā*, f. *śūcyā*, *śūci*, *śūci*. D. m. f. n. *śūcaye*. Ab. m. f. *śūces*. G. m. f. n. *śūces*. L. m. f. n. *śūcā*, *śūcau*. V. m. f. *śūce*.

Du. N. A. V. m. f. n. *śūci*. I. m. f. n. *śūcibhyām*. D. m. *śūcibhyām*. Ab. m. f. *śūcibhyām*. G. m. f. *śūcyos*. L. m. f. n. *śūcyos*.

Pl. N. m. f. *śūcayas*. N. A. n. *śūci*, *śūci*, *śūcinī*. A. m. *śūcin*, f. *śūcis*. I. m. f. *śūcibhis*. D. m. f. *śūcibhyas*. Ab. m. f. n. *śūcibhyas*. G. m. f. *śūcinām*. L. m. f. n. *śūciṣu*.

Forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. m. This form is very frequent, being made from nearly 250 stems in the RV. The commonest examples are: *agnīs* (389) 'fire', *kavis* (90) 'sage', *hāris* (58) 'tawny', *bṛhas-pātis* (52) 'Lord of Prayer', *śūcis* (38) 'bright', *īśis* (32) 'seer', *brāhmaṇas-pātis* (23) 'Lord of Prayer', *atithis* (20) 'guest' 6.

a. The stem *vi-* 'bird', besides the regular N. *vi-s*, which occurs 6 times, has the anomalously gunated form *vē-s* 1, which occurs 5 times in the RV.

b. The pronominal forms *nā-ki-s* (50) and *mā-ki-s* (13) 'no one' are old nominatives which have become indeclinable.

N. f. This form is frequent, being made from 136 stems in the RV. The commonest examples are: *ādītis* (78) 'freedom', *su-matīs* (22) 'benevolence', *rātīs* (22) 'gift', *nābhīs* (19) 'navel', *matīs* (18) 'thought', *yuvātīs* (18) 'maiden', *bhūmīs* (12) 'earth', *prā-matīs* (11) 'providence' 8.

1 This ending is probably due to the analogy of the words of relationship, *pītur* etc.; cp. KZ. 25, 289 and 242 f.

2 The VS., however, has *pātye viśvasya bhūmanas* 'lord of the whole world'.

3 Cp. BB. 25, 242; OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 54, 49—78.

4 Cp. REICHEL, BB. 25, 234—238, and J. SCHMIDT, KZ. 27, 382.

5 Except the irregular m. *sākhā* and the f. *jānī* (*jānis* in AV. xx.48² is an emendation).

6 There is also the transition form from the radical *ī-* declension *vēṣa-śrī-s* 'beautifully adorned' (TS.).

7 Cp. REICHEL, BB. 25, 250.

8 Also the transition forms from the *ī-* declension *aranyānis*, *śśadhis*, *napītīs* (AV.), *rātīs* (AV., VS. xxxvii. 21).

N. A. n. This form has no ending¹. It is made from 37 stems in the RV. The commonest examples are: *māhi* (84) 'great', *bhūri* (47) 'much', *su-astī* (35) 'welfare', *hārdi* (9) 'heart'². From other Samhitās: *an-abhiśasti* (VS.v.5) 'blameless', *a-menī* (VS.xxxviii.14) 'not casting', *āsthi* (AV.VS.) 'bone', *a-sthūri* (VS. II. 27) 'not single-horsed', *ātma-sāni* (VS. xix. 48) 'life-winning', *eka-nemi* (AV.) 'having one felly', *krīvi* (VS.x.20) 'active' (?), *kṣatra-vāni* (VS.I.17) 'devoted to warriors', *gāyatrī-vartani* (TS.III.1.10¹; VS.xi.8) 'moving in Gāyatrī measures', *dādhi* (AV., VS., Kh.III.16²) 'sour milk', *paśu-sāni* (VS. xix. 48) 'cattle-winning', *pīśni* (AV.) 'dappled', *brahma-vāni* (VS.I.17) 'devoted to Brahmans', *loka-sāni* (VS. xix. 48) 'causing space', *vādhri* (AV.) 'emasculated', *vāri*³ (VS. XXI. 61) 'choiceworthy', *sajāta-vāni* (VS. I. 17) 'conciliating relations'.

A. m. This form is very frequent, being made from 205 stems in the RV. and occurring more than 1200 times. The commonest examples are: *agnīm* (269), *rayīm* (180) 'wealth', *yōnim* (61) 'receptacle', *pātim* (49) 'lord' or 'husband', *dhīm* (40) 'serpent', *ādrim* (30) 'rock', *kavīm* (28), *ātithīm* (25), *bṛhaspātim* (25), *hārim* (24), *ūrmīm* (23) 'wave', *pūraṇdhim* (8) 'bountiful', *jayīm* (2) 'speeding cloud', *arīm*⁴ (2) 'devout'⁵.

f. This is a frequent form, being made from 156 stems in the RV. and occurring more than 600 times. It is thus about half as common as the m. The examples occurring oftenest are: *su-matīm* (41), *su-śrutīm* (35) 'excellent praise', *vr̥ṣṭīm* (26) 'rain', *matīm* (22), *rātīm* (20), *bhūmim* (19), *pūraṇdhim* (5), *rayīm* (4)⁶.

I. m. This case is formed in two ways. 1. Five stems in the RV. add the normal ending *-ā*, before which the *-i* is generally pronounced as *y*, but half a dozen times as a vowel: *pātyā* 'husband', *sākhyā*, *ūrmyā*⁷, *payyā* 'felly', *rayyā*⁸. — 2. Owing to the influence of the *n*-declension 25 stems in the RV. add *-nā* instead of the normal *-ā*: *agninā*, *ānghrinā* (VS. II. 8) 'foot', *ādrinā*, *asinā* 'sword', *āhinā*, *ūrmīnā*, *kavīnā*, *kāśīnā* 'fist', *kiki-dāvinā* 'blue jay', *jamādagninā* N. of a seer, *devāpinā* N. of a man, *dhāsīnā* 'draught', *paṇīnā* 'niggard', *pātīnā* 'lord', *pāpīnā* 'delivering', *paridhīnā* (VS.xviii.63; TS.v.7.7²) 'fence', *pūṇīnā* (VS.I.16) 'hand', *pīśnīnā* (Kh.III.15⁷), *bṛhas-pātīnā*, *maṇīnā* 'gem', *yayīnā*, *rayīnā*, *raśmīnā* 'rein', *vādhrinā*, *vavrinā* 'vesture', *vastīnā* (VS.xxiv.7) 'bladder', *vṛṣa-nābhīnā* 'having strong naves', *vr̥ṣṇīnā* 'strong', *śīcinā*, *sāsīnā* 'bountiful'.

f. This case is formed in two ways. 1. About 30 stems in the RV. add the normal ending *-ā*, before which the *-i* is pronounced as a vowel in about three-fourths of the occurrences of this form, and as *y* in the rest⁹. The forms occurring are (a) oxytones: *asītyā* 'eighty', *ūtyā* 'aid', *kīrtiyā*¹⁰ (AV.) 'fame', *pañkītyā* (VS. xxiii. 33) a metre, *pītyā* 'draught', *pustyā* (AV. TS.) 'prosperity', *matyā*, *mithatyā* 'emulation', *vasatyā* 'abode', *vr̥ṣītyā*, *sanyā* (VS. v. 7; TS. IV. 2. 1²) 'gain', *su-kīrtiyā* 'praise', *su-matyā*, *su-śtutyā*, *svastyā* (VS.

¹ The only *i*-stem taking *-m* is the nominal *kī-m*, probably owing to the false analogy of *kā-m*.

² LANMAN 377 enumerates the forms.

³ The Pada text reads *vāri*. According to BR. *vāry ā* here stands for *vāryam ā*.

⁴ Also *aryām* formed like a radical *ī*-stem (though differently accented).

⁵ There are also the transitions from the *ī*-declension *pīthim* and *sōbhārim*.

⁶ Also the transfers from the *ī*-declension *aranyānim*, *onīm*, *śādhīm*, *rātrīm* (AV.), *mīhūīm* (SV.).

⁷ Pronounced *ūrmiā*, sometimes also *pātīā*, *sākhiā*.

⁸ *ghṛṇīva* (II. 33⁶) possibly stands for *ghṛṇī-iva* (Pada *-i-iva*), *ghṛṇī* then possibly being a contracted *I* for *ghṛṇīyā*; cp. LANMAN 379 (middle).

⁹ On the other hand *-yā* is pronounced 5 times as often as *-īā* in the AV.; see LANMAN 380.

¹⁰ All the Mss. but one read *kīrtiyā* or *kīrtiyā*; see WHITNEY's note on x. 6²⁷.

VIII. 15; TS. I. 4. 44¹); (b) otherwise accented: *abhi-śastyā* (AV.) 'curse', *āratyā* (AV.) 'malignity', *āvartyā* 'distress', *asānyā* 'thunderbolt', *ākūtyā* 'purpose', *ābhūtyā* 'ability', *īstyā* 'sacrifice', *jālpīyā* 'whispering', *īṣṭyā* (AV.) 'satisfaction', *tvīsyā* 'brilliance', *devā-hūtyā* 'invocation of the gods', *dhrājyā* 'impulse'; *nābhīyā* (VS. xxv. 9), *pārṣṇīyā* 'heel', *pūramadhīyā*, *pūṣṭyā* (TS. III. 1. 5¹), *prāmatyā*, *bhūtyā* (AV.) 'growth', *bhūmyā*, *rāṇhyā* 'speed', *riṣyā* 'direction', *rūcyā* (AV.) 'lustre', *vīcyā* 'seduction', *śāktīyā* (VS. XI. 2; TS. IV. 1. 5³) 'power', *śū-bhūtyā* (AV.) 'welfare', *śīṇyā* 'sickle', *svādhītyā* (AV.) 'knife', *hārṣyā* 'excitement'.

2. A contracted form in *-ī*¹ is made by 35 stems in the RV. and occurs more than twice as often as the uncontracted *-yā*. The forms occurring are: *d-citti* 'thoughtlessness', *d-prabhūti* 'little effort', *a-vyathī* 'sure-footedness', *āhuti* 'oblation', *ūti*, *rju-nūti* 'right guidance', *citti* 'understanding', *jūṣṭi* 'favour', *dīdhiti* 'devotion', *du-ṣṭuti* and *dī-ṣṭuti* 'faulty hymn', *dhūti*² 'thought', *nī-ṣiti* 'kindling', *pāri-viṣṭi* 'attendance', *puri-jiti* 'previous acquisition', *prā-nūti* 'guidance', *prā-bhūti* 'violence', *prā-yati* 'offering', *prā-yuti* 'absence', *matī*, *varantī* 'felly', *viṣṭi* 'effort', *vīti* 'enjoyment', *vrṣṭi*, *śakti* and *śākti*, *śruṣṭi*³ 'willingness', *sā-dhūti* 'joint invocation', *su-dīti* 'bright radiance', *śū-nūti* 'good guidance', *su-matī*, *śū-mīti* 'being well fixed', *su-śasti* (Kh. II. 10²) 'good recitation', *su-ṣṭuti*, *hāsta-cyuti* 'quick motion of the hand'. Also *su-paptanī* (I. 182⁵)⁴ 'with swift flight' (in Pada with *-ī*); perhaps also the two forms *hetī* (VI. 18¹⁰) 'missile' and *-iṣṭi* (I. 180⁴) 'desire', which occurring before *r-* are given by the Pada as *hetīḥ*⁵ and *-iṣṭiḥ*.

a. This form is further shortened to *-ī* in about a dozen words⁶ in the RV., occurring altogether some 25 times: *iṣāni* 'setting in motion', *ūpa-śruti* 'giving ear to', *upābhṛti* 'bringing near', *tri-viṣṭi* 'thrice' (= adv.), *nī-tikṭi* 'haste', *prā-yukti* 'impulse', *vāṣaṭ-kyti* 'exclamation vaṣaṭ', *sadhā-stuti* 'joint praise', *su-vrṭti* 'excellent praise', *su-śasti* 'good praise', *sv-astī*, *haviṣ-krṭi* 'preparation of the oblation'. Perhaps also *d-smṛti* (AV. VII. 106¹) 'through forgetfulness'.

b. A few forms follow the analogy of the m. in adding *-nā*: *dhāsīnā* 'abode', *nābhīnā*, *prētīnā* (VS. xv. 6) 'advance'.

n. There is no certain instance of a neuter I.: *śūcinā* (II. 38⁸) is perhaps an example, but it may be taken as a masculine.

D. m. The stem regularly takes Guṇa before adding the normal ending *-e*; e. g. *īṣay-e*. This is a form of frequent occurrence, being made from 44 stems in the RV. The commonest examples are: *agnāye* (48), *ātraye* (12) N. of a seer, *sanāye* (12), *ghīṣvaye* (6) 'gladdening', *dabhīyaye* (5) N. of a man⁷. From the VS.: *brāhmāye* 'holy', *bhuvantāye* (xvi. 19) 'earth-extender'(?), *vrṣṭi-vānaye* (xxxviii. 6) 'rain-winning', *sandhāye* (xxx. 9) 'agreement'.

a. The only two stems not taking Guṇa are *pāti-* 'husband' and *sākhi-*, which make *pātye* and *sākhye*⁸. When compounded *pāti-* 'lord' forms its D. regularly as *-pataye*; e. g. *bṛhas-pataye*⁹, *prajā-pataye* (VS. xi. 66) 'Lord of Creatures', *amḥasas-pataye*

¹ This form is, except in two instances, written with *y* before *ā*, but is to be read with hiatus; it coalesces in the written text with *i* or *ī*, but is not always to be so pronounced.

² This is the only contracted form occurring in the independent parts of the AV.

³ The form *sadhī* (II. 132) is probably an adverb 'to the same goal' from *sādhri-* (LINDNER p. 112), or it might be an inst. f. of *sadhri-* (LANMAN 380³).

⁴ See RFR. VII. 15.

⁵ Cp. LANMAN 380⁴.

⁶ These occur eight times at the end of a line or stanza, four times at the end of an internal Pada before vowels, two or three times within a Pada before vowels.

⁷ The stems which form this dative are enumerated by LANMAN 382.

⁸ These words are never pronounced as *pātie* and *sākhiē*.

⁹ This is the only compound in the RV. formed with the D. of *pāti-*.

(VS. vii. 30) 'Lord of distress', *bhūvana-pātaye* (VS. ii. 2) 'Lord of the world', *bhūva-pātaye* (VS. ii. 6) 'Lord of the atmosphere', *vācās-pātaye* (VS. vii. 1) 'Lord of speech', *saṃvēśā-pātaye* (VS. ii. 20) 'Lord of rest'; also in the expressions *kṣétrasya pātaye* (AV.) 'Lord of the Field' and *(bhūtāśya) pātaye* (AV.) 'Lord of the world', which are virtually compounds¹; similarly *dīśām pātaye* (VS. xvi. 17)²; but *pātaye*³ *vīśvasya bhūmanas* (VS. xvii. 78) 'Lord of all the earth'.

f. This form is made like the m.; e.g. *iṣṭāye*. It is very frequent, being formed from 50 stems and occurring over 500 times in the RV. The commonest examples are: *ūtāye* (88), *pītāye* (67), *sōma-pītāye* (49) 'draught of Soma', *vāja-sūtāye* (34) 'winning of booty', *sātāye* (34) 'acquisition', *vītāye* (31), *devā-vītāye* (22) 'feast for the gods', *iṣṭāye* (20) 'impulse'⁴.

a. The form *ūtī* is frequently used as a dative, similarly *ān-ūtī* 'no help' once and *vītī* twice. *svasti* occasionally has this value at the end of a Pāda and when it alternates with *svastāye* in v. 51¹², 13, but it may be intended for an adverb⁵.

b. In the RV. seven stems in -i (all but 2 of which occur in Maṇḍala x), follow the analogy of derivative *-i* stems and take the ending -ai: *turyāi* 'victory', *devā-hitāyāi* 'invocation of the gods', *nirṛtyāi* 'dissolution', *puṣṭyāi*, *bhuṣṭyāi* 'favour', *bhṛtyāi* 'support', *śrūtyāi* 'blessing'. The AV. forms such datives from at least 11 stems; the TS. has *ā-samartyāi* (iii. 3. 8²) 'non-injury', *dūr-iṣṭyāi* (iii. 2. 83) 'failure in sacrifice', *śāhṭyāi* (iv. 1. 11); the VS. has nearly 40: *ā-kṣityāi* (vi. 28) 'imperishableness', *ādityāi* (i. 30) 'Aditi', *ānu-matyāi* (xxiv. 32) 'assent', *ā-bhṭyāi* (xi. 64) 'not bursting', *abhi-bhṭyāi* (ii. 5), *ā-bhṭyāi* (xxx. 17) 'wretchedness', *ā-rāddhyāi* (xxx. 9) 'mischance', *ā-riṣṭyāi* (ii. 3) 'safety', *āva-ṛtyāi* (xxx. 12) 'distress', *ā-hantya* (xvi. 18) 'non-killing', *ākṭyāi* (iv. 7), *ārtya* (xxx. 9. 17) 'trouble', *ūtkrāntya* (xv. 9) 'upstriding', *ētyāi* (xxvii. 45) 'arrival', *kṛṣṭyāi* (ix. 22) 'tillage', *dūr-iṣṭyāi* (ii. 20), *dhrājya* (vi. 18), *nābhya* (xxxix. 2), *niskṛtyāi* (xxx. 9) 'atonement', *paṅkṭyāi* (xiii. 58), *prāti-śhityāi* (xv. 10) 'firm footing', *prā-sityāi*⁶ (i. 20) 'attack', *prāyaś-cityāi* (xxxix. 12) 'expiation', *prētyāi* (xxvii. 45), *bhūtyāi* (xii. 65), *bhūmya* (xxiv. 26), *matyāi* (xxiv. 39), *malyāi* (xxii. 20), *rayyāi* (ix. 22), *vivṛkyāi* (xxx. 13) 'separation', *vṛṣṭyāi* (xviii. 28), *vēdyāi* (xix. 16) 'altar', *vynṣṭyāi* (xxii. 34) 'dawn', *vṛddhyāi* (xxx. 17) 'failure', *śāntya* (iii. 43) 'quiet', *su-kṣityāi* (xxxvii. 10) 'secure dwelling', *hetyāi* (xvi. 18) 'missile'.

n. The only form which seems to occur is *śūcaye*.

Ab. m. The stem takes Guṇa, to which -s only, instead of -as, is added; e. g. *ādes*. It is not common, being formed from only 8 or 9 stems in the RV.: *agnēs* (TS. iv. 2. 10⁴; Kh. iv. 6³), *āhes*, *udādhes* 'water-receptacle', *girīs* 'mountain', *ghṛṇes* 'heat', *tiraści-rājes* (AV.) 'striped across', *parṇa-dhes* (AV.) 'feather-holder', *prajāpates* (TS. iv. 1. 11⁴), *plūsēs* (AV.) 'intestine', *yōnes*, *vṛṣā-kapes* 'man-ape', *sātā-m-ūtes*⁷ 'granting a hundred aids', *sām-ṛtes* 'conflict'.

f. This form is made in the same way as in the m. from 11 stems in the RV.: *ādites*, *āpites* 'entering (iti-) into (api)', *abhi-bhṭes*, *abhi-hrutes* 'injury', *āmātes* 'indigence', *ārātes*, *āhutes* (AV.), *dhāsēs* 'abode', *dhūrīs* 'injury', *nṛtes*⁸ (AV.), *pāri-sūtes* 'oppression', *bhūmes* (AV.), *vasatēs*, *srutēs* 'course'.

a. The RV. has three forms according to the derivative *-i* declension: *nābhyaś* (x. 90¹⁴), *bhūmyāś* (i. 80⁴), *hetyāś* (x. 87¹⁹). Besides these the AV. has: *ā-bhūtyāś*, *ā-rātyāś*, *ā-bhṭyāś* 'imprecation', *āhutyāś*, *kṛṣyāś*, *deva-hetyāś* 'divine weapon', *śiṣṭyāś* 'headache'; probably also *yōnyāś* in *yōnyeva* (vi. 121⁴) for *yōnyā iva*.

G. m. The regular form of this case is identical with that of the Ab., but is much more frequent, being made from 42 stems in the RV. The commonest examples are: *agnēs* (55), *vēs* (14), *ādes* (10), *pañēs* (8), *bṛhas-pātes* (6), *sūrēs* (5) 'patron', *ātes* (4), *kavēs* (4), *dhāsēs* (4) 'draught', *bhūres* (4); *pātes* 'lord'

¹ Equivalent to *kṣetra-pāti-* (K.) and *bhūta-pāti-* (AV.).

² And a number of other epithets in VS. xvi. 17—23.

³ *pātaye* otherwise means 'husband'.

⁴ LANMAN 382 enumerates the stems which take this dative.

⁵ Cp. LANMAN 383 (top).

⁶ Used in the sense of the ablative with *pāhi* 'protect from'.

⁷ Cp. RICHTER, IF. 9, 5.

⁸ This form *nṛtes* is probably an error for *dṛtes* 'skin'; see WHITNEY's note on AV. vi. 18³.

occurs once. Elsewhere are found: *jamdd-agnes* (VS. III. 62; Kh. v. 3⁶), *prajāpates* (TS. III. I. 4¹; Kh. III. 15¹³), *yayā's*² (Kh. I. 10²).

a. The two stems *ari-* and *āvi-* 'sheep' do not take Guṇa, and add the normal ending *-as*: *aryās*² which occurs nearly 40 times, and *āvyas* which occurs nearly 20 times. The stem *pāti-*, when meaning 'husband', and *sikhi-* do not take Guṇa either, but add the anomalous ending *-ur*: *pātyur*, *sākhyyur*³.

f. This case, identical in form with the m., is made from 11 stems in the RV.: *ādites*, *abhi-sastes*, *āmates*, *iṣṭés*, *kṛṣṭés* 'tillage', *devā-vītes*, *nīrītes*, *puṣṭés*, *pīśnes*, *vṛṣṭés*, *vratātes* 'creeper'. This form is also made by at least 8 stems in the AV.

a. Six stems in the RV. form genitives according to the derivative *-i* declension, occurring 17 times altogether: *ānu-matyās*, *ārātyās*, *nīrītyās*, *pīśnyās*, *bhūmyās*, *yuvatyās*. In the AV. such forms are made from at least 16 stems and occur over 50 times: *jāmyās* 'albin' etc. One of these, *ādityās*, occurs also in the TS. (I. 6. 51) and VS. (I. 11).

n. The only example is *bhūres*, which occurs 16 times.

L. This case in all genders ends very anomalously in *-ā* or *-au*. The latter ending occurs more than twice as often as the former in the RV. (272 times to 126), while in the N. A. dual *-ā* is nearly 7 times as frequent as *-au* (1145 times to 171)⁴. The general conditions under which the parallel L. forms *-ā* and *-au* occur⁵ are the same as apply to the dual *-ā* and *-au*: *-ā* appears before consonants, *-au* (as *-āv*) before vowels, e. g. *vīr yonā vasatīv iva* (IX. 62¹⁵) 'a bird in the receptacle as in a nest'. But while the dual *-ā* is the regular form at the end of a Pāda, the L. *-au* is almost exclusively found in that position⁶. As in the dual N. A. and the perfect sing. 1 and 3, the *-ā*-form is doubtless the earlier. It is most probably derived from a locative form with Guṇa (like the D. Ab. G. V. sing.), e. g. **agnāy-i*, which dropped the ending (like some other locatives), **agnīy* then losing its *y*⁷ before consonants and lengthening its *-a*: *agnā*. The later form *agnāu* must have been due to the influence of the *u*-stems, the inflexion of which is closely parallel to that of the *i*-stems, through the Sandhi form *-ā* which is common to both⁸.

m. r. The *-ā* form is made from 7 stems and occurs 40 times in the RV.: *agnā*, *ājā* 'contest', *ūrmā*, *kukṣā* 'belly', *ghṇā*, *yonā*, *su-rabhā*⁹ 'fragrant'. The AV. TS. VS. have no *-ā* form in independent passages, but Kh. III. 15¹⁹ has *agnā*.

2. The form in *-au* is taken by 27 stems in the RV.: *agnāu*, *ādrau*, *aratāu*¹⁰ 'manager', *aratnāu* 'elbow', *ājāu*, *āṇāu* 'pin of the axle', *ūrmāu*, *gābhastāu* 'hand', *girāu*, *gō-patāu* 'lord', *jīrāu*¹¹ 'stream', *trkṣāu* N. of a prince, *dhvasānāu* 'sprinkler', *nāmucāu* N. of a demon, *nīpātithāu* N. of a man, *paṇāu*, *pṛt-sutāu* 'hostile attack', *mādhyañithāu* N. of a seer, *yajñā-patāu* 'lord of sacrifice', *yonāu*, *rāthavītāu* N. of a man, *vānas-pātāu*¹² 'lord of

¹ Emendation for *yayāis*.

² Once or twice to be pronounced *ariās*.

³ Cp. WACKERNAGEL, KZ. 25, 289 f.

⁴ Cp. LANMAN 514.

⁵ See LANMAN 385 ff.; and cp. for the dual 340 ff. and 574—576.

⁶ The L. *-ā* appears only 5 times at the end of a Pāda, and then only in the two forms *devātātā* and *sāvatātā*.

⁷ Cp. the N. *sākhā* for **sākhāy*. The old L. may be preserved in feminines like *agnāy-i* 'she who is beside Agni'; cp. IF. 12, 3.

⁸ Cp. MERINGER, BB. 16, 224.

⁹ LANMAN 388², suggests the possibility of restoring *ājāyī* in I. 112¹⁰ and *yonayī* in x. 46⁶. The n. L. *a-pratā* is used adverbially = 'without recompense' (VIII. 32¹⁶); cp. BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 9, 255 f.

¹⁰ BR. would read *aratnāu*.

¹¹ *jīrī-* may be f. as there is nothing to show the gender of the word.

¹² The form *vānas-pātāu* occurs in Kh. II. 10⁵ also.

the forest', *śalmālāu* 'silk-cotton tree', *sānītau* 'attainment', *śāṃvarāṇau* 'descendant of Saṃvarāṇa', *syāma-raśmau* N. of a man, *svādhītau*. The AV. also forms the L. in *-au* from at least 16 stems; among them appears the uncompound *pātau* (AV. III. 18³) 'husband'¹ as a variant for *jāne* in the corresponding passage of the RV. (X. 145⁴). The TS. has *dhau* (V. 6. 1² = AV. III. 13¹).

f. 1. The form in *-ā* is made from 21 stems in the RV.: *avānā* 'river-bed', *ājā*, *ūditā* 'sunrise', *ksētra-sātā* 'acquisition of land', *gō-sātā* 'winning of cows', *tokā-sātā* 'attainment of offspring', *devā-tātā* 'worship of the gods', *dyumnā-sātā* 'obtainment of strength', *nābhā*, *nt-sātā* 'capture of men', *nemā-dhītā* 'conflict', *pītā*, *prā-bhītā* 'offering', *medhā-sātā* 'receiving the oblation', *yāma-hūtā* 'invocation by prayer', *śūra-sātā* 'battle', *sām-ṛtā*, *sarvā-tātā* 'perfect prosperity', *sātā*², *srutā*, *svār-sātā* 'attainment of heaven'. The AV. has *nābhā* (VII. 62¹); and the SV. reads *śāntātā* 'beneficent', as a variant for *śāntātī* of RV. VIII. 187. The TS. and VS. have no independent L. f. in *-ā*.

2. The form in *-au* is more than twice as frequent, being made from 49 stems in the RV. The commonest examples are *sātāu* (17), *vāja-sātāu* (16), *vyūṣṭau* (16) 'flush of dawn', *abhīṣṭau* (10) 'help', *śu-matāu* (14), *gāviṣṭau* (7) 'fight', *iṣṭāu* (6), *rātāu* (5), *pūrvā-hūtāu*³ (5) 'first invocation'. The AV. makes this form from 7 stems in independent passages. The TS. has *ūditāu* (I. 8. 12³), *pūrvā-cittāu* (IV. 2. 10²) 'first thought'; the VS. *ratha-nābhāu* (XXXIV. 5) 'chariot nave', *rātāu* (XXIII. 4) 'night'; and Kh. I. 11⁴ *śūra-sātāu*.

a. There are 5 locatives f. formed according to the derivative *ī*-declension with the ending *-ām*: *pūramādhīyām*, *bhūmyām*, *bhṛtyām*, *yuvatyām*, *sām-gatyām* 'assembly'. The AV. has 9 more: *āryām*, *ākūtyām*, *cittiyām*, *devā-hūtyām*, *prṣṭyām* 'rib', *bhūtyām*, *jōnyām*, *vēdyām* (+ VS. XXVIII. 12), *sāmityām* 'assembly'. The VS. has *sanyām* (VIII. 54).

b. The locative *vēdī*⁴ occurring twice (VI. 1¹⁰; II. 3⁴) is the only one formed from an *ī*-stem with the normal ending *-ī* (= *vēdī-ī*). The form *prāṇī* may also possibly be a L. in III. 51⁷.

L. n. The only form in *-ā* is *a-pratā* (VIII. 32¹⁶) 'without recompense' (used adverbially), and the only one in *-au* is *saptā-raśmau* (AV. IX. 5¹⁵) 'seven-rayed'.

V. This case regularly gunates the final vowel in the m. and f. It is very frequent in the m., being formed from 72 stems and occurring over 1100 times in the RV.. In the f. it is not common, being formed from only 11 stems and occurring only 27 times in the RV.

m. The commonest examples are: *agne*⁵ (799), *pate* (35), *bṛhas-pate*⁶ (32), *kave* (26), *brahmaṇas-pate* (17), *vanas-pate* (14), *āghṛṇe* (13) 'glowing', *sat-pate* (13) 'lord of the seat', *sakhe* (11)⁷. In Kh. I. 5⁷ the anomalously formed compound *bhuvanas-pate*⁸ 'lord of the world' occurs; in the VS. *aṅghāre* (IV. 27) a guardian of Soma, *dṛṣṭe* (XXXVI. 18) 'bag', *drāpe* (XVI. 47) 'causing to run', *bāmbhāre* (IV. 27) a guardian deity of Soma, *bhuvās-pate* (IV. 34) 'lord of the earth', *śāteṣudhe* (XVI. 13) 'hundred-quivered', *sapṭe* (XXIX. 2) 'steed'.

a. The V. *sobhave* is a transfer from the *ī*-declension; and the compounds *pāvaka-śoce*, *bhadra-śoce*, *śukra-śoce* are transfers from the *-is* declension, doubtless meant to avoid the unusual form *-śocis* in the V.

¹ The RV. has only the form *pātyau* 'husband'.

² For this form in VI. 46¹ the SV. and VS. have the variant *sātāu*.

³ This form occurs also in AV. V. 1¹.

⁴ Cp. RPr. I. 28; II. 35.

⁵ Written with Pluti VS. VIII. 10: *agnāsi*.

⁶ Once (IX. 80¹) with double accent *bṛhas-pāte*.

⁷ In *mahe-mate* 'O great-souled' (Indra), the first member is anomalously gunated as well as the second; cp. *mahe-nadi* 'O great stream'.

⁸ Formed like *vanas-pate*.

f. The forms occurring in the RV. are: *adīte*, *anumate*, *asu-nīte* 'spirit-world', *iṣṭe*, *upa-māte*¹ 'granting (of wealth)', *ṛjīte* 'radiant', *bhūme*, *mate*, *yuvate*, *satyatāte*¹ 'truth', *sv-aṅgure* 'fair-fingered'. The AV. has *darve*² 'spoon'; the VS. *svadhite*.

a. There is also the transfer *ośadhe* from the ī-declension.

Du. N. A. V. This form ends in -ī³ and can be used in all genders alike. The m. is very frequent, being made from 72 stems in the RV. The commonest examples are: *indrāgni* (78) 'Indra and Agni', *hārī* (78), *pāṭī* (33), *śubhās-pāṭī* (21) 'lords of light'. Elsewhere also occur: *sa-tīṭī* (TS. III. 2. 2²) 'continuous'; *bhūri-raśmī* (Kh. IV. 22⁸) 'many-rayed'; *viśva-vīpārī* (Kh. II. 22⁸) 'extending (?) everywhere'. The final vowel is shortened in *sakṣāṇī* (x. 32¹) 'united'.

f. The forms occurring in the RV. are: *itā-ūtī* 'extending from hence', *ūtī*, *ījīti*, *jāmi*, *dāruvī*, *dyaūvā-bhāmī* 'heaven and earth', *dhārayāt-kavī* 'protecting the wise', *pūraṇdhī*, *bhuji* 'patrons', *yuvatī*, *vāsu-dhītī* 'treasuries', *śīcī*, *sā-yonī* 'of the same origin', *su-prātārtī* 'very victorious', *srutī*.

n. The only two regular forms are *śūcī*⁴ and *tigmā-letī* (AV.) 'having a keen thrust'; also *māhi* (with shortened final)⁵. There are besides one or two secondary forms with -nī made under the influence of the n-declension: *ākṣīnī* (AV.) 'eyes' and perhaps *hārīnī* (ix. 70⁷) from *hārī*⁶.

I. m. *indrāgnibhyām*, *dāmpatibhyām* (AV.) 'husband and wife', *hārībhyām*. — f. *vartanībhyām*, *śrōṇībhyām* (VS. xxv. 6) 'hips'. — n. *sākthibhyām* 'thighs'.

D. m. *indrāgnibhyām*, *indrā-bīhaspātībhyām* (VS. vii. 23) 'Indra and Bṛhaspati', *hārībhyām*⁷.

Ab. m. *kukṣībhyām* (AV. VS.) *pāṇībhyām* (AV.). — f. *pārṣṇībhyām*, *śrōṇībhyām*. — G. m. *indrāgnyós*, *hāryos*. — f. *yuvatyós*.

L. m. *kukṣyós*, *gābhastyós*⁸, *hāryos*. — f. *jāmyós*; *gavīnyós* (AV.) 'groins', *pārṣṇyos* (AV.). — n. *sākthyos* (VS. xxiv. 1).

Pl. N. V. This form gunates the final vowel of the stem, adding the normal ending -as in the m. and f.; e. g. *agnāy-as*, *ūtāy-as*. It is of very frequent occurrence, but is nearly twice as common in the m. as the f.

m. This form is made from 109 stems in the RV. and occurs 523 times. The commonest examples are: *kavdyas* (45), *vāyas* (38), *sūrāyas* (36), *hārayas* (31), *agnāyas* (27), *ādrayas* (26), *īṣayas* (26), *śīcayas* (18), *pātayas* (16), *raśmāyas* (16), *vāhnayas* (15) 'conveyers'. In the VS. also occur: *ajāvāyas* 'goats and sheep' (III. 43), *vīṣa-pāṇayas* (xxix. 44) 'strong-hoofed', *vrthāyas* (xviii. 12) 'rice-plants'.

a. The stem *arī-*, being the only i-stem that does not take Guṇa, forms its N. pl. like the B group of the radical ī-stems (except the accent): *arī-ās*, which occurs 16 times in the RV.

b. The form *ā-hrayas* 'shameless' is a transfer from the radical ī-declension, and *sibharayas* 'descendants of Sobhari' from the derivative ī-declension.

f. This form is made from 66 stems and occurs 290 times in the RV. The commonest examples are: *ūtāyas* (42), *dhītāyas* (21), *matāyas* (20), *ārātāyas* (18), *rātāyas* (18), *kṛṣṭāyas* (17), *kṣītāyas* (13) 'races', *jānāyas* (12), *vr̥ṣṭāyas* (12).

a. The stem *arī-* has the same anomalous form as in the m.: *arī-ās*, which occurs 4 times in the RV.

¹ Agreeing with *agne*.

² The VS. (II. 49) has *darvi* from *dāruvī* = *dāruvi*. The VS. (VIII. 43) also has *vi-sruti* which seems to be an irregular V. for *vi-srute*; cp. pw. s. v.

³ The derivative -i, -u and -ī stems are the only ones which do not take -ā or -au in the dual.

⁴ Occurring in x. 85¹² and possibly iv. 56⁵.

⁵ Occurring x. 975⁴ and perhaps also iv. 56⁵.

⁶ BR. and GRASSMANN place this form under *hārīta*.

⁷ No n. forms occur in the D. Ab. dual.

⁸ This word may be f. also.

b. About 10 *i*-stems in the RV. have also N. pl. forms according to the derivative *i*-declension: *avāntīs* 'streams', *ājāntīs* 'births', *ūtsīs*, *nāktīs* 'nights', *nirṛtīs*, *niṣkṛtīs*, *pīramadhīs*, *bhūmīs*, *viśvā-kṛṣṭīs* 'dwelling among all men', *sā-yonīs*. The AV. also has: *angūtsīs*, *ṛṣṭīs* 'spears', *dhamānīs* 'tubes', *nābhīs*, *pārsnīs*, *ṛṣṭīs*.

c. The stems *yayī-* 'speeding', *śubhri-* 'shining', *karkarī-* 'lute' form their N. pl. according to the radical *i*-declension: *yayīyas*, *śubhriyas* (AV.), *karkarīyas* (AV.).

d. Some *i*-stems have transfer forms according to the *i*-declension: *ambāyas*, *aruṇāyas*, *kṛṇāyas*; *śadāyas*, *sākarāyas* (TS. v. 4. 12²; VS. XVIII. 22). The TS. has also: *garbhīnāyas* (II. I. 2⁶), *pātnāyas* (v. 2. 11² etc.), *revātāyas* (v. 2. 11¹), *vātrātrāyas* (IV. I. 6²).

N. A. n. i. The normal form, in which the ending *-i* coalesces with the final of the stem to *-ī*, is made from 4 stems in the RV.: *a-pratī*² 'irresistible', *krūdhmī* 'irascible', *trī* 'three', *śīcī*. The final vowel of this form is further shortened in six stems: *apratī*, *a-sthūrī* 'not single-horsed', *jāmī*, *bhūrī*, *sāmī*³ 'work', *surabhī*. The AV. has also *māhi* (besides *apratī* and *bhūrī*). The forms in *-ī* and *-i* (which are of about equal frequency) taken together occur about 50 times in the RV.

2. There is a secondary form (following the analogy of the *n*-stems) in *-īni*, which is taken by 4 stems having the primary form also: *apratīni*, *bhūrīni*, *śīcīni*, *surabhīni*. These forms occur about 14 times. The AV. has also *ākṣīni* and *āsthīni*; the latter form occurs in the TS. as well (v. 7. 2¹); the VS. has *śīngīni* (XXXIX. 8) 'entrails'.

A. m. The ending *-n* here (as in the *-a* and *-u* declension) represents original *-ns*, which in one half (42) of the total occurrences (84) of these forms in *-in* in the RV. is preserved as *-ns* or (before vowels) *-nr*. This A. is made from 31 stems in the RV⁴. The commonest examples are *sūrīn* (14), *vānas-pātn* (11), *pañīn* (9), *raśmīn* (6), *sākhīn* (5), *girīn* (4)⁵. The TS. also has *ādhi-pātn* (I. 6. 6⁴) 'lords', *āhīn* (IV. 5. 1²; VS. XVI. 5); the VS. has *tittīrīn* (XXIV. 20) 'partridges', *lājīn*⁶ (XXIII. 8) 'parched grain', *śācīn*⁶ (XXIII. 8) 'groats'.

a. The stem *arī-* is the only one which does not take *-n*, but adds the normal ending *-as* instead, the A. *arīyas* (which occurs 7 times in the RV.) being thus identical with the N. pl. The stem *vī-* in its only occurrence (I. 104¹) in the A. pl. uses the N. pl. form *vāyas*.

f. This form, which is made by adding simple *-s* (instead of *-as*), e. g. *bhūmīs*, occurs from 42 stems in the RV. The commonest examples are *ārātīs* (16), *kṛṣṭīs* (16), *ksītīs* (8), *carṣanīs* (7) 'people', *pīramadhīs* (7), *avāntīs* (6), *āsastīs* (5)⁷. The TS. has *abhiṣṭīs* (v. 4. 14²), *āmātīs* (III. I. 4⁴), *yōnīs* (I. 5. 3³), *vyūṣṭīs* (IV. 3. 11¹); and *śācīs* occurs in a Khila (p. 171, 6)⁸.

a. As in the m., the stem *arī-* has *arīyas* (occurring 4 times). Two N. forms, *citrādayas* (X. 140³) 'granting wonderful gifts' and *śūcāyas* (AV. v. 1³), appear to be used for the A.

I. m.⁹ This form is made with the regular ending *-bhis* from 40 stems in the RV. The commonest examples are *ādribhis* (43), *raśmibhis* (36), *pathibhis* (28) 'paths', *hārībhis* (23), *sākhībhis* (15), *sūrībhis* (14), *agnībhis* (10), *añjībhis* (10) 'ornaments', *ṛṣībhis* (10), *vībhis*¹⁰ (9). — From the VS.: *plāśībhis* (XXV. 8).

¹ Beside *avānāyas*, *ūtāyas*, *bhūmāyas*, *viśvā-kṛṣṭāyas*.

² The Pada text has *apratī*.

³ BR. set up a n. stem *sāmī-* beside f. *sāmī-*. GRASSMANN recognizes *sāmī-* only, making *sāmī* always the I. sing. with shortened final vowel. Cp. the I. sing. of *sāmī-* above (p. 274).

⁴ LANMAN 395 enumerates the stems which take this accusative.

⁵ On the Sandhi of the final *-n* in this form see LANMAN 394 f.

⁶ Written with pluti in the text as *lājīn*, *śācīn*.

⁷ The stems which take this form in the RV. are enumerated by LANMAN 3953.

⁸ See SCHEFFTELOWITZ' note, p. 171 (bottom).

⁹ No n. form occurs.

¹⁰ Not accented as a monosyllabic stem.

f. This form is made in the same way as the m. from 48 stems in the RV. The commonest examples are: *ūtībhis* (100), *svastībhis* (82), *matībhis* (37), *dhūtībhis* (27), *su-yrktībhis* (18).

a. The form *ūtī* is used 9 times as an I. pl. in the RV., as is shown both by the sense and by the forms agreeing with it; e. g. *tvābhīr ūtī* (II. 20) 'with thine aids'.

b. A transfer from the *i*-declension is *aranyībhis* 'tinder-sticks'.

D. m. This form is made with *-bhyas* from 9 stems in the RV.: *āśva-patībhyas* (VS. XVI. 24) 'masters of horses', *śśībhyas*¹, *gaṇḍ-patībhyas* (VS. XVI. 25) 'lords of troops', *dāśāvanībhyas* 'having ten courses', *pātībhyas*, *yātībhyas* 'lords of a race', *raśmībhyas* (VS. XXII. 28), *vi-bhyas*², *vrāta-patībhyas* (VS. XVI. 25) 'lords of companies', *śūcībhyas*, *svā-patībhyas* (VS. XIV. 28) 'masters of dogs', *sākhibhyas*, *sanībhyas*, *sandhibhyas* (VS. XXIV. 25), *sārībhyas*.

f. *ksitībhyas*, *carṣanībhyas*, *deva-jāmībhyas* (VS. XXIV. 24) 'sisters of the gods'. There is also the transfer from the *i*-declension *nārībhyas* 'women'.

Ab. m. This case, identical in form with the D., is made from 12 stems in the RV.: *agnībhyas*, *dtribhyas*, *kavārībhyas* 'niggardly', *girībhyas*, *paṇībhyas*, *pavībhyas*, *plāśībhyas*, *yōnībhyas* (VS. XIII. 34), *vānas-pātībhyas*, *vibhyas*², *sākhibhyas*, *sanībhyas*, *sthi-vibhyas* 'bushels'. — f. *aṇḥatībhyas* 'distresses', *āngilībhyas* (AV.), *ksitībhyas*, *carṣanībhyas*, *jānībhyas*, *dhamānībhyas* (AV.) 'blasts'. — n. *asthībhyas*³ (AV. II. 33⁶).

G. m. This form is made from 28 stems in the RV.: (a) oxytones are *agnīnām*, *kavīnām*, *girīnām*, *carṣanīnām*, *deva-jāmīnām* (AV.), *nidhīnām* 'treasures', *paṇīnām*, *pathīnām*, *maṇīnām* (AV.), *mathīnām*⁴, *rayīnām*, *vāpīnām*⁵ (AV.), *vīnām*, *sanīnām*⁶; (b) otherwise accented: *ātrīnām*, *āvinām*, *āhīnām*, *ṛṣīnām*, *gandhārīnām* N. of a people, *carāṇīnām* 'active', *tuviśvānīnām* 'loud-roaring', *dhūnīnām* 'roaring', *mahi-śvānīnām* 'very noisy', *mūnīnām* 'seers', *vānas-pūtīnām*, *vi-mahīnām* 'very great', *vyātīnām* 'steeds', *śūcīnām*, *sākīnām*, *hārīnām*, *havir-māthīnām*⁷ 'disturbing sacrifices'. Also *grhā-patīnām* (VS. IX. 39) 'householders', *dhārma-patīnām* (VS. IX. 39) 'guardians of law'.

f. This form is made from 18 stems in the RV.⁸: (a) oxytones: *kavīnām*, *krṣṭīnām*, *ksitīnām*, *carṣanīnām*, *jāmīnām*, *dur-matīnām* 'hatred', *dhautīnām* 'wells', *puṣṭīnām*, *matīnām*, *rayīnām*, *su-ksitīnām*, *su-matīnām*, *su-ṣṭutīnām*; (b) otherwise accented: *arātīnām*⁹ (Kh. I. 5⁵), *ūpa-stutīnām* 'invocations', *jānīnām*, *nīrṛtīnām*, *māricīnām* 'particles of light', *śūcīnām*.

L. m. This form is made with the ending *-su*, which becomes *-su*, from 16 stems in the RV.: *ā-kaviṣu* 'not wise', *agnīṣu*, *ājīṣu*, *ā-samātīṣu* 'incomparable', *ājīṣu*, *āpīṣu* 'kinsmen', *ṛṣīṣu*, *khādīṣu* 'rings', *girīṣu*, *nidhīṣu*, *pathīṣu*, *pavīṣu*, *yōnīṣu*, *raśmīṣu*, *śubhrīṣu*, *sūrīṣu*.

f. This form is made from 21 stems, all but three of which (*a-vyathī-*, *jāmi-*, *śubhrī-*) end in *-ti*: *abhi-mātīṣu* 'plots', *a-vyathīṣu*, *iṣṭīṣu*, *ūtīṣu*, *ṛṣṭīṣu*, *krṣṭīṣu*, *ksitīṣu*, *gāv-iṣṭīṣu*, *jāmīṣu*, *div-iṣṭīṣu* 'devotions', *devā-hūtīṣu*, *pārīṣṭīṣu* 'distresses', *puṣṭīṣu*, *prā-ṇīṣu*, *prā-tūrtīṣu* 'speedy motions', *prā-yuktīṣu*, *prā-sastīṣu* (TS. I. 7. 7¹; VS. IX. 6) 'praises', *yāma-hūtīṣu*, *rātīṣu*, *vyūṣṭīṣu*, *śubhrīṣu*, *sātīṣu*. The form *nārīṣu*¹⁰ is a transfer from the *i*-declension.

n. The only example that occurs is *bhūrīṣu*.

¹ Once accented *ṛṣībhyas* in Vāḥkhyā XI. 6, doubtless an error.

² Not accented as a monosyllabic stem.

³ With wrong accent for *asthībhyas*; cp. *asthābhyas* (VS. XXIII. 44).

⁴ Vā. 5⁸; BR. and GRASSMANN would read *matīnām*, which is actually the reading of the Kashmir Ms.: SCHEFTELOWITZ, Die Apokryphen des R̥gveda 40.

⁵ See WHITNEY's note on AV. XIX. 24⁶.

⁶ Also the numeral *trīnām*.

⁷ In about a dozen out of 128 occurrences resolution of *-ām* to *-aam* seems necessary.

⁸ Resolution of *-ām* to *-aam* seems to be necessary in 4 out of 98 occurrences.

⁹ Wrong accent for *arātīnām*.

¹⁰ On the other hand *svāhā-kr̥tīṣu* is a transfer from this to the *i*-declension.

5. a. Radical ū-stems.

LANMAN, Noun-Inflection 400—419. — WHITNEY, Grammar 348—352.

382. This declension comprises strictly speaking only m. and f. stems; for the few distinctively n. forms which occur are made only from stems in which the *ū* is shortened and which therefore in form belong to the *ū*-declension. The normal endings, as they appear in the inflexion of consonant stems, are taken throughout. The G. pl., however, adds the ending *-nām* to compound stems¹; and the N. sing. always has *-s*.

This declension contains seven monosyllabic stems, one of which is m., five f., and one m. and f.; two reduplicated f. substantives and one adjective; and about 60 compounds, almost exclusively adjectives, made with the roots *jū*- 'speed', *dyū*- (*dīyū*-) 'play', *pū*- 'purify', *bhū*- 'be', *sū*- 'swell', *sū*- 'bring forth', *hū*- 'call', and with the modified forms *krū*-, *gū*- 'go', *drū*- 'run', *snū*- 'drip', which may be treated as roots. The stems occurring are: 1. monosyllables: m. *jū*- 'speeding', 'steed', *sū*- 'begetter'; f. *dū*- 'gift', *bhū*- 'earth', *bhrū*- 'brow', *sū*- 'mother', *syū*- 'thread' (VS.), *srū*- 'stream'. 2. reduplicated stems: *juhū*- 'tongue', *juhū*- 'sacrificial spoon', *jōgū*- 'singing aloud'. 3. compounds (in the alphabetical order of the roots): *apī-jū*- 'impelling', *kaśo-jū*- 'hastening to the water (?)', N. of a man, *dhī-jū*- 'inspiring the mind', *nabho-jū*- 'cloud-impelling', *mano-jū*- 'swift as thought', *yātu-jū*- 'incited by 'demons', *vayo-jū*- 'stimulating strength', *vasū-jū*- 'procuring goods', *viśva-jū*- 'all-impelling', *sadyo-jū*- 'quickly speeding', *senā-jū*- 'swift as an arrow'. — *eka-dyū*- m. N. of a seer, *kama-dyū*- f. N. of a woman. — *agre-pū*-² 'drinking first', *uda-pū*- 'purified by water', *keta-pū*- (VS. TS.) 'purifying the will', *ghṛta-pū*- 'clarifying ghee', *madhu-pū*- 'purifying itself by sweetness', *vāta-pū*- 'purified by the wind', *viśṇā-pū*- m. N. of a man, *su-pū*- 'clarifying well', *śva-pū*- 'broom'. — *an-ābhū*- 'disobedient', *abhi-bhū*- 'superior', *ā-bhū*- 'present', *pari-bhū*- 'surrounding', *punar-bhū*- 'being renewed', *puro-bhū*- 'being in front', *pra-bhū*- 'excelling', *mayo-bhū*- 'causing pleasure', *vi-bhū*- 'far-extending', *viśvā-bhū*- 'being everywhere', *viśvā-sambhū*- 'beneficial to all', *śam-bhū*- 'beneficent', *sacā-bhū*- 'associate', *su-bhū*- 'good', *svayam-bhū*- 'self-existing', *sv-ābhū*- 'helping well'. — *surā-sū*- 'exultant with liquor'. — *a-sū*- 'not bringing forth', *a-sūsū*- (AV.) 'barren', *nava-sū*- 'having recently calved', *pūrva-sū*- 'bringing forth first', *prā-sū*- 'bringing forth', *yama-sū*- 'bringing forth twins', *raha-sū*- 'bringing forth secretly', *rāja-sū*- 'king-creating', *viśva-sū*- 'all-generating', *vīra-sū*- 'hero-bearing', *śakṛt-sū*- 'bringing forth once', *su-śū*- 'bringing forth easily'. — *ā-hū*- 'invoking', *u-hū*-³ 'crying aloud', *varṣā-hū*- (VS.) f., *sumna-hū*- (TS.) 'invoking favour', *su-hū*- (VS.) 'invoking well'. — *mitra-krū*- f. a kind of demon. — *agre-gū*-⁴ 'moving forwards'. — *raghu-drū*- 'running swiftly'⁵. — *ghṛta-snū*- 'dripping ghee'⁶.

a. Vocalic pronunciation. Before vowels the *ū* has regularly a vocalic value in pronunciation. In monosyllabic stems it is always written as *-w*; generally also in compounds even when preceded by a single consonant. In the minority of compounds (some 9 stems in the RV.) it is written as *v*, but pronounced as a vowel. In the latter instances it is always given as *u* below; e. g. *vibhū* as *vibhūā*.

b. Accentuation. Except in the monosyllabic stems, which follow the general rule, the accent remains throughout on the same syllable, which is almost always the radical one.

¹ The monosyllabic and the reduplicated stems, on the other hand, added *-ām*, as far as can be inferred from *bhuvām* and *jōguvām*, the only examples which occur.

² *-pū*- here = *-pā*- 'drink'.

³ Perhaps an onomatopoeic word.

⁴ *-gū*- here = *-gā*- 'go'.

⁵ Cp. LANMAN 402.

⁶ About a dozen of the above compounds (all but 3 or 4 of them being formed with *bhū*-) also shorten the final of the stem, which is then inflected like an *ū*-stem.

Inflexion.

383. The inflexion is identical in the m. and f. Several of the cases do not occur at all in the m., viz. Ab. L. V. sing., I. D. Ab. G. L. du., D. Ab. pl. In the monosyllabic stems several cases are wanting in both genders, viz. A. D. V. sing., and all the cases of the pl. except the N. A. G. The forms actually occurring, if made from *bhū-* f. 'earth' and the adjectives *ā-bhū-* 'present' and *vi-bhū-* 'far-reaching', would be as follows:

1. Sing. N. *bhūs*. I. *bhuvā*. Ab. *bhuvās*. G. *bhuvās*. L. *bhuvī* (VS.). Du. N. *bhūvā*. I. *bhūbhyaṃ* (VS.). L. *bhuvās*. Pl. N. *bhūvas*. A. *bhūvas*. G. *bhuvām* (VS.).

2. Sing. N. *ābhūs*; *vibhūs*. A. *ābhūnam*; *vibhūnam*. I. *ābhūvā*; *vibhūvā*. D. *ābhūve*; *vibhūve*. Ab. f. *vibhūvas* (AV.). G. m. *ābhūvas*.

Du. N. A. *ābhūvā*. Pl. N. *ābhūvas*; *vibhūvas*. A. m. f. *ābhūvas*; f. *vibhūvas*. I. m. f. *ābhūbhis*. G. m. f. *ābhūnām*. L. m. f. *ābhūsu*.

The forms actually occurring are:

Sing. N. m. *jūs* (VS. IV. 17), *sūs*; *eka-dyūs*. — *uda-pūs* (AV.), *keta-pūs* (VS. IX. 1; TS. IV. I. 1³), *madhu-pūs* (AV.), *vāta-pūs* (AV.). — *abhi-bhūs*, *pari-bhūs*, *puro-bhūs*, *pra-bhūs* (AV.), *mayo-bhūs*, *vi-bhūs* (AV.), *viśvā-sambhūs*, *sam-bhūs* (VS. AV.), *sacā-bhūs*, *su-bhūs* (VS. AV.), *svayam-bhūs*. — *sumna-hūs* (TS. IV. 6. 3⁴), *su-hūs* (VS. I. 30) 'invoking well'. — f. *bhūs*, *sūs*, *syūs* (VS. V. 21); *jūhūs* (AV. VS.). — *kama-dyūs*. — *abhi-bhūs* (AV.), *punar-bhūs*, *pra-bhūs* (VS. AV.), *mayo-bhūs*, *sam-bhūs* (AV.). — *pra-sūs* (AV.), *yama-sūs*, *raha-sūs*, *vira-sūs*, *su-sūs*. — *varṣā-hūs* (VS. XXIV. 38) 'frog'.

A. m. 1. *kaśo-jūvam*, *mano-jūvam*, *vasū-jūvam*; *abhi-bhūvam* (AV.), *ā-bhūvam*, *mayo-bhūvam*, *viśvā-sambhūvam*, *sambhūvam*, *sacā-bhūvam*, *sv-ābhūvam*; 2. *viśvā-pūvam*; *vi-bhūvam*, *su-bhūvam*. — f. *jūhūvam* 'sacrificial spoon'; 1. *kama-dyūvam*, *viśvā-jūvam*, *sacā-bhūvam*; 2. *a-sūvam*¹, *viśva-sūvam* (AV.), *sakṛt-sūvam*.

I. m. 1. *mano-jūvā*, *senā-jūvā*, *sv-ābhūvā*; 2. *vi-bhūvā*. — f. *bhuvā*; *jūhūvā* 'tongue' and 'spoon'; 1. *punar-bhūvā* (AV.), *mayo-bhūvā* (TS. I. 8. 3⁴; VS. III. 47). — n. 1. *mayo-bhūvā*; 2. *su-pūvā* (VS. I. 3).

D. m. 1. *abhi-bhūve*, *vi-bhūve* (VS. XXII. 30), *viśvā-bhūve*, *sacā-bhūve*; 2. *viśvā-pūve*, *vi-bhūve*, *su-bhūve*.

Ab. f. *bhuvās*; *a-sūvas* (AV.). — G. m. *sam-bhūvas*, *sacā-bhūvas*². — f. *bhuvās*. — L. f. *bhuvī* (VS.). — V. f. *jūhu* (AV.).

Du. N. A. m. *mano-jūvā*; *mayo-bhūvā*, *sam-bhūvā*, *sacā-bhūvā*; *ghṛta-sūvā*³. — f. *srūvā*; *apt-jūvā*; *punar-bhūvā*, *viśvā-sambhūvā*, *viśvā-sambhūvau* (VS. X. 9), *sambhūvā*, *sacā-bhūvā*. — I. f. *bhrūbhyaṃ* (VS.). — L. f. *bhruvās*.

Pl. N. m. *jūvas*; 1. *ā-dūvas*, *ā-bhūvas*, *u-hūvas*, *nabho-jūvas*, *pari-bhūvas*, *mano-jūvas*, *mayo-bhūvas*, *raghu-dūvas*, *vayo-jūvas*, *sam-bhūvas*, V. *sacā-bhūvas* (VS. III. 47), *sadyo-jūvas*, *su-bhūvas*, *sv-ābhūvas*⁴; 2. *vi-bhūvas*, *su-bhūvas*; *surā-sūvas*. — f. *dūvas*, *bhūvas*; *jūhūvas* 'tongues' and 'spoons'; 1. V. *agre-gūvas* (VS.), V. *agre-pūvas* (VS.), *dūt-jūvas*, *punar-bhūvas*, *mayo-bhūvas*, *mitra-kṛūvas*; V. *viśva-sambhūvas* (VS. IV. 7); 2. *ghṛta-pūvas*, *nava-sūvas*, *pra-sūvas*, *vi-bhūvas*, *su-bhūvas*.

A. m. *ān-ābhūvas*, *mayo-bhūvas*⁵. — f. *dūvas*, *bhūvas*; *ā-bhūvas*, *ā-hūvas*,

¹ The transition form *a-sūm* (VS.) under the influence of the derivative *-s* stems also occurs. The form *ayogām* (VS. XXX. 5) is perhaps of the same kind.

² The AV. has also the transition form *punar-bhūvās*.

³ Cp. LANMAN 413 (middle).

⁴ There are also the transfers from the *u*-declension *ā-prāyūvas*, *madhyāyūvas*, *mitrā-yūvas*, *śramayūvas*.

⁵ In II. 14³ *jūs* is perhaps contracted for *jūvas*.

ghṛta-sūkṣvas, *mayo-bhūvas*, *sanā-jūvas*; *pra-sūas*, *rāja-sūas* (VS. x. 1) 'king-creating', *vi-bhūas*¹.

I. m. *ā-bhūbhis*. — f. *jukūbhis* 'tongues' and 'spoons'; *sva-pūbhis*.

G. m. *jḡguvām*; *yātu-jñām*. — f. *bhuvām*² (VS. xxxvii. 18); *pūrva-sūnām*.

L. m. *ā-bhūṣu*, *puru-bhūṣu* 'appearing to many'. — f. *pra-sūṣu*.

5. b. Derivative *ū*- stems.

LANMAN, Noun-Inflection 400—419. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 355—359, 362—364.

384. This declension is almost entirely restricted to f.³ stems, which (like the derivative or B group of the radical *ī*- declension) accent the final vowel and in inflexion are practically identical with the radical stems. The f. stems which it comprises may be divided into **two groups**. The first contains about 18 oxytone f. substantives corresponding in several instances to m. or n. stems in *-u* accented on the first syllable: *a-grū-* (m. *ā-gru-*) 'maid', *kadrū-* (m. *kādru-* 'brown') 'Soma vessel', *kuhū-* (AV.) 'new moon', *guggulī-* (n. *gīgḡulu-*) (AV.) N. of an Apsaras, *guṅgī-* N. of a goddess, *camī-* 'bowl', *jatū-* (n. *jātu-*) (AV. VS.) 'bat', *tanū-* 'body', *dhanū-* (*dhanu-*) 'sandbank' (AV.), *nabhanū-* 'well', *nyū-* 'dancer', *prḍākū-* (m. *prḍāku-*) 'serpent' (AV.), *prajanū-* (AV.) 'organ of generation', *vadhū-* 'bride', *śvaśrū-* (m. *śvāśura-*) 'mother-in-law', *saranyū-* N. of a goddess; also *kyāmbū-*⁴ (n. *kiyāmbu-*) an aquatic plant (AV.). The second group comprises oxytone f. adjectives corresponding to m. oxytones: *amhoyū-* 'troublesome', *aghṛyū-* 'malicious', *apasyū-* 'active', *abhi-dipsū-* 'wishing to deceive', *avasyū-* 'desiring favour', *asīta-jñū-* (AV.) 'black-kneed', *āyū-* 'active', *udanyū-* 'seeking water', *caranyū-* 'movable', *carishū-* 'moving', *jighatsū-* 'hungry', *tanū-* 'thin', *didhishū-* 'wishing to gain', *dur-haṇyū-* 'meditating harm', *duvasyū-* 'worshipping', *devayū-* (VS.) 'devoted to the gods', *dravitnū-* 'speeding', *patayālī-* 'flying', *panasyū-* 'glorious', *pārayishū-* 'victorious', *prtanayū-* 'hostile', *prśanayū-* 'tender', *phalgū-* 'reddish', *bābhrū-* 'reddish brown', *bṛbhatsū-* 'loathing', *makhasyū-* 'cheerful', *madhū-*⁵ 'sweet', *mandrayū-* 'gladdening', *mahīyū-* 'joyous', *mumukṣū-* 'wishing to free', *vacasyū-* 'eloquent', *vi-panyū-* 'admiring', *śundhyū-* 'radiant', *sanṛyū-* 'wishing for gain', *sūdayitnū-* 'yielding sweetness'; also *su-drū-* 'having good wood' (*dru-*)⁶.

a. **Vocalic pronunciation.** Before vowels the *-ū* has almost invariably a vocalic value in pronunciation. It is written as *uv* in the substantives *agrū-* and *kadrū-*, and in adjectives when the *-ū* is preceded by *y*, also in *bṛbhatsū-*⁷. Otherwise though always written as *u* it is (except four or five times at the most in the RV.)⁸, here also to be pronounced as a vowel. Hence the forms written in the Samhitā with simple *v* are given below with *ū*.

b. **Accentuation.** The derivative *ū*-stems not only accent the final syllable⁹ but

¹ VS. xxiv. 25 has the form *ścē-pūs* a kind of bird.

² In the V. *viśvāsām bhuvām pate*.

³ There are only five m. forms: N. *prāśhū* 'guest', *āpta-tanū-* 'whose body is not cooked', *sārva-tanū-* (AV.) 'whose body is entire'; A. *kṛka-dāśū-* a kind of demon; I. pl. *mākṣūbhis* 'swift'.

⁴ This is the only f. stem in this declension not accented on the final vowel; but Tā. vi. 4¹ has the normally accented *kyāmbū-*.

⁵ The corresponding m. in this instance is not oxytone, *mādhū-*.

⁶ Also as a substantive f. 'good beam'. BR. and pw. however regard *su-drū-* as A. of a m. substantive *su-drū-* 'starkes Holz'.

⁷ This is the regular practice in the TS. even when a single consonant precedes the *-ū*, e. g. *tanūv-am*; cp. IS. 13, 105 f.

⁸ *tanvās* 3 times, *canvās* once, *tanvām* perhaps once; cp. LANMAN 408 (top).

⁹ Except the f. *kyāmbū-* (AV.) and the two m. Bahuvrhis *āpta-tanū-* and *sārva-tanū-*.

retain the accent on that syllable throughout their inflexion. In this respect they agree with the B group of the radical *i*-declension and differ from the ordinary derivative *i*-declension.

c. Transition forms. There is an incipient tendency here to be affected by the analogy of the derivative *i*-stems. The only certain example in the RV. is the L. *śvaśruām* (x. 85⁴⁶) for **śvaśrūi*; the I. *dravītmā* is perhaps another instance¹. But the AV. has at least 10 such forms: A. *kuhūm*, *tanūm*, *vadhūm*; D. *agrīvai*, *vadhvāi*, *śvaśruāi*; Ab. *punar-bhūvās*; G. *urvārūās*² 'gourd', *prḍākūās*, *śvaśruās*; L. *tanūām*. The VS. has A. *pum̐ścalūm*, D. *tanvāi*, G. *tanvās*.

Inflection.

385. In the L. sing. the *-i* may be dropped in the RV. In the later Samhitās *-m* sometimes appears in the A. for *-am*, and *-ai*, *-ās*, *-ām* are occasionally taken as the endings of the D. G. L. respectively. The ending *-ām* appears once in the RV. also. The forms actually occurring, if made from *tanū*-f. 'body', would be as follows:

Sing. N. *tanūs*. A. *tanīlam*. I. *tanīā*. D. *tanīe*. Ab. *tanīas*. G. *tanīas*. L. *tanīi* and *tanū*. V. *tānu*.

Du. N. A. *tanīā*. D. *tanūbhyām*. L. *tanīos*.

Pl. N. *tanīas*. A. *tanīas*. I. *tanūbhis*. D. *tanūbhyas*. G. *tanīnām*. L. *tanūsu*.

The forms actually occurring are:

Sing. N. m. *prāśīs*, *ā-tapia-tanūs*, *sārva-tanūs* (AV.). — f. *asita-jñūs* (AV.), *kuhūs* (TS. AV.), *kyāmbūs*³ (AV.), *guggulūs* (AV.), *guṅgūs*, *jatūs* (VS.), *tanūs*, *dhanūs* (AV.), *nrtūs*, *patayālūs* (AV.), *prḍākūs* (AV.), *phalgūs* (VS. xxiv. 4), *madhūs* (AV.), *vadhūs*, *śundhyūs*, *śvaśrūs*, *saranyūs*.

A. m. *krkadāśīlam*⁴. — f. *carīṣṇīlam*, *jighatśīlam* (AV.), *tanīlam*⁵, *prḍākūlam*⁶ (AV.), *vadhīlam*, *su-drīlam*⁷; *avasyīlvam*, *dur-haṇyīlvam*, *devayīlvam* (VS. I. 12), *makhasyīlvam*, *vacasyīlvam*, *śundhyīlvam*, *su-drīlvam* (SV.). — With ending *-m* for *-am*: *kuhūm* (TS. AV.), *tanūm* (TS. AV.), *pum̐ścalūm* (VS. xxx. 5), *vadhūm* (AV.; Kh. iv. 5¹).

I. f. *tanīā*⁸, *vadhīā*; *divasyīvā*. — D. f. *tanīe*⁹. — With ending *-ai*: *agrīvai* (AV.), *tanvāi* (VS. xxiii. 44), *babhrvāi* (VS. xx. 28), *vadhvāi*¹⁰ (AV.), *śvaśruāi* (AV.). — Ab. f. *kadrīvas*; *tanīas*.

G. f. *agrīvas*, *śundhyīvas*; *tanīas*¹¹, *vadhīas*. — With ending *-ās*: *tanvās* (VS. III. 17), *prḍākūās* (AV.), *śvaśruās* (AV.).

L. f. *camūi*, *tanūi*¹². — Without ending: *camū*¹³, *tanū*¹⁴. — With ending *-ām*: *śvaśruām*; *tanvām*¹⁵ (AV.), *tanūvām*¹⁶ (TS. I. 7. 12²).

V. f. *bābhru*, *vādhu*.

¹ Because the accent is shifted to the ending as in the derivative *i*-declension; cp. LANMAN 404.

² See LANMAN 411¹.

³ The TA. has the normal accentuation *kyāmbū*; the corresponding stem in the RV. is *kyāmbu-* n.

⁴ That the word is m. is probable because *sārvam* seems to agree with it (I. 297). The A. m. *ābhīruam* 'fearless' is a transfer from the *u*-declension.

⁵ The AV. has *tanvām* once, *tanīam* 16 times. The TS. regularly has *tanīvām* (I. 8. 10², etc.).

⁶ The Mss. all read *prḍākūām*; see WHITNEY's note on AV. x. 4¹⁷.

⁷ As an adj. in VII. 32²⁰, 'made of good wood'; as a subst. in x. 28⁸ 'good beam'.

⁸ The AV. has *tanīā* 4 times, *tanvā* 5

times. The TS. has *tanīvā* (I. 1. 10² etc.) In RV. x. 24¹ *camū* is once perhaps a contracted I; see LANMAN 409 (top).

⁹ The AV. has *tanīe* 6 times, *tanvā* 7 times. The TS. has *tanīe*.

¹⁰ The AV. has *vadhvāi* and *vadhvāi* once each.

¹¹ The AV. has *tanīas* 10 times, *tanvās* 4 times. The TS. has *tanīas*.

¹² Three or four times *tanūi*, metrically lengthened (the Pada has *ū*); cp. LANMAN 411 (bottom). The TS. (IV. 3. 13¹) has *tanīvī*.

¹³ *camū* occurs 6 times, *camūi* once.

¹⁴ *tanū* occurs once, *tanūi* 3 times.

¹⁵ This should doubtless be read *tanvām*; see LANMAN 412.

¹⁶ This form in TS. IV. 2. 6³ is a variant for the G. sing. *tanvās* of RV. x. 97¹⁰.

Du. N. A. f¹. *camilā, tanilā*. — D. f. *hanūbhyām*² (TS. VII. 3. 16¹). — L. *camilos*³.

Pl. N. f. 1. *agrīvas; camīlas, jatīlas* (AV.), *tanīlas*⁴, *prākīlas* (AV.), *prajānīlas* (AV.). — 2. *amho-yīvas, apasyīvas, avasyīvas, āyīvas, udanyīvas, caranyīvas* (AV.), *didhīśīlas, panasyīvas, pārayīśīlas, pṛtanāyīvas, pṛśanāyīvas, bibhatsīvas, makhasyīvas, mandrayīvas, mahīyīvas, mumukṣīlas, sanāyīvas, sūdayitnīlas*. — *yuva-yīs* (IV. 41⁸), agreeing with N. f. *dhīyas*, appears to be a contracted form for *-yū-as*⁵.

A. f. 1. *agrīvas; tanīlas*⁶, *nabhanīlas, vadhīlas*⁷. — 2. *abhi-dīpsīlas, dravitnīlas; vi-panyīvas, śundhyīvas*⁸. — I. m. *maṣṣūbhis*⁹. — f. *tanūbhis*. — D. f. *tanūbhyas*. — G. f. 1. *tanūnām, vadhūnām* — 2. *aghāyīnām*¹⁰ (AV.), *babhrūnām, bibhatsīnām*.

L. f. 1. *camūṣu, tanūṣu*. — 2. *babhrūṣu*.

6. a. Radical *u*- stems.

386. There are not many *u*- stems derived from roots originally ending in *-u*, as several of these (about nine) have joined the consonant declension by adding the determinative *-t*¹¹. Some eight stems are, however, formed from roots in *-u*, all of them but one (*dyū-*) being compounds. These are: *dyū-* 'day', *abhi-dyū-* 'heavenly'; *mitā-dru-*¹² 'firm-legged', *raghu-drū-* 'running swiftly'; *ā-prā-yu-*¹³ 'assiduous'; *ādhrī-gu-*¹⁴ 'irresistible', *vanar-gū-* 'forest-roaming'; *su-śīl-* 'highly praised'¹⁵. There are besides some 12 stems in which *u* is radical in a secondary sense as representing the shortened form of the vowel of three roots ending in *-ū*¹⁶. These are: *dhī-jū-* 'inspiring the mind', from *jū-* 'impel'; *su-pū-* 'clarifying well', from *pū-* 'purify'; and compounds of *bhū-* 'be': *ā-pra-bhu-* 'powerless', *abhi-bhū-* 'superior', *ā-bhū-* 'empty', *ud-bhū-* 'persevering', *pari-bhū-* 'surrounding', *puru-bhū-* 'appearing in many places', *pra-bhū-* 'powerful', *mayo-bhū-* 'delighting', *vi-bhū-* 'far-extending', *śam-bhū-* 'beneficent', *su-bhū-* 'good'.

387. The inflexion of these words is identical with that of derivative *u*- stems. Forms which occur are the following:

Sing. N. m. *ādhrī-gus, ā-pra-bhus, pra-bhūs, mayo-bhūs, mitā-drus, vanar-gūs, vi-bhūs, śam-bhūs*¹⁷. — n. *ā-pra-bhu, ā-prāyu, ā-bhū, ud-bhū* (AV.), *pra-bhū, mayo-bhū, raghu-drū, vi-bhū, śam-bhū, su-bhū*.

A. m. *ādhrī-gum, abhi-dyum, abhi-bhūm* (AV.), *ā-bhūm, pra-bhūm, vi-bhūm*¹⁸.

I. m. *mayo-bhūnā*. — n. *su-pūnā* (AV.).

¹ There are also two m. transfers from the *u*- declension, *madhūyuvā* and *paśvā*; cp. LANMAN 403 and 413 (mid).

² This is really a transition form from the derivative *u*- declension.

³ *camilos* occurs 14 times, *camvās* possibly once (IX. 96²¹).

⁴ Once *tanvās*; see LANMAN 408 (top). The TS. has *tanīvas*.

⁵ On *ratha-yīs* (X. 70⁵) standing possibly for *-yīs = yū-as*, see LANMAN 415².

⁶ RV. 20 times, AV. 3 times *tanīlas*; RV. twice, AV. once *tanvās*. The TS. has *tanīvas*. On WEBER's conjecture (IS. 13, 58) *viśvās* as A. pl. of **viśū-* see LANMAN 416³.

⁷ The Mss. of the AV. once read *badhvās* (= *vadhīvas*).

⁸ On *ratha-yīs* (VII. 2⁵) for *-yīs = yūas*, see LANMAN 416³. The VS. (XXI. 25) has *jatūs*.

⁹ This is only a metrical lengthening of the stem vowel (Pada ā).

¹⁰ Cp. LANMAN 418³.

¹¹ See above, stems in derivative *-t* (307).

¹² From *dru-* 'run'. On *sādrū-* see WHITNEY's note on AV. xv. 7¹.

¹³ From *yu-* 'separate', 'keep away'.

¹⁴ 'going unrestrained', from *gu-* 'go' = *gā-*.

¹⁵ The words *sabar-dhū-* 'yielding nectar', and *ā-smṛta-dhru-* 'not caring for enemies', seem to be compounded with *-duh* (*-dhuk*) and *-druh* (*-dhruk*: see pw.).

¹⁶ They are therefore transfers from the radical *ū*- declension, all the N. A. neuters of which are thus formed.

¹⁷ *sabar-dhūs* (VS. v. 26; Kh. iv. 5²⁰) = *sabar-dhūk*.

¹⁸ *sabar-dhūm* A. f. = *sabar-dīham*.

- D. m. *ādhrī-gave*, *abhī-dyave*.
 G. m. *pra-bhās*, *su-śās*. — L. n. *ud-bhāu* (VS. xv. 1), *mitā-drau*.
 V. m. *ādhrī-go*, *pra-bho* (AA. iv. 1 = Kh. v. 4)¹.
 Du. N. A. V. m. *ādhrī-gū*², *abhī-dyū* (Kh. i. 3⁴), *pari-bhū* (AV.), *puru-bhū*, *puru-bhū*, *vanar-gū*, *śam-bhū*, *śam-bhū*.
 Pl. N. m. *ādhrī-gāvas*³, *abhī-dyavas*, *dht-jāvas*, *mitā-dravas*⁴, *vi-bhāvas*,
 V. *vi-bhā-as*⁵. — n. *mayo-bhū*.
 A. m. *mayo-bhūn*, *dyūn*, *vi-bhūn* (VS. xx. 23).
 I. m. *dyūbbhis*; *ā-prā-yubhis*, *abhī-dyubhis*, *vanar-gubhis* (AV.), *vi-bhūbbhis*.

6. b. Derivative *u*- stems.

LANMAN, Noun-Inflection 400—419. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 335—346.

388. This declension embraces a large number of nouns of all genders. The masculine stems greatly preponderate, being about four times as numerous as the feminine and neuter stems taken together; while the neuters considerably outnumber the feminines. Thus the N. and A. sing. are formed by about 430 stems in the m., by 68 in the n., and by 46 in the f. in the RV. The normal inflexion which is practically the same in all genders, except the N. A. sing. du. pl. n., is closely parallel to that of the *i*-stems (380). The stem takes Guna in the same cases; but while in the *i*-declension only one word (*ari*-) ever uses the unmodified stem, 8 or 9 words may do so here. The endings, too, are closely analogous; but while in the *i*-declension the ending of the L. sing. is always dropped, it is here retained in several words; and while the *n*-declension has affected only the I. sing. of the *i*-declension, it has here affected all the other cases of the singular which take vowel endings. Finally, the accentuation is exactly parallel to that of the *i*-stems.

a. Adjectives in *-u* often use this stem for the feminine also; e. g. *cāru*- 'dear'; otherwise they form the f. in *-ū*, as *tanū*-m., *tanū*-f. 'thin'; or in *-ī*, as *urū*-m., *urū*-f. 'broad', *prthu*-m., *prthu*-f. 'broad', *bahū*-m., *bahū*-f. 'much', *mṛdū*- (AV.) m., *mṛdū*-f. (VS.) f. 'soft'.

b. The 8 stems which are analogous to *ari*- in having forms that attach the normal endings to the unaltered stem are: *paśū*-, *pitū*-, *kṛtū*-, *krātū*-, *mādhū*-, *vāsu*-, *śīśū*-, *sahāsra-bāhu*-.

c. Oxytone stems when the final vowel is changed to *u*, throw the accent on a following vowel not as Svarita but as Udātta; they also shift it to the *-nām* of the G. pl. even though the stem vowel does not in that case lose its syllabic value; e. g. *paśū-nām*.

d. Transition forms. 1. There are in the RV. only three forms which follow the analogy of the derivative *i*-declension: D. *isv-ai*, G. *isv-ās*, *su-vāste-ās*, all in late passages; the AV. also has *rājju-ām*⁶. — 2. Transitions to the *n*-declension appear in the A. *ā-bhūvam*, from *ā-bhūru*-, and in several words formed with the suffix *-yu* which make their N. pl. or du. as *-yuvās*, *-yuvā*. — 3. Besides some 46 I. forms m. and n. sing., there are several transitions to the *n*-declension in the remaining cases of the sing., all neuter forms (except the m. G. *cāruyas*): D. *mādhung*; Ab. *mādhunas*, *sānunas*; G. *cārunas*, *dāmunas*, *drūnas*, *mādhunas*, *vāsunas*; L. *āyuni*, *sānuni*; also a few other forms from the later Sāṃhitās.

Inflection.

389. The N. sing. m. f. always takes *-s*, the A. simply *-m*. The D. Ab. G. sing. sometimes attach the normal endings to the unmodified stem; but

¹ In the f. V. *prthu-śto* 'broad-tufted', the *u* of the stem *stu*- = *stukā*- 'tuft' may be radical.

² *ā-smṛta-dhrū* = *āsmṛta-drūhā*.

³ For *ādhrī-gavas* owing to the false analogy of *gāvas* 'cows'.

⁴ There are also the forms according to

the radical *ū*-declension *ā-prāyuvās*, *raghū-drīvas*.

⁵ See LANMAN 414².

⁶ The Mss. in AV. vi. 121² read *rājvām*. the only form of this word which occurs in the RV. is the N. sing. *rājju*s.

they generally gunate the stem, which then adds only -s instead of -as in the Ab. G. The L. sing. sometimes gunates the stem and adds -i, but generally takes Vrddhi without an ending. The V. always gunates the stem. The N. pl. m. f. nearly always gunates the -u, to which the normal ending -as is added. The A. pl. in the m. adds -u, in the f. -s, before which the vowel is lengthened. The G. pl. always takes -nām, lengthening the preceding vowel. The N. A. V. du. m. f. have no ending, simply lengthening the final vowel. The adjective *mādhū* 'sweet' may be used to illustrate the forms actually occurring:

Sing. N. m. f. *mādhū*, n. *mādhū*. A. m. f. *mādhūm*, n. *mādhū*. I. m. f. n. *mādhvā*, m. n. *mādhunā*. D. m. f. n. *mādhve*, m. *mādhve*. Ab. m. f. n. *mādhos*, m. n. *mādhvas*, n. *mādhunas*. G. m. f. n. *mādhos*, m. n. *mādhvas*; n. *mādhunas*. L. m. f. n. *mādhau*, m. n. *mādhavi*, n. *mādhuni*. V. m. f. *mādhō*, n. *mādhū*.

Du. N. A. V. m. f. *mādhū*, n. *mādhvī*. I. m. *mādhubhyām*. D. m. *mādhubhyām*. Ab. m. n. *mādhubhyām*. G. m. *mādhvos*, n. *mādhunos* (AV.). L. m. f. *mādhvos*.

Pl. N. V. m. f. *mādhavas*; *mādhvas*. N. A. n. *mādhū*, *mādhū*; *mādhūni*. A. m. *mādhūn*; *mādhvas*, f. *mādhūs*; *mādhvas*. I. m. f. n. *mādhubhis*. D. m. f. n. *mādhubhyas*. Ab. m. f. *mādhubhyas*. G. m. f. n. *mādhūnām*. L. m. f. n. *mādhusu*.

The forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. m. This form is very frequent, being made from 250 stems in the RV. and occurring nearly 900 times. The commonest examples are: *īndus* (64) 'drop', *viṣṇus* (34) 'Viṣṇu', *su-krātus* (32) 'skilful', *vāsus* (25) 'good', *ketūs* (23) 'brightness', *ṛbhūs* (21) 'deft', *vāyūs* (20) 'wind', *viśvāyus* (18) 'kind to all men', *sūnīs* (18) 'son', *sindhūs* (17) 'river', *cārus* (16) 'dear', *asmayīs* (16) 'desiring us', *devayīs* (15) 'devoted to the gods', *mānus* (15) 'man'. — *īśus* 'arrow', otherwise f., is once (VIII. 667) m.

a. The form *yūs* 'moving' is perhaps a corruption in VIII. 18¹³, where BLOOMFIELD (JAOS. 1906, p. 72) would read, for *riṛiṣṭa yūr*, *riṛiṣṭāyūr* = *riṛiṣṭa āyūr*.

b. In VII. 86³ *didṛkṣūpo* perhaps stands for *didṛkṣus+apo*; but the Pada reads *didṛkṣu*, and desiderative adjectives otherwise accent the final syllable; cp. LANMAN 405 (bottom).

f. This form is made from 31 stems and occurs 73 times in the RV. The commonest examples are *dhenīs* (22) 'cow', *sindhūs* (11), *śārus* (4) 'arrow', *vasūyūs* (3) 'desiring goods', *īśus* (2), *gātīs* (2) 'course', *cārus* (2), *jīvātus* (2) 'life'¹.

N. A. n. This form, which has no ending, is made from 68 stems and occurs over 400 times in the RV. The commonest examples are *mādhū* (77) ('sweetness'), *vāsu* (77) 'wealth', *urū* (51) 'wide', *cāru* (27), *sānu* (18) 'summit', *prthū* (15) 'broad', *tri-dhātu* (13) 'threefold', *purū* (13) 'much'. The RV. once has *pāsu* and the VS. (xxiii. 30) *paśū* 'animal'. In other Saṃhitās occur *tālū* (VS.) 'palate', *trāpu* (AV. VS.) 'tin'.

a. The final -u is metrically lengthened in *purū* (12 times), *mithū* (twice) 'wrongly', and *urū* (once)².

b. The metre seems to require the forms *āyu* (III. 49²), *jarāmrtyu* (AV. XIX. 30¹), *iṣṇū* (AV. III. 19¹), *pārayiṣṇū* (AV. VIII. 2²⁸), *bahū* (AV. XX. 135¹²), instead of the corresponding forms with -s, *āyus* etc., of the Saṃhitā text.

A. m. This form is made from 179 stems and occurs over 700 times in the RV. The commonest examples are: *krātum* (55) 'ability', *ketim* (34), *gātīm* (33) 'course' and 'song', *īndum* (27), *śīsum* (26) 'child', *sindhūm* (22),

¹ LANMAN 406 enumerates the stems which form this N.

² The Pada text here always has *purū*, *mithū*, *urū*. Cp. RPr. VII. 9, 19, 31; IX. 3.

āśīm (20) 'swift', *urīm* (18), *manyīm* (18) 'wrath', *vāyīm* (18), *aṃśīm* (17) 'shoot', *sūnīm* (17), *dāsūm* (15) 'fiend', *paśīm* (15), *bhānīm* (15) 'lustre', *bhujyīm* (15) N. of a man, *sātrum* (15) 'enemy'.

f. This form is made from 15 stems and occurs 50 times in the RV.: *ā-dhenum* 'yielding no milk', *arund-psum* 'of ruddy appearance', *īsum*, *krīmum* N. of a river, *cārum*, *jāsum* 'resting-place', *jigatūm* 'speeding', *jīrādānum* 'sprinkling abundantly', *jīvātum*, *dhānum* 'sandbank', *dhenūm*, *bhujyīm* 'viper', *vasūyīm*, *sārum*, *sindhūm*.

I. m. This case is formed in two ways. 1. Four stems in the RV. add the normal ending *-ā*, before which the *-u* is almost invariably pronounced as *v*: *paraśv-ā* 'axe', *paśv-ā*; *krātu-ā*¹, *śīsv-ā*. — 2. Owing to the influence of the *n*-declension 30 stems in the RV. add *-nā* instead of the normal *-ā*: *aṃśīnā*, *aktīnā* 'light', *an-āśīnā* 'not swift', *a-bandhīnā* 'kinless', *indunā*, *īṣunā* (Kh. iv. 73)², *urīnā*, *rjīnā* 'straight', *r̥tīnā* 'fixed time', *ketīnā*, *krātunā*³, *ceṭīnā* 'heed', *jiṣṇīnā* 'victorious', *tri-dhātunā*, *dhūmd-keṭunā* 'smoke-bannered', *dhṛṣṇīnā* 'bold', *paśīnā*, *bhānīnā*, *mānūnā*, *manyūnā*, *riplūnā* 'deceiver', *vagnīnā* 'roar', *vahatīnā* 'bridal procession', *vāyīnā*, *vi-bhīndīnā* 'splitting', *viṣṇunā*, *vīṣa-psunā* 'of strong appearance', *sādhīnā* 'straight', *su-ceṭīnā* 'benevolence', *setunā* (TS. iii. 2. 2)⁴ 'bridge', *stanayitīnā* 'thunder', *snīnā*⁵ 'summit'.

f. This form is made from 7 stems in the RV. by adding the normal ending *-ā*, before which the *u* is pronounced as a vowel in five stems: *cikitvā* (AV.), *panvā* 'praise'; *ā-dhenvā*, *īṣvā* (AV.; Kh. iv. 5 3¹), *mādhvā*, *mehatvā* N. of a river, *rājīvā* (AV.) 'rope', *sārvā*, *su-sārtvā* N. of a river, *hānvā* 'jaw'.

a. Six oxytone stems and also *mīthu-* form instrumentals with interposed *-y-*; they are used adverbially with shift of accent to the ending: *anu-ṣhuyā* 'immediately', *amuyā* 'thus', *āśuyā* 'quickly', *dhṛṣṇuyā* 'boldly', *raghuyā* 'swiftly', *sādhuyā* 'rightly'; *mīhuyā* 'falsely'.

n. This case is made in two ways. 1. The normal ending *-ā* is added directly to the stem. Of this formation there is only one example: *mādhvā*⁴ 'honey'. — 2. Owing to the influence of the *n*-declension 15 stems in the RV. add *-nā*: *urīnā*, *kr̥dhīnā* 'defective', *ghṛtā-smunā* 'dripping with ghee', *jarāyūnā* 'after-birth', *tītaūnā* 'sieve', *tr̥ṣṇā* 'greedy', *tri-dhātunā*, *dānūnā* 'fluid', *dr̥ṇā*⁵ 'wood', *dhṛṣṇīnā*, *pururīnā* 'far and wide', *pr̥thīnā*, *mādhunā*, *vāsūnā*, *sānūnā*, *svādīnā* 'sweet'.

D. m. This case is formed in two ways. 1. The ending *-e* is added to the unmodified stem in three words in the RV.: *krātve*⁶, *śīṣve*, *sahāsra-bāhve*⁷ 'having a thousand arms'. — 2. The ending *e* is added to the gunated final vowel in over 60 stems in the RV. The commonest examples are: *mānave* (36), *vāyave* (23), *viṣṇave* (13), *manyave* (12), *āyave* (10) 'living', *sūnave* (10), *dāsave* (9), *ripave* (7), *mṛtyave* (6) 'death', *pūrave* (5)⁸ 'man'.

f. This case is made in the same way as the second form of the m. from only three stems in the RV.: *jīvātave*, *dhenāve*, *sārave*.

n. This case is formed in three ways. 1. The ending *-e* is added to the

¹ Twice out of 59 occurrences pronounced *krātuā*. The form *krātūā* occurs VS. XXXIII. 72 and twice in the Khilas (II. 16²; v. 6³); and in Kh. iv. 53⁶ *kartvā* is perhaps meant for *krātūā*.

² For the *īṣvā* of AV. v. 5⁴.

³ The form *krātūnā* occurs 12 times, *krātūvā* 59 times, in the RV.

⁴ This form also occurs in VS. xx. 56 etc., TS. iv. i. 8¹ (twice) and Kh. v. 6⁴.

⁵ The words *snī-* and *dr̥i-* are not accented as monosyllabic stems because they are the reduced form of the dissyllables *sānu-* and *dānu-*.

⁶ *krātve* also occurs VS. xiv. 8; xxxviii. 28.

⁷ Pronounced *-bāhve*.

⁸ LANMAN 409 enumerates the stems which take this dative.

unmodified stem in one word: *páśv-e*¹. — 2. The ending *-e* is added to the **gunated stem** in two words: *uráve*, *viśvāyave*.

3. Owing to the influence of the *n*-declension *-ne* is added to the stem in one word in the RV.: *mādhune*. The AV. also has *kaśīpune* 'mat'.

Ab. m. This case is formed in two ways. 1. The normal ending *-as* is added to the **unmodified stem** in one word only: *pitu-ās* 'draught'. — 2. The ending *-s* is added to the **gunated stem** in 20 words in the RV.: *amhós* 'distress', *adhvaryós* 'officiating priest', *ṛt's*, *kṛśānos* N. of a divine archer, *kṣipānós* 'archer', *gāntós* 'course', *tanayitnós* 'thundering', *tanyatós* 'thunder', *devayós*, *ninitśós* 'wishing to blame', *pūrós*, *babhrós* (Kh. v. 15¹¹) 'brown', *manyós*, *mṛtyós*, *ririkṣós* 'wishing to injure', *roniṣṭhós* 'intestine', *vāyós*, *viśnos*, *sátros*, *sindhós*, *snós*.

f. This case is made in the same way as the second form of the m. The only two examples are: *dhānos* and *vāstos* 'dawn'. There is also one transition form due to the influence of the *ṛ*-declension: *īśv-ās*.

n. This case is made in three ways. 1. The ending *-as* is added to the **unmodified stem** in one word only: *mādhvas*. — 2. The ending *-s* is added to the **gunated stem**: *urós*, *dr's*², *mādhos* (Kh. iv. 12¹; TS. iv. 4. 12¹), *sānos*, *svādós*. — 3. Under the influence of the *n*-declension *-nas* is added to the stem: *mādhunas*, *sānunas*.

G. m. This case is made in two ways. 1. The ending *-as* is added to the **unmodified stem** in six words: *paśvas*, *pitvas*; *krátvas*, *mādhvas*, *vāsvas*, *śīśvas*³. — 2. The prevailing form is made by adding *-s* to the **gunated stem**, and appears in 70 words. The commonest examples are⁴: *āyós* (22), *viśnos* (14), *sindhós* (13), *aktós* (11), *vāyós* (10), *dāsyos* (8), *mānos* (8), *sátros* (5), *kārós* (4) 'singer'.

a. There is a single transition form according to the *n*-declension *cārunas*, which occurs only once (VIII. 5¹⁴).

f. This case is formed in one way only, like the second form of the m., from 5 stems: *aktós*, *dhenś*, *vāstos*, *sarāyos* N. of a river, *sindhós*.

n. This case is made like the Ab. n. 1. *mādhvas*⁵, *vāsvas*. — 2. The commonest form, made from 8 stems in the RV.: *urós*, *kṣós* 'food', *glīggułos* (AV.) 'bdellium', *cāros*, *mādhos* (+ AV.), *vāsos* (+ AV.), *vāstos* (+ AV.) 'dwelling', *sādhós*, *svādós*. — 3. *cārunas*, *dārunas*, *drīrunas*⁶, *mādhunas*⁷, *vāsunas*⁸.

L. m. This case is formed in two ways. 1. The normal ending *-i* is added to the **gunated final vowel** in 7 stems: *ánari* 'non-Aryan man', *trasādasyari* N. of a king, *dāsyari*, *druhyāvi* N. of a man, *pācitravi* N. of a man, *viśnavi*, *sūndāvi*. — 2. More usually the ending is dropped, leaving the final stem vowel with *Vṛddhi* instead of *Guṇa*. This form of the L. is taken by 19 stems in the RV.: *aktāu* 'at night', *āyāu*, *urāu*, *krātāu*, *carāu* 'pot', *druhyāu*, *pārśau* N. of a man, *pāśāu*,

¹ The stem *páśu-* occurs once in the N. as a neuter, and *páśve* must owing to the accent be taken as the D. of that stem; the m. stem is *paśu-*, D. *paśāve*.

² The form *drós* also occurs in Kh. iv. 5¹¹.

³ Possibly 4 other words written with *-as*, should be pronounced with *-nas*: *dhṛṣṇúas* (x. 22³), *ripúas* (iv. 3¹³), *pīprúas* (vi. 22⁷), *viṣṇúas* (VIII. 31¹⁰).

⁴ LANMAN 410 gives a list of the stems taking this form of the genitive.

⁵ Pronounced *mādhvas* twice out of 67 occurrences.

⁶ There is no certain evidence as to the gender of *drī-* 'wood', but, as it is a reduced form of *dāru-* which is n., it may be assumed to be n. There is also the form *drós*.

⁷ *mādhvas* occurs 67 times, *mādhos* 13 times, *mādhunas* 9 times in the RV. The VS. has all three forms in independent passages.

⁸ *vāsvas* occurs 38 times, *vāsos* 8 times, *vāsunas* 11 times in the RV.

pṛiṣṭi-gau N. of a man, *pṛtā-kratau* N. of a man, *pūrdu*, *mānu* and *manīu*¹, *yīdau* N. of a man, *srīṣṭi-gau* N. of a man, *sīndhau*, *sētau* 'bond', *svārau*² 'sacrificial post'.

f. This case is made in one way only, like the second form of the m. The only example in the RV. is *sīndhau*; the AV. has *śīrau*³ and *sītau* 'birth'.

n. This case is formed in three ways. 1. With the ending *-i* added to the gunated stem only in *sānavi*, which occurs 9 times. When the adjective *ārya-* or *aryīya-* 'made of sheep's wool' immediately follows, the L. of this word appears as *sāno*. The Pada here always has *sīnu*, but as the metre requires a short syllable it seems likely that the ending has been dropped to avoid a disagreeable sequence of syllables in *sānavy ārye*, but without leaving the lengthened form of the stem (*sānāvī*) because of the metre. A parallel form appears to be *vāsto* in the formula *vāsta usrās* 'at break of dawn', which occurs 5 times in the RV.⁴ — 2. As in the m., the usual form is that in *-au* formed from 8 stems: *a-rajjīu* 'not consisting of ropes', *urdu*, *ghṛṣau* 'lively', *pṛthūu*, *mādhau*, *vāsau*, *vīdūu* 'stronghold', *sīnuu*. — 3. According to the *n*-declension: *āyuni*, *dārūni* (AV.), *drīni* (Kh. i. 5¹⁰), *sānuni*⁵.

V. m. This case, which gunates the final vowel, is formed from 58 stems. The commonest examples are: *indo* (144), *vaso* (62), *śata-krato* (47) 'having a hundred powers', *vāyo* (43), *sāno* (36), *su-krato* (22)⁶.

f. This case which has the same form as the m., is made from 6 stems: *adri-sāno* 'dwelling on mountain tops', *dur-haṇo* 'ugly-jawed', *pṛthu-ṣto* 'having a broad tuft of hair', *sīndho*, *su-bāho* 'having strong arms', *sva-bhāno* 'self-luminous'.

n. The V. n. seems to have been identical in form with the N. judging by the only example which occurs: *gūggulu*⁷ (AV. xix. 38²).

Du. N. A. V. m. This form, which is made by lengthening the final vowel, occurs from 69 stems. The commonest examples are: *indra-vāyū* (22) 'Indra and Vāyu', *vājīnī-vasū* (21) 'rich in swift mares', *bāhū* (20) 'arms', *vṛṣaṇ-vasū* (18) 'possessing great wealth', *indrā-viṣṇū* (13) 'Indra and Viṣṇu'. The TS. has also *āgnī-viṣṇū* (I. 8. 22¹) 'O Agni and Viṣṇu'. There are besides two forms in which the final vowel is shortened⁸: *jigatnū* (VII. 65¹) 'speeding' and *su-hāntu* (VII. 19⁴)⁹ 'easy to slay'.

f. This form is made in the same way as the m. but is much rarer, occurring from 5 stems only: *jigatnū*, *dhenū*, *sā-bandhū* 'akin', *samānā-bandhū* 'having the same kin', *hānū*.

n. This form adds the regular ending *-ī*. The only example in the RV. is *urvi-ī*. The VS. has according to the *n*-declension *jānu-n-ī* (xx. 8) 'knees'.

I. m. *amśūbhyām* (VS. VII. 1), *an-āmayitnūbhyām* 'curative', *ṛṇ-bāhūbhyām* 'man's arms', *bāhūbhyām*. — f. *hānūbhyām* (VS. XI. 78)¹⁰.

D. m. *indra-vāyūbhyām* (VS. VII. 8), *indrā-viṣṇūbhyām* (VS. VII. 23), *bāhūbhyām*.

¹ Accented *manū* only when followed by *dāhi*.

² A possible m. L. with *n* would be *rājjuni*, an emendation for *rajanī* of the Mss. (AV. xx. 133). For the reading of AV. xx. 131¹² *vanīṣṭhū* the Mss. have *vanīṣṭhā* which, if correct, would be a unique example of *-ā* in the L. of the *n*-declension.

³ Emendation for *sīrau* of the Mss.; see WHITNEY's note on AV. v. 25¹.

⁴ See KÆGI, Festgruss an Böhtlingk 48 f.

⁵ *sānavi* occurs 9 times, *sāno* (*ārye*) 8 times, *sānu* 10 times, *sānuni* once.

⁶ The V. *vīdhāvaso* in Kh. II. 8² is wrongly accented.

⁷ The Mss. read *guggulū* or *guggulā*. See WHITNEY's note on the passage.

⁸ In both Samhitā and Pada text.

⁹ The RV. three times has the curious A. m. du. *bāhāvā* = *bāhū* apparently from a stem *bāhāva-*.

¹⁰ *hānūbhyām*, a transition to the *n*-stems, in TS. IV. 1. 10²; VII. 3. 16¹.

Ab. m. *urūbhyām* 'thighs', *bāhūbhyām*. — n. *jānubhyām* (AV.).

G. m. *ūrvoś*¹, *bāhvoś*¹. — n. according to the *n*-declension: *jānunos* (AV.).

L. m. *ūrvoś* (AV.), *bāhvoś*¹. — f. *hānuos*¹.

Pl. N. V. m. This case is formed in two ways. 1. The ending *-as* is added to the unmodified stem. Of this formation the only example is *mādhv-as* (occurring 4 times). — 2. The ending *-as* is added to the *gunated* stem, e. g. *aktāv-as*. This form is very frequent, being made from 161 stems and occurring over 700 times in the RV. The commonest examples are: *indavas* (67), *ṛbhāvas* (57), *vāsavas* (46), *sudānavas* (42) 'bounteous', *sindhavas* (34), *āśavas* (30), *adhvaryavas* (27), *āyavas* (27), *kārāvas* (18), *mitā-jñavas* (2) 'firm-kneed'.

f. This case is formed in the same two ways as the m. 1. Of this formation there are only two examples: *mādhv-as*, *śata-kratv-as*. — 2. The regular form is made from 15 stems in the RV.: *an-aśrāvas* 'tearless', *ā-bhīravas* 'fearless', *a-reṇḍavas* 'dustless', *iśavas*, *tri-dhātavas*, *dhenāvas*, *pārsavas*, *vasūdyavas*, *sāravas*, *sanīśyāvas* 'desirous', *sā-manyavas* and *sa-manyāvas* 'unanimous', *sindhavas*, *su-keṭavas*, *svā-setavas* 'forming one's own bridge', *hānavas*.

N. A. n. This form is made in two ways. 1. Twelve stems take no ending, four of them also lengthening the final vowel sometimes. These forms occur 76 times altogether in the RV., 48 times with short, 28 times with long vowel. The words occurring are: *urū*, *ṛjū*, *cāru*, *tri-dhātu*, *purī*², *bahū*, *mādhū*, *vāsu*, *vīlū*, *sānu*, *su-dhātu* 'manifold', *su-hāntu*; *urū*, *purī*³, *vāsu*⁴, *vīlū*. The Pada text always has the short vowel. — 2. The more usual form follows the *n*-declension, adding *-ni*, before which the final vowel is lengthened. It is made by 14 stems⁵ and occurs 127 times altogether in the RV.: *aghāyūni* (Kh. iv. 5³) 'malicious', *anūni* (AV.) 'minute', *alābūni* (AV.)⁶ 'gourds', *āsrūni* (AV.) 'tears', *karkāndhūni* (VS. xix. 23) 'jujube berries', *cārūni*, *tri-dhātūni*, *dānūni* 'fluid', *dārūni*, *devayūni*, *purūni*, *prthūni*, *bahūni*, *mādhūni*, *yuvayūni* 'longing for you both', *vāsūni*, *vāstūni*, *śmāsrūni*, *sānūni*.

A. m. This case is made in two ways. 1. The normal ending *-as* is added to the unmodified stem. The only two examples of this formation are *paśv-ās* and *kṛtv-as*⁷ 'times'. — 2. The usual form is made from 43 stems with the ending *-n*, before which the vowel is lengthened. The original ending *-ns* still survives as *-ñr* 45 times before vowels and once as *-ñs* before *ca*⁸. The commonest examples are *sātrūn* (43), *dāsyūn* (27), *sindhūn* (23), *aktūn* (9), *ṛtūn* (8), *paśūn* (5)⁹. From the VS.: *ākṣūn* (xxiv. 26) 'moles', *nyāṅkūn* (xxiv. 27) 'antelopes', *madgūn* (xxiv. 22) 'diver-birds', *malīmīlūn* (xi. 78; TS.) 'robbers', *rūrūn* (xxiv. 27) 'antelopes'. From the Khilas: *iṣūn* (iii. 16⁸).

f. This like the m. is formed in two ways. 1. The only example is *mādhv-as*, which occurs twice. — 2. The ending *-s* is added, before which the vowel is lengthened. The only two examples in the RV. (occurring 5

¹ To be pronounced *ūrvoś*, *bāhvoś*, *hānuos* in the RV.

² *purī* seems to be the only form of this kind in the AV., where it occurs once (XIX. 494).

³ *purī* occurs 24 times, *purī* 12 times (all but once at the end of a Pada).

⁴ *vāsu* occurs twice, *vāsu* 19 times (12 times at the end of a Pada).

⁵ Half of these also take the form without *n* in the RV.

⁶ The Mss. in AV. xx. 134¹ read *ālābūni*.

⁷ The A. of a noun *kṛtv-* 'making', used adverbially: *dhūri kṛtvās* (iii. 18¹) 'many times', *śāśvat kṛtvās* (iii. 54¹) 'innumerable times', *dāśu kṛtvās* (AV. xi. 2⁹) 'ten times'.

⁸ On the Sandhi of these accusatives in *-ūn* see LANMAN 415 (bottom) and 416 (top).

⁹ LANMAN 416 enumerates the stems which form this A.

times) are: *īśūs* and *dhenīs*. The Khila after RV. x. 9 has the form *vārenya-kratūs* 'intelligent', but the text of Kh. III. 13¹ reads *vārenya-kratus*¹.

I. m. This form is frequent, being made from 50 stems and occurring over 200 times. The commonest examples² are: *vāsubhis* (24), *aktibhis* (17), *ṛtibhis* (15), *āsibhis* (12), *pāyibhis* (12) 'protectors', *indubhis* (11), *bhānibhis* (7), *ṛbhībhis* (6), *sindhūbhis* (5), *snībhis*³ (5).

f. This case, formed in the same way as the m., is rare, only 3 examples occurring in the RV.: *eka-dhenubhis* 'excellent cows', *tri-dhātubhis*, *dhenibhis*.

n. *a-reṇibhis* 'dustless', *dśrubhis* (VS. xxv. 9), *karkāndhubhis* (VS. xxi. 32), *jarāyubhis* (AV.), *bahibhis*, *mādhūbhis* (Kh. I. 11⁷), *vāsubhis*, *śmāśrubhis* (VS. xxv. 1; SV.) 'beards', *su-māntubhis* 'benevolent'.

D. m. *a-satṛibhyas* 'foeless', *ṛtibhyas* (VS. xxii. 28), *ṛbhībhyas*, *guṅgibhyas* 'descendants of Guṅgu', *tṛtsubhyas* 'the Tṛtsus' (a tribe), *dāsābhṛtsubhyas*, 'having ten reins', *dāsyubhyas*, *paśibhyas*, *pūribhyas*, *bahibhyas*, *mṛgayibhyas* (VS. xvi. 27) 'hunters', *vāsubhyas*, *sindhūbhyas*.

f. There is no example in the RV. The AV. has two: *iśubhyas*, *dhenibhyas*. — **n.** *sānubhyas* (VS. xxx. 6).

Ab. m. *aktibhyas*, *jatṛibhyas* 'cartilages of the breast bone', *jighatsibhyas* (AV.) 'seeking to devour', *dāsyubhyas*, *bahibhyas*, *bhīgubhyas* 'Bhrgus', *mṛtyibhyas* (AV.), *sā-bandhubhyas* (AV.). — **f.** *dhānubhyas*, *sindhūbhyas*.

G. m. This case is formed from 23 stems in the RV., 12 being oxytones and 11 otherwise accented: 1. *ṛtūnām*, *ṛbhānām*, *ṛṣūnām* 'flames', *carūnām*, *devayūnām*, *paśūnām* (AV. VS. TS.), *pītūnām*, *purūnām*, *prāsūnām* 'very swift', *babhrūnām*, *bahūnām*, *yātūnām* 'spectres', *ripūnām*, *stāyūnām* (VS.) 'thieves'. — 2. *abhi-kratūnām* 'insolent', *abhiśūnām* 'reins', *ahy-ārśūnām* 'gliding like a snake', *krātūnām*, *tṛtsūnām*, *dāsyūnām* (AV.), *piyārūnām* (AV.) 'mischievous', *bhīgūnām*, *mānūnām*, *vāsūnām*, *sātrūnām*, *sā-bandhūnām* (AV.), *sindhūnām*, *svārūnām* 'sacrificial posts'. — **f.** *dhenūnām*; *sindhūnām*. — **n.** *mādhūnām*, *yāśūnām* 'embraces', *vāsūnām*.

L. m. *aṃśīṣu* (VS. viii. 57), *aktīṣu*, *ānuṣu*, *āsīṣu*, *druhyīṣu*, *paśīṣu* (AV.), *pūriṣu*, *bāhīṣu*, *yādūṣu*, *vī-bandhuṣu* (AV.) 'kinless', *viśvā-bhānuṣu* 'all-illuminating', *sātrūṣu*, *sindhuṣu*. — **f.** *vāstuṣu*, *sindhuṣu*⁴. — **n.** *urīṣu*, *vāstuṣu*, *śmāśruṣu*, *sānuṣu*, *snīṣu*⁵ (VS. TS.).

II. Pronouns.

BENFEY, *Vollständige Grammatik* 773—780 (p. 333—340). — WHITNEY, *Sanskrit Grammar* 490—526 (p. 185—199). — FISCHER, *ZDMG.* 35, 714—716. — DELBRÜCK, *Syntaktische Forschungen* 5, 204—221; cp. BRUGMANN, *KG.* 494—525, and *Die Demonstrativa der indogermanischen Sprachen*, Leipzig 1904.

390. The pronouns occupy a special position in declension, as being derived from a limited class of roots with a demonstrative sense, and as exhibiting several marked peculiarities of inflexion. These peculiarities are in some degree extended to a certain number of adjectives.

1. Personal Pronouns.

391. These are the most peculiar of all, as being for each person derived from several roots or combinations of roots, as being specially anomalous in inflexion, as not distinguishing gender and, to some extent,

¹ The m. A. *sindhūn* occurs once (x. 35²) in the sense of a f.

² LANMAN 416 (bottom) enumerates the stems taking this case.

³ Accentuated like a dissyllable as elsewhere.

⁴ *āyīṣu* (I. 58³) is perhaps a transfer form for *āyīṣu*; cp. LANMAN 419².

⁵ With dissyllabic accent as usual.

not even number. Some resemble neuters in form; a few have no apparent case-ending; in two of them the acc. pl. masc. does duty as fem. also.

The forms of the first and second person¹ which occur are:

1. Sing. N. *ahám*². A. *mām*, *mā*. I. *māyā*. D. *māhyam*, *māhya*, *me*³. Ab. *mād*⁴. G. *māma*, *me*. L. *māyi*⁵.

Du. N. *vām* (RV¹).⁶. A. *nau*. D.⁷ *nau*. Ab. *āvād* (TS.). G.⁸ *nau*.

Pl. N. *vayām*. A. *asmān*⁹, *nas*³. I. *asmābhis*. D. *asmābhyam*, *asmē* (RV.), *nas*. Ab. *asmād*. G. *asmākam*¹⁰, *asmāka*¹¹ (RV¹), *nas*. L. *asmē*, *asmāsu*¹².

2. Sing. N. *tvām*¹³. A. *tvām*, *tvā*. I. *tvāyā*, *tvā* (RV.). D. *tībhyam*, *tībhya*, *te*¹⁴. Ab. *tvād*. G. *tāva*, *te*. L. *tvē*¹⁵ (RV. VS.), *tvāyi* (AV. VS. TS.).

Du. N. *yuvām*. A. *yuvām*, *vām*. I. *yuvābhyām*, *yuvābhyām*. D. *vām*. Ab. *yuvād* (RV¹). G. *yuvās* (RV. and Kh.I.12¹), *yuvāyos* (TS.III.5.4¹), *vām*.

Pl. *yūyām*¹⁶. A. *yusmān*¹⁷, f. *yusmās* (VS²), *vas*¹⁸. D. *yusmābhyam*, *vas*. Ab. *yusmād*. G. *yusmākam*¹⁰, *yusmāka* (RV²), *vas*. L. *yusmē*.

a. The usual stems representing these personal pronouns in derivation or as first member of a compound are *ma-*, *asma-*; *tva-*, *yuva-*, *yusma-*; e. g. *mā-vant* 'like me', *asma-drīh-* 'hating us', *tvā-vant* 'like thee', *tvā-yata-* 'presented by thee'; *yuva-yi-* 'desiring you two', *yuvā-dhita-* 'established by you two', *yuvā datta-* 'given by you two'; *yusma-yant-* 'desiring you', *yusmā-ūta-* 'supported by you'; *yusmā-datta-* 'given by you'¹⁹.

b. The forms *mad-*, *asmad-*, *tvad-* occur a few times as first member of compounds; thus *māt-kṛta-* 'done by me', *māt-sakhi-* 'my companion', *mat-tās* (AV.) 'from me'; *asmāt-sakhi-* 'having us as companions', *asmād-rāta-* (VS.) 'given by us'; *tvāt-pitṛ-* (TS.) 'having thee as father'; *tvād-youi-* (AV.) 'derived from thee', *tvād-vvācana-* (TS.) 'having thee as umpire'.

c. *aḥam-*, *mām-*, *mama-*; *asme-*; *tvām-* are also sometimes found as first member of compounds; thus *aḥam-uttarā-* (AV.) 'struggle for precedence', *aḥam-ṣṭurvā-* 'eager to be first', *aḥam-yi-* 'proud'; *mām-ṣṭiyā-* (AV.) 'looking at me'; *mama-satyā-* 'dispute as to ownership'; *asmē-hiṭ-* 'errand for us'; *tvām-kāma-* 'desiring thee', *tvām-āhuti-* (TS.) 'offering to thee'.

2. Demonstrative Pronouns.

392. *Tū-* 'that', which also serves as the personal pronoun of the third person, 'he', 'she', 'it', is typical, in its inflexion, of the adjectival pronoun. It has the special peculiarity of using the stem *sa-* for the nom. masc. and fem. sing. and, in the RV., for the loc. sing. masc. and neut. The general peculiarities of the adjectival pronominal declension, as distinct from

¹ Cp. GAEDICKE, Akkusativ 12—14.

² On the formation of *ahām* cp. J. SCHMIDT, KZ. 36, 405 ff. — All the nominatives of the personal pronouns are formed with *-am* as also the N. sing. of the demonstrative *ayām* and the reflexive *svayām*.

³ The unaccented forms of the personal pronoun (85) may be accompanied by accented words in agreement with them; e. g. *te jāyatah* 'of thee when conquering'; *vo vṛtābhyah* 'for you that were confined'; *nas tribhyāh* 'to us three'.

⁴ *mād* is two or three times unaccented in the AV.

⁵ Cp. BARTHOLOMAE, ZDMG. 50, 725.

⁶ This seems to be the only nom. form (VI. 55¹) occurring in the Samhitās. The nom. in the ŚB. is *āvām*, in the AB. *āvām*; the acc. in the ŚB. is *āvām*. The form *vām* must be an abbreviation of *āvām*.

⁷ The AB. has *āvābhyām*.

⁸ The ŚB. has *āvāyos*.

⁹ *asmān* and *yusmān* are new formatives

according to the nominal declension; cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 519, 2, note.

¹⁰ *asmākam* and *yusmākam* are properly acc. n. of the possessives *asmāka-*, *yusmāka-*; cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 524, 4.

¹¹ Occurs only in I. 173¹⁰.

¹² *asmāsu* is a new formation according to the inst. *asmā-bh s*.

¹³ *tvām* must often be read as *tūam*.

¹⁴ *te*, originally only loc., is used as dat. and gen.; similarly *me*; the loc. *asmē* is also used as dat.

¹⁵ Cp. BARTHOLOMAE, loc. cit.

¹⁶ Originally **yūś-ām* where *y* was substituted for the sibilant owing to the influence of *vayām*; cp. BARTHOLOMAE, op. cit. 726, note; BRUGMANN, KG. 513 and note 3, 518.

¹⁷ *yusmān* is a new formation according to the nominal declension (like *asmān*).

¹⁸ The inst. was originally in all probability *yusmā* (like *tvā*), which later became *yusmābhis* (like *asmābhis*).

¹⁹ This compound may preserve the old inst.

the nominal *a*-declension, are that 1. in the singular they take *-d* instead of *-m* in the nom. and acc. neut.; the element *-sma-* in the dat., abl., loc. masc. and neut.; the element *-sya-* in the dat., abl., gen., loc. fem.; the suffix *-in* in the loc. masc. and neut.¹; 2. in the plural they take *-e* for *-ās* in the nom. masc.; *s* for *n* in the gen. before *-ām*.

1. The inflexion of *tā-* accordingly is as follows:

Sing. N. m. *sā-s*², f. *sā*, n. *tā-d*. A. m. *tā-m*, f. *tā-m*, n. *tā-d*. I. m. *tēnā*³, f. *tīyā*. D. m. n. *tā-smai*, f. *tī-syai*. Ab. m. n. *tā-smāt*, f. *tā-syās*. G. m. n. *tā-sya*, f. *tā-syās*. L. *tā-smin*⁴, *sā-smin* (RV.), f. *tā-syām*.

Du. N. A. m. *tā*, *tāu*, f. *tē*, n. *tē*. I. m. f. *tā-bhyām*⁵. Ab. m. *tā-bhyām*. G. m. n. *tāyos*. L. m. *tāyos*.

Pl. N. m. *tē*, f. *tās*, n. *tā*, *tāni*. A. m. *tān*, f. *tās*, n. *tā*, *tāni*. I. m. n. *tē-bhis*, *tāis* (AV.; Kh. II. 10⁴), f. *tā-bhis*. D. m. n. *tē-bhyas*, f. *tā-bhyas*. G. m. *tē-sām*, f. *tā-sām*. L. m. *tē-su*, f. *tā-su*.

a. The stem *tā-* is frequently used in derivation, especially that of adverbs; e. g. *tā-thā* 'thus', *tā-vant* 'so great', *tā-ti* (AV.) 'so many', and in the compound *tā-dīś* 'such'.

b. The neuter form *tād* is often used as the first member of a compound; thus *tād-anna* 'having that food'; *tād-apas* 'accustomed to that work'; *tād-id-artha* 'having just that as an object'; *tād-okas* 'delighting in that'; *tād-ojas* 'possessing such power'; *tād-vaśā* 'having a desire for that'; *tād-vidā* (AV.) 'knowing that'.

2. Two other demonstrative pronouns are formed from *tā-*. a. One of them, *etā-*, formed by prefixing the pronominal element *e*⁶, means 'this here'. It is inflected exactly like *tā-* and is of common occurrence. The forms which occur are:

m. Sing. m. N. *eśās* or *eśā*². A. *etām*. I. *etēna*. D. *etāsmāi* (TS.). Ab. *etāsmāt* (AV.). G. *etāsya* (AV.). — Du. N. *etā*, *etāu*. — Pl. N. *etē*. A. *etān*. I. *etēbhis*, *etāis* (AV.). D. *etēbhyas*.

f. Sing. N. *eśā*. A. *etām*. I. *etāyā*. L. *etāsyām*. — Du. N. *etē*. — Pl. N. *etās*. A. *etās*. I. *etābhis* (AV.). L. *etāsu* (AV.).

n. Sing. N. *etād*. — Pl. N. *etā* (+VS.), *etāni*.

a. The stem used in derivation and composition is *eta-*; thus *etā-vant* 'so great'; *etā-dīś* 'such'.

b. The other secondary demonstrative, *tyā-*, is derived from *tā-* with the suffix *-ya*⁷ and means 'that'. It is common in the RV., but rare in the later Samhitās⁸. It is used adjectivally, being nearly always accompanied by its substantive. It is never found at the beginning of a sentence except when followed by *u*, *cid*, *nī*, or *sī*⁹.

The forms occurring are:

m. Sing. N. *tyā*¹⁰ (+VS.). A. *tyām*. G. *tyāsya*. — Du. N. *tyā*. — Pl. N. *tyē*. A. *tyān*. I. *tyēbhis*.

f. Sing. N. *tyā*. A. *tyām*. I. *tyā* (for *tyāyā*). G. *tyāsya*. — Du. N. *tyē*. — Pl. N. *tyās*. I. *tyās*.

n. Sing. N. *tyād* (+TS.). — Pl. *tyā*, *tyāni*.

393. The demonstrative which appears as *ayām* in in the nom. sing. masc. and means 'this here', employs the pronominal roots *a-* and (in various modifications) *i-* in its inflexion, the latter being used in nearly all the

¹ This suffix is once found in the RV., in the form of *-min*, attached to *yādīś* 'having what appearance', though the stem ends in a consonant.

² On the Sandhi of *sā-* and *eśā-* see 78.

³ The Pada text always reads *tēna*.

⁴ *sāsmīn* occurs nearly half as often as *tāsmīn* in the RV.

⁵ In IX. 66² this form (f.) seems to have a loc. sense; see LANMAN 343⁴.

⁶ According to BRUGMANN, KG. 495, 6, note 3, originally loc. sing. of *a-*.

⁷ Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 401 and 495, 2.

⁸ It occurs two or three times also in B.

⁹ Cp. GRASSMANN, s. v. *tyā*.

¹⁰ *tyā-* and *tyā-* are often to be read with Vyūha.

nom. and acc. forms, the former in the other cases. The acc. sing. masc. and fem. starts from *i-m*¹, the acc. of *i-*, and is followed by the nom. acc. du. and pl., all these forms having the appearance of being made from a stem *ima-*. The nom. sing. fem. is formed from *i-*², and the nom. acc. sing. neut. from *i-d* (the N. A. n. of *i-*), both with the suffix *-am* added. The nom. sing. masc. is formed from *a-* with the suffix *-am* and interposing *-y-*. The remaining cases formed from *a-*³ are inflected throughout like *tā-*.

The inflexion of this pronoun is accordingly as follows:

Sing. N. m. *a-yām*, f. *i-yām*, n. *i-dām*. A. m. *imām*, f. *imām*, n. *i-dām*. I. m. *e-nā*³, f. *ayā*⁴. D. m. *a-smāi*⁵, f. *a-syāi*. Ab. m. *a-smāt*⁶, f. *a-syās*. G. m. *a-syā*⁷, f. *a-syās*. L. m. *a-smīn*, f. *a-syām*.

Du. N. A. m. *imā*, *imāu*, f. *imē*, n. *imē*. D. m. *ā-bhyām* (RV¹). Ab. m. *ā-bhyām*. G. m. *a-yōs* (RV.)⁸. L. m. *a-yōs*⁹ (RV.).

Pl. N. m. *imē*, f. *imās*, n. *imā*, *imāni*. A. m. *imān*, f. *imās*, n. *imā*, *imāni*. I. m. *e-bhis*, f. *ā-bhis*¹⁰. D. m. *e-bhyās*, f. *ā-bhyās*. G. m. *e-śām*, f. *ā-śām*. L. m. *e-śū*, f. *ā-śū*.

394. The corresponding demonstrative employed to express remoteness, 'that there', 'yon', appears in the nom. sing. masc. fem. as *asāu*. The pronominal root employed throughout its inflexion is *a-*, but always in an extended form only. The fundamental stem used in every case, excepting the nom. sing., is *a-m*, acc. masc. of *a-*; this is extended by the addition of the particle *u* to *amu-*, which has become the stem in the oblique cases of the sing. (with long *u* in the acc. fem.); in the plur. *amū-* is the fem. and *amī-* the masc. stem (except the acc.). The nom. sing. forms are quite peculiar. In the masc. and fem. the pronominal root *a-* seems to be compounded with *sa-* extended by the particle *u*: *a-sā-u* and *a-sā-u*¹¹; while the neut. has the pronominal *-d* extended with the suffix *-as*: *a-dās*. Only one dual form has been noted, and several plural case forms are wanting. The forms found in the Samhitās are the following:

m. Sing. N. *asāu*. A. *amīm*. I. *amīnā* (VS.). D. *amī-śmai*. Ab. *amī-śmāt* (AV. TS.). G. *amī-sya*¹². L. *amī-śmin* (AV.). — Pl. N. *amī*¹³. A. *amīn* (AV.). D. *amībhyas* (AV.). G. *amī-śām*.

f. Sing. N. *asāu*. A. *amīm*. I. *amuyā*¹⁴. D. *amī-syai* (VS.). G. *amī-syās* (AV.). — Du. N. *amū* (AV.). — Pl. N. *amīs*. A. *amīs*.

n. Sing. N. *adās*. — Pl. N. *amū* (AV.).

395. A defective unaccented pronoun of the third person meaning 'he', 'she', and in the AV. 'it', is *e-na*¹⁵. It occurs almost exclusively in the

¹ Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 495, 10.

² From *i-* is also formed the acc. *i-m* and the neut. *i-d*, both used as particles.

³ The Pada text always reads *enā* (the unaccented *ena* occurs twice). This and all other oblique cases formed from *a-*, when used as nouns may lose their accent; see 85 β 3; cp. GRASSMANN, s. v. *idām*. On *ayām* see BRUGMANN, KG. 498, 3.

⁴ This inst. is fairly frequent in the RV.; instead of it *anīyā* occurs twice (IX. 65^{12.27}), being probably a later correction to obviate the hiatus. Otherwise no forms of *ana-* (*anēna*, *anīyā*, *anīyos*) occur in the Samhitās. But *anēna* (n.) occurs in Kh. III. 16⁷.

⁵ *asmāi* and *asya* are accented on the first syllable, the former four or five times, the latter about ten times, when specially emphatic at the beginning of a Pada in the RV.

⁶ The abl. according to the nominal declension, *dā*, is used as a conjunction.

⁷ The form *imāsyā* also occurs once.

⁸ To be read as *āyōs*.

⁹ Seems to be wrongly read as *āyōs* in the Pada text; cp. LANMAN 344³.

¹⁰ *ābhis* occurs ten times in the RV.; it is thrice accented *ābhis* and thrice unaccented: cp. note ⁵.

¹¹ Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 495, 6; 498, 4.

¹² This is the only instance of *-sya* being added to any but an *a-* stem.

¹³ This form is Praghya (70). On its origin cp. IF. 18, 64, note.

¹⁴ Used adverbially, with shifted accent.

¹⁵ The same *e-* (loc. of *a-*) as in *i-ka-* 'one', *e-vā* 'thus'; cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 495, 6.

acc. (the great majority of occurrences being masc. sing.). Otherwise it is found only twice in the inst. sing. and three or four times in the gen. dual. The forms occurring are: **m. Sing.** A. *enam*. I. *enena* (AV.). — **Du.** A. *enau* (AV.). G. *enos* (RV.), *enayos* (AV.). — **Pl.** A. *enān*.

f. Sing. A. *enīm*¹. **Du.** A. *ene*. **Pl.** A. *enīs*. — **n. N.** *enad* (AV.; Kh. iv. 65).

396. Another demonstrative found nearly twenty times in the RV., but otherwise occurring only once in the AV., is the unaccented pronoun *tva*-² meaning 'one', 'many a one', generally repeated, in the sense of 'one — another'. The forms occurring are: **m. Sing.** N. *tvas*. A. *tṛam*. I. *tvena*. D. *tvasmai*. **Pl.** N. *tve*³. — **f. Sing.** N. *tvā*. D. *tvasyai*. — **n. Sing.** N. *tvaḥ*.

a. The pronoun *avā*-⁴ 'this' is found two or three times in the RV., and only in the gen. du. form. *avās* in combination with *vām*, meaning 'of you two being such' (used like *sa*, e. g. *sā tvām* 'thou as such').

b. The pronoun *āma*-⁵ 'this' occurs only once in the AV.: *āmo 'hām asmi* (xiv. 27¹), 'this am I'.

3. Interrogative Pronoun.

397. The interrogative *kā*-, 'who?', 'which?', 'what?' used both as substantive and adjective, is quite regular in its declension, excepting the alternative neuter form *kī-m*⁶, which instead of the pronominal *-d* has the nominal *-m* (never elsewhere attached to a stem in *-i*). The forms occurring are:

m. Sing. N. *kās*. A. *kām*. I. *kēna*. D. *kāsmāi*. Ab. *kāsmāt* (AV.). G. *kāśya*. L. *kāsmīn*. — **Du.** *kāu*. — **Pl.** N. *kē*. I. *kēbhis*. L. *kēsu* (VS.).

f. Sing. N. *kā*. A. *kām*. I. *kāyā*. G. *kāśyās* (AV. VS.). — **Pl.** N. *kās*. A. *kās*. L. *kāsu*.

n. Sing. N. A. *kā-d*⁷ (RV.) and *kī-m*. — **Pl.** N. A. *kā* and *kāni*.

a. In forming derivatives, which are numerous, the stem of the interrogative employed is not only *kā*-, but also *kī*- and *ku*-; e. g. *kā-ti* 'how many?'; *kī-yant* 'how great?'; *kū-ha* 'where?'. The neuter form *kīm* is twice used in this way: *kīm-yū* 'desiring what?'; *kīm-māya* 'consisting of what?'.

b. In the formation of compounds *kad* occurs twice as first member: in *kat-payā* 'greatly swelling', and *kād-ārtha* 'having what purpose?'. *kīm* is similarly used a few times in the later Samhitās; thus *kīm-śilā* (VS. TS.) 'being in stony ground', *kīm-karā* (AV.) 'servant'.

4. Relative Pronoun.

398. The relative pronoun *yā*-, 'who', 'which', 'what' is perfectly regular in its declension. The forms occurring are:

m. Sing. N. *yās*⁸. — A. *yām*. I. *yēnā*⁹ and *yēna*. D. *yāsmāi*. Ab. *yāsmāt*¹⁰. G. *yāśya*. L. *yāsmīn*. — **Du.** N. A. *yā*, *yāu*. D. *yābhyām*. G. *yāyos*. L. *yāyos* and *yōs*¹¹ (RV.). — **Pl.** N. *yē*. A. *yān*. I. *yēbhis*, *yāis* (AV.; Kh. i. 9²). D. *yēbhyas*. G. *yēśām*. L. *yēśu*.

¹ This form occurs once (VIII. 619) at the beginning of a sentence and is then accented as *enām*.

² The unaccented adverb *tvadānīm* (MS. IV. 2²) 'sometimes', is derived from this pronoun.

³ See WHITNEY's note on AV. VIII. 9⁹ in his translation.

⁴ This pronoun also occurs in the Avesta; cp. BRUGMANN 495, 10.

⁵ From this pronoun are derived the inst. and abl. adverbs (with shifted accent) *amā* 'at home' and *anāt* 'from near at hand'.

⁶ The nom. masc. is preserved as a petri-

fied form in *nā-kis* and *mā-kis* 'no one', 'nothing', 'never'.

⁷ The relative frequency of *kād* to *kīm* in the RV. is as 2 to 3.

⁸ *yās* is the commonest declensional form in the RV., occurring more than 1000 times.

⁹ *yēnā* is twice as common in the RV. as *yēna*; the Pada text, however, always reads *yēna* (cp. LANMAN 332).

¹⁰ The ablative according to the nominal declension, *yāt*, is used as a conjunction.

¹¹ *yōs* for *yāyos*, like *yuvōs* for *yuvāyos*; cp. BB. 23, 183; ZDMG. 50, 589.

f. Sing. N. *yá*. A. *yám*. I. *yáyā*. G. *yásyās*. L. *yásyām*. — Du. N. *yé* (TS. AV.). G. *yáyos*. L. *yáyos*. — Pl. N. *yās*. A. *yās*. I. *yābhis*. D. *yābhyas*. G. *yāsām*. L. *yāsu*.

n. Sing. N. A. *yád*. — Du. *yé*. — Pl. *yā*, *yāni*.

a. The stem of *yá-* is used in the formation of many derivatives; e. g. *yá-thā* 'as'; it also appears as first member of a compound in *yá-dīś-* 'which like'. The neuter form *yad* is once used similarly in the RV.: *yāt-kāma-* 'desiring what'.

b. The relative receives the indefinite meaning of 'whoever'¹ by the addition of *kás ca*, *kás cid*, or *cid* alone; e. g. *yád vo vayám cakrma kác cid āgah* (II. 27¹⁴) 'whatever sin we have committed against you'; *yāt kin ca duritām máyi* (I. 23¹²) 'whatever sin (there is) in me'; *yé cid dhi tvām śayah pūva ūdāye juhūrē* (I. 48¹⁴) 'whatever early seers have called on thee for aid'.

5. Indefinite Pronouns.

399. a. In the RV. there are found the two simple indefinite pronouns *sama* (unaccented) 'any', 'every' and *simá-* 'every', 'all'. The six forms of the former which occur are: m. Sing. A. *samam*. D. *samasmai*. Ab. *samasmāt*. G. *samasya*. L. *samasmin*. — Pl. N. *same*. From *simá-* are met with the five forms: Sing. V. *síma*. N. *simás*. D. *simásmai* (neut.). Ab. *simásmāt*. — Pl. *simá*.

b. Compound indefinite pronouns are formed by combining the particles *ca*, *caná*, or *cid* with the interrogative; thus *kás ca* 'any', 'any one'; *kás caná* 'any one soever', 'every'; *kás cid* 'any', 'some'; 'any one', 'some one'.

6. Reflexive Pronouns.

400. 1. The reflexive adjective is *svá-* 'own', which refers to the first and second as well as the third person of all numbers; e. g. *yád, indrāgnī, mādathah své duroṇé* (I. 108⁷) 'when, O Indra and Agni, ye rejoice in your own abode'.

2. The substantive reflexive is *sva-y-ám* 'self', which is derived from *svá-* with the suffix *-am* and interposing *y* (as *a-y-ám* from *a-*). It is properly used as a nom. referring to all three persons; e. g. *svayám yajasva divi, deva, deván* (x. 7⁶) 'do thou thyself, O god, worship the gods in heaven'. Sometimes, however, the nominative nature of the pronoun is forgotten and *svayám* is used agreeing in sense with another case; e. g. *vatsám . . svayám gātūm . . icchámānam* (iv. 18¹⁰) 'the calf himself seeking a way'.

3. Other cases than the nom. are regularly expressed in the RV. by *tanú-* 'body'; e. g. *svayám gātūm tanvā icchámānam* (iv. 18¹⁰) 'himself seeking a way for himself (*tanvè*)'; *yajasva tanvām* (x. 7⁶) 'worship thyself'; *mā hāsmahi prajāyā, mā tanūbhīh* (x. 128⁵) 'may we suffer no harm with (regard to our) offspring or ourselves'. The reflexive adjective and a possessive gen. may be added; e. g. *agne, yajasva tanvām táva svām* (vi. 11²) 'Agni, worship thine own self'².

4. There are one or two instances in the RV. of the incipient use of *ātman-* 'soul' in a reflexive sense; thus *bálan dādāhāna ātmāni* (ix. 113¹) 'putting strength into himself'; *yákṣman sárvasmād ātmānas . . ví vyāhami* (x. 163⁶) 'I expel the disease from (thy) whole self'. The acc. *ātmānam*, though not met with in the RV. as a reflexive, is frequently found so used in the later Saphitās³; also in Kh. III. 10³.

a. In the formation of compounds *sva-* several times appears in the substantive as well as the adjective sense as first member; e. g. *svá-yukta-* 'self-yoked'; *sva-yūḡvan-* 'own companion'. *svayám* is also thus used in a few compounds; thus *svayam-jā-* 'self-born'; *svayam-bhū-* 'self-existent'.

¹ Cp. DELBRÜCK, Syntaktische Forschungen 5, 569—570.

² Cp. DELBRÜCK op. cit. 135, and GRASS-MANN, s. v. *svá-* and *tanú-*.

³ See DELBRÜCK op. cit. 155.

7. Possessive Pronouns.

401. Possessive pronouns are of rare occurrence because the genitive of the personal pronoun is generally used to express the sense which they convey.

a. The possessives of the first person are *māmaka-* (RV.) 'my', *māmakā-* 'my', (both formed from the genitive of the personal pronoun *māma*)¹, and *asmāka-* 'our'. The commonest form of the latter is the N. A. neut. *asmākam*, which is used as the gen. plur. of the personal pronoun². The other forms occurring are *asmākena*, *asmākāśas*, and *asmākēbhis*. The VS. also has the form *āsmākās* (IV. 24) 'our' from a secondary derivative³.

b. The possessives of the second person are *tāvakā-* (RV.) 'thy', (from *tāva*), met with only in the form *tāvakēbhyas*; *tvā-*⁴ (RV.) 'thy', found only in the inst. pl. *tvābhis* (II. 20²); and *yusmāka-* 'your', the N. A. neut. of which is used as the gen. pl. of the personal pronoun of the second person; it otherwise occurs only in the RV. in the two forms *yusmākena* and *yusmākēbhis*.

c. Besides being used reflexively, *svā-* is fairly often employed as a simple possessive, generally as that of the third person, 'his', 'her', 'their', but also of the second, 'thy', 'your', and of the first, 'my', 'our'. It is, however, inflected like an ordinary adjective, having only two isolated forms according to the pronominal declension⁵. The forms which occur are:

m. sing. N. *svās*. A. *svām*. I. *svēna* and *svēnā*⁶. D. *svāya*. Ab. *svāt*. G. *svāsyā*. L. *svē* and *svāsmīn* (RV.). — Pl. N. *svās* (AV.). A. *svām* (AV.). I. *svēbhis* and *svāis*. D. *svēbhyas* (Kh. v. 1²). G. *svānām* (AV.; Kh. II. 10⁴). L. *svāsu*.

f. sing. N. *svā*. A. *svām*. I. *svāyā*. D. *svāyai*. Ab. *svāyās*. G. *svāsyās* (RV.). L. *svāyām*. — Pl. N. *svās*. A. *svās*. I. *svābhis*. L. *svāsu*.

n. sing. N. A. *svām*. — Pl. A. *svā*.

8. Pronominal derivatives and compounds.

402. A certain number of derivatives are formed from the roots or stems of simple pronouns by means of suffixes which modify the pronominal sense. There are also a few pronominal compounds.

a. With the suffix *-ka*, conveying a diminutive or contemptuous meaning, derivatives are formed from the pronouns *tā-*, *yā-*, *sā-*, and *asū-*; thus *ta-kā-* (RV.) 'that little', of which the forms A. sing. m. *ta-kā-m* and n. *ta-kā-d* occur; *yā-ka-* 'who', 'which', the only forms met with being N. m. *yakās*, f. *yakā* (VS. XXIII. 22, 23), and N. pl. m. *yaké* (RV.); *sa-kā-* (RV. AV.) 'that little', of which only N. sing. f. *sakā* occurs; N. sing. f. *asakāu* 'that little' (VS. XXIII. 22, 23).

b. With the comparative suffix *-tara* derivatives are formed from *i-*, *kā-*, and *yā-*; and with the superlative suffix *-tama*, from the latter two; thus *i-tara-* 'other'; *ka-tarā-* 'which of two?'; *ya-tarā-* 'who or which of two?'; *ka-tamā-* 'who or which of many?'; *ya-tamā-* 'who or which of many'.

c. With *-ti* derivatives with a numerical sense are formed from *kā-*, *tā-*, and *yā-*; thus *kā-ti* 'how many?', *tā-ti* (AV.) 'so many'; *yā-ti* 'as many'. No inflected forms of these words occur.

¹ Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 524, 2.

² Op. cit. 524, 4.

³ Formed like *māmakā-* beside *māmaka-*.

⁴ Used as a possessive probably under

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the influence of *svā-*; cp. BRUGMANN, op. cit. 524, 2.

⁵ That is, *svāsyās* and *svāsmīn*.

⁶ The Pada text always reads *svāna*.

d. With **-yant**, expressing the quantitative meaning of 'much', derivatives are formed from *i-* and *ki-*: *i-yant*- 'so much' (n. N. sing. *īyat*, pl. *īyānti*; f. D. sing. *īyatyai*); *ki-yant*- 'how much?' (sing. N. n. adv. *kīyat*, D. m. *kīyate*, L. *kīyāti* for *kīyati*; N. f. *kīyātī*).

e. With **-vant** are formed derivatives from personal pronouns with the sense of 'like', 'attached to', and from others in the quantitative sense of 'great'; thus *tvā-vant*- 'like thee', *mā-vant*- 'like me'; *yuvā-vant*- (RV.) 'devoted to you two' (only D. *yuvāvate*); *yusmā-vant*- (RV.) 'belonging to you' (only L. pl. *yusmāvatsu*); *etā-vant*- and *tā-vant*- 'so great'; *yā-vant*- 'as great'; *i-vant*- 'so great' (sing. N. n. *īvat*, D. m. n. *īvate*, G. *īvatas*; pl. A. m. *īvatas*); *kī-vant*- 'how far?' (G. *kīvatas*).

f. With **-dṛś-**, **-dṛśa-**, **-dṛkṣa-** are formed the following pronominal compounds: *ī-dṛkṣa-* (VS.) and *ī-dṛś-* (VS. TS.) 'such'; *etā-dṛkṣa-* (VS.) and *etā-dṛś-* 'such' (N. sing. n. *etādṛk*); *kī-dṛś-* 'what like?' (N. sing. m. *kīdṛñ*); *tā-dṛś-* 'such' (N. sing. m. *tādṛk*); *yā-dṛś-* 'what like' (sing. m. N. *yādṛk*, L. *yādṛśmin*).

9. Pronominal Adjectives.

403. Certain adjectives derived from pronominal roots or allied to pronouns in sense conform in varying degrees to the pronominal declension.

1. The adjectives which **strictly** adhere to the **pronominal** type of inflexion are *anyā-* 'other', and (as far as can be judged by the few forms occurring and by the usage of the later language) the derivatives formed with *-tara* and *-tama* from *kā-* and *yā-*. The specifically pronominal cases of the latter which have been met with are: sing. N. n. *katarād* (AV.), *yatarād*; *katamād*, *yatamād* (AV.); D. m. *katamāsmāi* (VS.); G. f. *katamāsyās* (AV.); L. f. *yatamāsyām* (AV.); Pl. N. m. *katamē* (AV.), *yatamē* (AV.). No such form of *ītara-* has been found. The forms of *anyā-* which occur are:

m. sing. N. *anyās*. A. *anyām*. I. *anyāna*. D. *anyāsmāi* (AV.). G. *anyāsya*. L. *anyāsmīn*. — Pl. N. *anyē*. A. *anyān*. I. *anyēbhis* and *anyāis*. D. *anyēbhyas* (AV.). G. *anyēṣām*. L. *anyēṣu*.

f. sing. N. *anyā*. A. *anyām*. I. *anyāyā*. D. *anyāsyai*. G. *anyāsyās*. L. *anyāsyām*. — Du. N. *anyē*. — Pl. N. *anyās*. A. *anyās*. I. *anyābhis*. G. *anyāṣām*. L. *anyāṣu*.

n. sing. N. *anyād*. — Du. I. *anyābhyām* (AV.). — Pl. N. *anyā*.

2. The three adjectives *eka-* 'one', *viśva-* 'all', *sārva-* 'whole' are **partially** pronominal, following this declension except in the nom. acc. sing. neut., which takes the nominal *-is*. Thus sing. G. f. *ekasyās*, L. m. *ekasmīn*¹, pl. N. m. *ēke*, but sing. N. n. *ekam*; sing. D. *viśvasmāi*², Ab. *viśvasmāt*², L. *viśvasmīn*², pl. N. m. *viśve*, G. m. *viśveṣām*, f. *viśvāsām*, but sing. N. n. *viśvam*; sing. D. m. *sārvasmāi* (AV.), f. *sārvasyai* (AV.; AA. III. 2⁵), Ab. m. *sārvasmāt*, pl. N. m. *sārve*, G. *sārveṣām* (AV.), f. *sārvasām* (AV.), but sing. N. n. *sārvam*.

3. More than a dozen other adjectives which have pronominal affinities in form or sense **occasionally** show **pronominal** case-forms (but never *-ā* in the N. A. sing. n.).

a. A few adjectives formed with the comparative and superlative suffixes **-ra** and **-ma** have such endings; thus *āpara-* 'lower' has *āpare* in the N. pl. m. beside *āparāsas*; *ittara-* 'higher', 'later', forms the L. sing. f. *ittarasayām*

¹ The AV. once has *ēke* as a loc. sing.; see WHITNEY's note on AV. XIX. 56² in his translation.

² The RV. has the nominal forms D. *viśvāya*, Ab. *viśvāt*, L. *viśve*, once each; *viśvāt* (n.) also occurs Kh. II. 6¹⁸.

(AV.), N. pl. m. *ittare*; Ab. L. sing. *ittarasmāt* and *ittarasmin* beside *ittarāt* and *ittare*; *īpara-* 'lower' has *īpare* beside *īparās* and *īparāsa* in the N. pl. m.; *avamā-* 'lowest' has L. sing. f. *avamāsyām*; *upamā-* 'highest' has sing. L. f. *upamāsyām*; *paramā-* 'farthest' has sing. f. G. *paramāsyās* and L. *paramāsyām* (+ VS.); *madhyamā-* 'middlemost' has sing. L. f. *madhyamāsyām*.

b. A few other adjectives with a comparative or pronominal sense have occasional pronominal endings. Thus *pāra-* 'ulterior' has sing. D. m. *pārasmai* (AV.), Ab. m. *pārasmāt* (+ AV. VS.), G. f. *pārasyās*, G. pl. m. *pāresām*; L. sing. m. *pārasmin* beside *pāre*; and N. pl. m. *pāre* beside *pārāsa*. *pūrva-* 'prior' has sing. m. D. *pūrvasmai*, Ab. *pūrvasmāt*, G. pl. m. *pūrvesām*, f. *pūrvāsām*; and the N. pl. m. *pūrve* is very common beside the very rare *pūrvāsa*. *nēma-* 'other'¹ has m. L. sing. *nēmasmin*, N. pl. *nēma*, but N. sing. n. *nēmam* and G. pl. m. *nemānām* (unaccented). *svā-* 'own', otherwise following the nominal declension, has once sing. G. f. *svāsyās* and once L. n. *svāsmīn*. *samānā-* 'similar', 'common', has once Ab. sing. n. *samānāsmāt* beside *samānāt*.

c. A few adjectives which are numerical in form or meaning have occasional pronominal forms; thus *prathamā-* 'first', has G. sing. f. *prathamāsyās* (AV.); *trītiya-* 'third' has L. sing. f. *trītiyasyām*² (AV.); *ūbhaya-* 'of both kinds' has m. pl. G. *ūbhayesām*, and N. *ūbhaye* beside *ūbhayāsa* and *ūbhayās*³; *kēvala-* 'exclusive' has once N. pl. m. *kēvale*.

III. Numerals.

BENFEY, Vollständige Grammatik 764—771. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 475—488. — Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 441—451.

404. The series of the numerals is based on the decimal system of reckoning. The names of the first ten cardinals, which are of an adjectival character, form the foundation of the rest either by compounding or derivation; the ordinals and numerical adverbs being further derived from the corresponding cardinals.

A. Cardinals.

405. The names of the first ten cardinals are: *ēka-* 'one'; *dvā-* 'two'; *tri-* 'three'; *catvīr-* 'four'; *pāñca* 'five'; *ṣaṣ-* 'six'; *saptā* 'seven'; *aṣṭā* 'eight'; *nāva* 'nine'; *dāśa* 'ten'.

a. The numbers intermediate between 'ten' and 'twenty' are Dvandva compounds formed by prefixing the accented unit to *dāśa* 'ten': *ēka-dāśa*⁴ ('one and ten') 'eleven'; *dvā-dāśa*⁵ 'twelve'; *trāyo-dāśa*⁶ (AV. VS. TS.) 'thirteen'; *cātur-dāśa*⁷ 'fourteen'; *pāñca-dāśa* 'fifteen'; *ṣoḍaśa*⁸ (VS. TS.) 'sixteen'; *saptā-dāśa* (TS.) 'seventeen'; *aṣṭā-dāśa* (TS.) 'eighteen'; *nāva-dāśa* (VS.) 'nineteen'.

b. The remaining cardinals are substantives. The names of the decades from 'twenty' to 'ninety' are either old Dvandva compounds or derivatives formed with the suffix *-ti*. They are *viṃśatī-* 'twenty'; *triṃśatī* 'thirty';

¹ Cp. NEISSER, BB. 30, 303.

² The pronominal endings are recognized as alternative in the later language as regards *dvītiya-* and *trītiya-*; the Brhaddevatā (VIII, 95) has *prathamasyām* as well as *dvītiyasyām*.

³ *ūbhā-* 'both' is declined in the dual only: N. A. m. *ūbhā* and *ūbhāu*, f. *ūbhē*, I. *ūbhābhyām* (once in RV.), G. *ūbhāyos* (twice in RV.).

⁴ With *ēka-* for *ēka-* under the influence of *dvā-dāśa*.

⁵ Here the N. m. du. form *dvā* is retained instead of the stem form *dva-*.

⁶ In this and other numeral compounds the N. m. plural form remains in every case; e. g. *tān* ... *trāyas-triṃśatam ā vaha* (I, 45²) 'bring those thirty-three'.

⁷ As first member of a compound *catvīr-* is regularly accented *cātur-*.

⁸ For *ṣaṣ-dāśa*, see above 43, b, 3; 56, b.

catvāriṃśāt 'forty'; *pañcāśāt* 'fifty'; *ṣaṣ-ṭi* 'sixty'; *sapta-ti* 'seventy'; *aṣṭi-ti* 'eighty'; *nava-ti* 'ninety'. The last four are abstract fem. nouns derived from the simple cardinal (except *aṣṭi-ti*)¹ and meaning originally 'hexad etc. (of tens)'. The others are fem. compounds, the first member of which is 'two', 'three', 'four', or 'five', and the second a remnant of the IE. word for 'ten'; thus *triṃśāt* meant 'three tens'. *viṃśati* was probably in origin an old dual of this formation which ended in *-ī* but was transformed by the influence of *ṣaṣṭi* etc. to a singular fem. in *-tī*².

c. The numbers intermediate between these decades are Dvandva compounds formed by prefixing the accented unit to the decade; thus *aṣṭā-viṃśati* (VS.) 'twenty-eight'; *eka-triṃśat* (VS.) 'thirty-one'; *trāyas-triṃśat* 'thirty-three'; *nava-catvāriṃśat* (TS.) 'forty-nine'; *nava-ṣaṣṭi* (TS.) 'sixty-nine'; *nāvāṣṭi* (TS.) 'eighty-nine'; *pañca-navati* (TS.) 'ninety-five'; *ṣaṇ-navati* (TS.) 'ninety-six'; *aṣṭā-navati* (TS.) 'ninety-eight'.

α. In the TS., the number preceding a decade is also expressed by *ekān nā* 'by one not' = 'minus one'; thus *ekān nā viṃśati* 'twenty less one' = 'nineteen'; *ekān nā catvāriṃśat* 'thirty-nine'; *ekān nā ṣaṣṭi* 'fifty-nine'; *ekān nā śatā* 'seventy-nine'; *ekān nā śatām* 'a hundred less one', 'ninety-nine'³.

β. Intermediate numbers may also be expressed by adding together unit and decade with or without *ca*; e. g. *nava ca navatim ca* 'ninety and nine'; *navatim nava* 'ninety-nine'.

d. The numbers expressing 'a hundred' and its multiples are *śatā* '100'; *sahāsra* '1000'; *a-yūta* (AV. TS.) '10000'; *ni-yūta* (TS.; Kh. IV. 12⁸) '100000'; *pra-yūta* (VS. TS.) '1000000'; *ārbuda* (TS.; Kh. IV. 12⁸) '10000000'; *nyār-buda* (AV. VS. TS.) '100000000'⁴.

α. Intermediate numbers are compounded in the same way with *śatā* as with the preceding decades; e. g. *ekāśatām* 'a hundred and one'; *cātuh-śatām* 'a hundred and four'; *triṃśac-śatām* 'a hundred and thirty'.

β. Multiples may be expressed in two ways. Either the larger number is put in the dual or plural multiplied by the smaller one used adjectivally; e. g. *dvē śatē* (VII. 18²²) 'two hundred'; *aṣṭim saḥāsvā* (VI. 26⁶) 'sixty thousand'; *trīṇi śatā trī saḥāsrāṇi triṃśac ca nava ca* (III. 9³) 'three thousand three hundred and thirty-nine'. Or the multiplier may be prefixed to the larger number, forming with it a possessive compound accented on the final syllable; e. g. *trāyastriṃśat triśatāḥ ṣatsahasrāḥ* (AV.) 'six thousand three hundred and thirty-three'. Numbers below a hundred are sometimes used multiplicatively in these two ways; e. g. *navatīr nava* (I. 84¹³) 'nine nineties' = 'eight hundred and ten'; *tri-ṣaṭtā*⁵ 'thrice seven'; *tri-nava* (VS.) 'having thrice nine'.

Inflection.

406. With regard to their inflexion, which in many respects is peculiar, the cardinals may be divided into three groups.

a. The first group comprises the first four numerals. These are the only cardinals which, like other adjectives, distinguish the genders. They also distinguish the numbers as far as the sense admits: *eka* 'one', while inflected chiefly in the singular, forms a plural also in the sense of 'some'; *dvā* 'two' is of course inflected in the dual only; and *tri* 'three' and *catvīr* 'four' in the plural only.

i. *eka* is declined like the second group of pronominal adjectives⁶. The only form of the abl. sing.³ met with follows the nominal declension,

¹ *aṣṭi* is radically related to *aṣṭāu*, cp. 56, a.

² Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 443, I.

³ In the TS. (B.) are also met with *ekasmān nā pañcāśat* and *ekasyai nā pañcāśat* (VII. 4. 7³) 'forty-nine'; WHITNEY 477, b.

⁴ In TS. VII. 2²⁰ these numerals, followed by *samudrā*, *mādhya*, *ānta*, *parāvrāhā*, occur

in succession: we may infer from the first few that each successive number is equal to ten times the preceding one; cp. WHITNEY 475, c. The contents of TS. VII. 2. 11—20 are almost entirely numerals.

⁵ Inflected according to the *a*-declension; inst. *trisaptāis*.

⁶ See above 403, 2.

viz. *ikāt*, used in the compound numerals *ikān nā triṃśat* 'twenty-nine' etc. occurring in the TS. A single dual case, from *ika-* in the sense of 'a certain', appears in *ike yuvatī* (AV. x. 7⁴²) 'a certain pair of maidens'. The forms to be found in the Samhitās are: m. sing. N. *ikas*. A. *ikam*. I. *ikena*. G. *ikasya*. L. *ikasmin*; pl. N. *ike*. D. *ikebhyas*. — f. N. *ikā*. A. *ikām*. I. *ikayā*. G. *ikasyās*; du. N. *ike* (AV.); pl. N. *ikās* (AV.). — n. N. sing. *ikam*; pl. *ikā*.

2. *dvā-* 'two', declined in the dual only, is quite regular. The forms occurring are: m. N. *dvā*, *dvāu*. I. *dvābhyām*. G. *dvāyoḥ*. L. *dvāyoḥ*. — f. N. *dvē*. I. *dvābhyām*. — n. N. *dvē*. L. *dvāyoḥ*.

a. The dual form *dvā* is retained in the first member of the numeral compound *dvā-daśa* 'twelve'. Otherwise *dvi-* is used as the stem of *dva-* in derivation, e. g. *dvi-dhā* 'twofold'; and as the first member of compounds, e. g. *dvi-pād-* 'biped'.

3. The cardinal *trī-* 'three' is, in the masc. and neut., inflected like a regular *i-* stem. The fem. stem is *tisṛ-*: the gen. pl. is once (v. 69²) written *tisṛṇām* (though the *r* is actually long metrically)¹. The forms occurring are: m. N. *trāyas*. A. *trīn*. I. *tribhis*. D. *tribhyās*. G. *trīṇām*. L. *trīṣh*. — f. N. *tisṛās*. A. *tisṛās*. I. *tisṛbhis*. D. *tisṛbhyas*. G. *tisṛṇām*². L. *tisṛṣu*. — n. N. A. *trī*, *trīni*.

a. The stem used in derivation and compounding is regularly *tri-*, e. g. *tri-dhā* 'in three ways'; *tri-pād-* 'three-footed'. But *tr-* appears in *tr-tā-* (AV.) 'third', as a N., and in the secondary ordinal *tr-tīya-* 'third'; and in numeral compounds *trim* appears in *triṃśat* 'thirty', and *trāyas* in *trāyo-daśa* 'thirteen', and *trāyas-triṃśat* 'thirty-three'.

4. *catūr-* 'four' has the stem *catvār-* in the strong forms of the masc. and neut. In the gen. it has the peculiarity of taking *n* before the ending *ām*, though the stem ends in a consonant³. The fem. stem is *cātasy-*, which is inflected like *tisṛ-* and shifts its accent like *pāñca*. The forms occurring are: m. N. *catvāras*. A. *cātīras*. I. *cātīrbhis*. D. *cātīrbhyas* (AV.). G. *caturṇām*⁴. — f. N. *cātāsrās*. A. *cātāsrās*. I. *cātāṣbhis*⁵. — n. N. A. *catvāri*.

a. The stem used in derivation and compounding is regularly *catur-*; e. g. *catur-dhā* 'in four ways'; *catur-daśa* 'fourteen'; *cātus-pād-*⁶ 'four-footed'. But it is once *catvārim-* (from the n. pl.) in the numeral compound *catvāriṃśat* 'forty'.

b. The second group, comprising the cardinals from 'five' to 'nineteen', though used adjectivally, does not distinguish gender, and takes no ending in the nom. and acc. These numerals also share the same peculiarities of accentuation⁷.

5. N. A. *pāñca* 'five'. I. *pañcābhis*. D. *pañcābhyas*. L. *pañcāsu*.

6. *ṣaṣ-* 'six': N. A. *ṣaṭ*. I. *ṣaḍbhis*. D. *ṣaḍbhyās*⁸.

7. N. A. *saptā* 'seven'. I. *saptābhis*. D. Ab. *saptābhyas*. G. *saptāṇām*.

8. That the cardinal for 'eight' was an old dual⁹ is indicated by its forms in the N. A. *aṣṭā*, *aṣṭāu* and in the only other cases occurring, I. *aṣṭābhis*, D. *aṣṭābhyās* (TS.). According to the analysis of the Pada text in a late passage of the RV. (x. 27¹⁵), *aṣṭātarāṭtāt* contains the N. *aṣṭā*, doubtless because it is preceded by *saptā* and followed by *nāva* and *dāśa*.

a. The stem used in compounding has mostly the dual form *aṣṭā*; thus *aṣṭā-pād-* 'eight-footed', *aṣṭā-vandhura-* 'eight-seated'¹⁰; *aṣṭā-daśa-* (TS.) 'eighteen', *aṣṭā-viṃśā-* (AV.)

¹ See above 12, 13; cp. BENFEY, *Vedica und Verwandtes* 4.

² On the accentuation, see 94, 2 a.

³ It shares this peculiarity with *ṣaṇ-ṇām*, the gen. plur. of *ṣaṣ-*, which however does not seem to occur in any of the Samhitās.

⁴ With accent on the final syllable like the genitives of *pāñca* etc.

⁵ G. *cātāṣṇām* and L. *cātāṣṣu* occur in B.

⁶ On the Sandhi, see above 78.

⁷ That is, of accenting -ā before the terminations -bhis, -bhyas, -su, and the final syllable in the gen. See above, 93.

⁸ Cp. note 3.

⁹ Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 441, 8.

¹⁰ These are the only two occurrences in the RV., for in *aṣṭā-karṇā-* (x. 62¹) the first member is doubtless a past participle.

'twenty-eightfold', *aṣṭā-cakra-* (AV.) 'eight-wheeled', *aṣṭā-pakṣa-* (AV.) 'eight-sided', *aṣṭā-yogā-* (AV.) 'yoke of eight'. The form *aṣṭa-* begins to appear in the AV. in the derivative *aṣṭa-dhā* 'in eight ways'; and in the compounds *aṣṭa-kṛtāḥ* 'eight times', *aṣṭa-yoni-* 'having eight wombs', *aṣṭa-vṛṣā-* 'eight times chief'.

9. N. A. *nāva* 'nine'. I. *navābhis*. D. *navābhyas* (TS.). G. *navānām*.
10. N. A. *dāśa* 'ten'. I. *daśābhis*. D. *daśābhyas* (TS.). G. *daśānām*. L. *daśāsu*.
11. N. A. *ekādaśa* 'eleven'. D. *ekādaśābhyas* (TS.).
12. N. A. *dvādaśa* 'twelve'. D. *dvādaśābhyas* (TS.).
13. N. A. *trāyodaśa* 'thirteen'. I. *trāyodaśābhis* (TS.). D. *trāyodaśābhyas* (TS.).
14. N. A. *caturdaśa* 'fourteen'. D. *caturdaśābhyas* (TS.).
15. N. A. *pañcadaśa* 'fifteen'. D. *pañcadaśābhyas* (TS.).
16. N. A. *ṣoḍaśa* (VS) 'sixteen'. D. *ṣoḍaśābhyas* (TS.).
17. 18. The N. of the cardinals for 'seventeen' and 'eighteen' does not seem to occur in Mantras. D. *saptadaśābhyas* (TS.); *aṣṭadaśābhyas* (TS.).
19. N. A. *nāvadaśa* (VS) 'nineteen'. I. *navadaśābhis* (VS.). D. *ekān nā vimśatyāi* (TS.).

c. The third group of cardinals, comprising the numbers from 'twenty' onwards, are substantives inflected regularly according to the declension of the stem final; e. g. N. *vimśatī-s* 'twenty', A. *vimśatī-m*, I. *vimśaty-ā*; N. *triṃśāt* 'thirty', A. *triṃśāt am*, I. *triṃśāt-ā*, L. *triṃśāt-i*. The decades 'twenty' to 'ninety' and their compounds are fem. and nearly always inflected in the sing.; but if the sense requires it they may be used in the plural; e. g. *nāva navatīḥ* 'nine nineties'; *navānām navatindām* (I. 191¹³) 'of nine nineties'.

a. *śatā-* 'a hundred' and *sahasra-* 'a thousand' are neuters, which may be declined in all numbers; e. g. *atvā śatā* 'two hundred'; *sapṭā śatāni* 'seven hundred'.

Syntactical employment of the Cardinals.

407. a. The numerals from 'one' to 'nineteen' are used adjectivally; e. g. *trīyo vīrāḥ* (III. 56⁸) 'three heroes'; *saptābhiḥ putrāḥ* (X. 72⁹) 'with seven sons'; *jñeṣu pañcāsu* (III. 37⁹) 'among the five races'. The bare stem (in the numerals of the second group) is, however, sometimes used in the oblique cases; e. g. *saptā hūtrbhiḥ* (III. 10⁴) 'with seven priests'; *ādhi pāñca kṛṣṣu* (II. 2¹⁰) 'over the five tribes'.

a. Exceptionally these numerals are, however, to be met with governing a genitive; e. g. *dāśa kalāśānām* (IV. 32¹⁹) 'ten jars'.

b. The third group of numerals (from 'twenty' upwards), as singular substantives, is treated in two ways.

1. They may govern a genitive; e. g. *pañcāśātam āśvānām* (V. 18⁵) 'fifty horses'; *ṣaṣṭīm āśvānām* (VIII. 46²⁹) 'sixty horses'; *śatām gōnām* (I. 126²) 'a hundred kine'. So also when *śatā-* and *sahasra-* are in the du. or pl.; e. g. *gāvāṃ satāni* (VII. 103¹⁰) 'hundreds of kine'; *sahasrāṇi gāvām* (VIII. 51²) 'thousands of kine'.

2. They may, remaining singular, agree in case with the following plural, being then used adjectivally (not appositionally, because they always precede the substantive in this use); e. g. *triṃśād devāḥ* (III. 9⁹) 'thirty gods'; *triṃśātam yājanāni* (I. 123⁸) 'thirty leagues'; *triṃśātā hāribhiḥ* (II. 18⁵) 'with thirty bays'; *śatāna hāribhiḥ* (II. 18⁶) 'with a hundred bays'; *śatām pūrah* (IV. 27¹) 'a hundred forts'; *sahasraṃ hārayaḥ* (IV. 46³) 'a thousand bays'. The following word, agreeing with *sahasra-*, may be in the singular as a collective; thus *śinaś cic chēpaṇi nīditaṇi sahasrād yūpād amuñcaḥ* (V. 27) 'Sunahṣepa, who was bound, thou didst release from a thousand posts'.

a. *śatā-* and *sahasra-* have, in their adjectival use, the peculiarity of sometimes either being put in the plural themselves or retaining the N. A. neuter sing. form (like *pāñca*) when in agreement with an inst. pl.; e. g. *śatā pūrah* (I. 53⁸) 'a hundred forts'; *sahasrāṇy*

ādhirathāni (x. 98⁹) 'a thousand wagonloads'; *śatām pūrbbhiḥ* (vi. 48⁸) 'with a hundred forts'; *śahasraṃ pūrbbhiḥ* (i. 189⁹) 'with a thousand seers'.

β. The numeral pronouns *kāti* 'how many?', *tātu* 'so many?', *yāti* 'as many', remain uninflected in agreement with nominatives and accusatives plural, which are the only cases found occurring with them in the *Saṃhitās*.

B. Ordinals.

408. The ordinals, being all adjectives ending in *-a*, are declined throughout in the masc. and neut. according to the nominal *a*-declension. The feminine is formed with *-ī*², except in the first four, which take *-ā*, viz. *prathamā*³, *dvitīyā*, *trītiyā*³, *turīyā* (TS.). The ordinals may best be divided into four groups according to the formation of their stems.

1. The ordinals from 'first' to 'tenth' are formed with various suffixes, viz. *(t)-īya*, *-tha*, *-thamā*, *-mā*, the first four in a somewhat irregular manner.

a. *pra-thamā* 'first' was doubtless formed from *pra-* with the superlative suffix *-tama*⁴, meaning 'foremost', the initial of the suffix being probably changed under the influence of other ordinals formed with *-tha* (*śaṣṭhā*, etc.).

b. The next three ordinals are formed with the suffix *-īya*: *dvitīya* 'second', *trītiya* 'third', secondarily through *dvi-tā* 'second', and *trī-tā* 'third', both used as names; *turīya* 'fourth' for **kturīya* (beside *catur-thā*). The latter when used in the fractional sense is accented *tūrīya* (AV.) 'quarter'⁵.

c. The ordinal for 'sixth', besides the alternative forms for 'fourth' and 'seventh', is formed with *-tha*: *ṣaṣṭhā* (AV. VS.), *catur-thā* (AV. VS.), *saptātha* (RV.).

d. The ordinals for 'fifth' and 'seventh' to 'tenth' are formed with *-ma*: *pañca-mā* (AV. VS.), *sapta-mā* (VS.) beside *saptītha*, *aṣṭa-mā*, *nava-mā*, *daśa-mā*.

2. The stems of the ordinals for 'seventh' to 'nineteenth' are the same as those of the cardinals, except that they are accented on the final syllable. In inflexion they differ from the cardinals in following the ordinary nominal *a*-declension; thus from *ekādaśā* 'eleventh' are formed: sing. m. A. *ekādaśām*; pl. N. *ekādaśāḥ*, A. *ekādaśān*, I. *ekādaśāis*.

3. The ordinals for 'twentieth' to 'ninetieth' (including their compounds) seem, judged by some three examples met with in the *Saṃhitās* (and some four others in B.), to have been abbreviated forms of the cardinals, ending in *-ā*: *eka-viṃśā* 'twenty-first' (B.) 'consisting of twenty-one' (VS.), *catvāriṃśā* (RV.) 'fortieth', *aṣṭa-catvāriṃśā* (VS.) 'forty-eighth'; *catus-triṃśā* (B.) 'thirty-fourth', *dvi-pañcāśā* (B.) 'fifty-second', *eka-ṣaṣṭā* (B.) 'sixty-first'.

4. The ordinals for 'hundredth' and 'thousandth' are formed with the superlative suffix *-tama*: *śata-tamā*; but *śahasra-tamā* has been noted in B. passages only (TS. SB.).

C. Numeral Derivatives.

409. A number of derivatives, chiefly adverbs, are formed from the cardinals.

a. There are a few **multiplicative adjectives** derived with the suffixes *-a*, *-ya*, *-taya*, *-vaya*; thus *trayā* 'threefold' (from *trī*); *dva-yā* 'twofold'; *dāśa-taya* 'tenfold'; *cātur-vaya* 'fourfold'.

b. **Multiplicative adverbs** are formed in three different ways. 'Once'

¹ Cp. DELBRÜCK 50.

² Inflected like stems in derivative *-ī*: 377.

³ Both *prathamā* and *trītiyā* have one form each according to the pronominal declension in the AV. (403, 3, c).

⁴ Cp. the adverbial acc. *pra-tamām* (B.) 'specially'. See BRUGMANN, KG. 447, 1.

⁵ Similarly in B. passages *cāturtha* 'quarter', *trītiya* 'third'.

is expressed by *sa-kṛt*, which originally seems to have meant 'one making'. The next three are formed with the suffix *-s*: *dvī-s* 'twice'; *trī-s* 'thrice', *catūs* (AV.) 'four times' (for **catūr-s*, cp. Av. *čathru-s*)¹. Others are expressed by the cardinal and the form *kṛtvas* 'times' (probably = 'makings', acc. pl. of **kṛtu-*), which, except in *aṣṭa-kṛtvas* (AV.) 'eight times', is a separate word; thus *dāśa kṛtvas* (AV.) 'ten times', *bhūri kṛtvas* (RV.) 'many times'².

c. Numeral adverbs of manner are formed with the suffix *-dhā*; thus *dvī-dhā* 'in two ways or parts'; similarly *trī-dhā* and *tre-dhā*, *catur-dhā*, *pañca-dhā* (AV.), *ṣoḍhā*³, *sapta-dhā* (AV. VS. TS.), *aṣṭa-dhā* (AV.), *nava-dhā* (AV.), *sahasra-dhā*.

VII. THE VERB.

BENFEY, Vollständige Grammatik 788—920. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 527—1073. — DELBRÜCK, Das altindische Verbum, Halle 1874. — AVERY, Contributions to the history of verb-inflection in Sanskrit, JAOS. x. (1876), 219—276; 311—324. — JUL. V. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte des Veda. Das Verbalsystem des Atharva-Veda, Berlin 1898.

410. General characteristics. — The verbal system comprises the two groups of forms which include, on the one hand, the finite verb and, on the other, the nominal formations connected with the verb. The former group represents the forms made with personal endings, viz. indicative, subjunctive, injunctive, optative, and imperative. The latter group consists of infinitives (nouns of action) and participles (agent nouns). These differ from ordinary nouns inasmuch as they participate in the characteristics of the verb, governing cases, being connected with particular tenses, being used in different voices, and being liable to tmesis when compounded with prepositions.

A. The finite verb distinguishes the **primary conjugation** of the root and the **secondary conjugation** of derivative formations, viz. desiderative, intensive, causative, and denominative. The latter class does not, however, differ in origin from the former; but doubtless because (in contrast with the present stems of the primary conjugation) it preserves the distinctive meaning of the stem, it extends the form of the present stem beyond the present system to the whole conjugation.

The finite verb further distinguishes voice, tense, mood, number, and person.

a. There are **two voices**, active and middle, which are distinguished throughout the inflexion of the verb (largely also in the participle, though not in the infinitive). The middle forms may be employed in a passive sense, except in the present system where there is a special passive stem inflected with middle terminations. Some verbs are conjugated in both active and middle; e. g. *kṛṇṣ-ti* and *kṛṇu-te* 'makes'; others in one voice only, e. g. *ās-ti* 'is'; others partly in one and partly in the other; e. g. pres. *vāṛta-te* 'turns', but perf. *vavāṛt-a* 'has turned'.

b. There are **five tenses** in ordinary use, viz. the present, the imperfect, the perfect, the aorist, and the future. The terms imperfect, perfect, and aorist are here used in a purely formal sense, that is, as corresponding in formation to the Greek tenses bearing those names. No Vedic tense has an imperfect meaning, while the perfect sense is generally expressed by the aorist.

c. Beside the indicative there are **four moods**, the subjunctive, the injunctive, the optative, and the imperative, all formed from the stem of the

¹ Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 450, I.

² Cp. WHITNEY 1105, a.

³ For *ṣaṣ-dhā*; cp. above 43, b, 3; 56, b; and p. 307, note 8.

present, the perfect, and the aorist. The imperfect has no moods; and the only modal form occurring in the future is the unique subjunctive *karisyās*, from *kṛ-* 'make'.

d. The finite verb is, as in other languages, used in **three persons** in all tenses and moods excepting the imperative, where the first persons are supplied from the subjunctive. As in declension, the three numbers, singular, dual, and plural, are in regular use throughout.

B. The nominal verb-forms comprise:

a. **Participles.** The tense-stem of the present, future, aorist, and perfect each forms an active and a middle participle; e. g. *gáccchant-*, *gácccha-māna-* 'going'; *karisyánt-* 'going to do', *yaṅsyá-māna-* 'going to sacrifice'; *kránt-*, *krāntá-* 'making'; *caṅvāms-*, *caṅrāntá-* 'having done'. Besides these, there are passive participles, present, perfect, and future. The present form is made from the passive stem in *-ya*; e. g. *stūyá-māna-* 'being praised'. The perfect passive participle, on the other hand, is formed from the root; e. g. *kṛ-tá-* 'made'; as is also (with few exceptions) the future passive participle or gerundive; e. g. *vānd-ya-* 'praiseworthy'.

b. **Gerunds.** These are stereotyped cases (chiefly instrumentals) of verbal nouns, and have the value of indeclinable active participles with a prevailing past sense; e. g. *gatvī* and *gatvāya* 'having gone'.

c. **Infinitives.** There are about a dozen differently formed types of infinitives, which are cases of verbal nouns made directly or with a suffix from the root, and hardly ever connected with a tense stem; e. g. *ídḥ-am* 'to kindle'; *gán-tavāi* 'to go'.

A. The Finite Verb.

411. All forms of the finite verb¹ may be classed under **four groups**: (1) the **present system**, comprising the present tense together with its moods and participles, and its augmented past tense, the imperfect; (2) the **perfect system**, comprising the perfect tense together with its moods and participles, and its augmented past tense, the pluperfect² (494); (3) the **aorist system**, comprising the aorist tense together with its moods and participles; (4) the **future system**, comprising the future tense³ together with its participles, and its augmented past form, the conditional⁴.

Personal Endings.

412. The characteristic feature of the finite verb is the addition of personal endings⁵. These are divided into active and middle; in each of which groups, again, **primary and secondary forms** are to be distinguished. The primary forms appear throughout the present and future indicative, but in the middle only of the perfect indicative⁶. The secondary forms appear in augmented indicatives, in injunctives (which are identical in form with un-augmented past indicatives), in the imperative (several forms of which are identical with the injunctive)⁷, and in the optative. The subjunctive fluctuates between the primary and the secondary endings, but the latter are about

¹ Over 18000 occurrences of verb-forms have been noted by AVERY (221) in the RV.

² This term is used in a purely formal sense, as this rare tense has not a pluperfect meaning.

³ There is no periphrastic future in the Samhitās.

⁴ There is only a single occurrence of this formation in the Samhitās.

⁵ Cp. AVERY 225 f.; BRUGMANN, KG. 771—798.

⁶ The 3. pl. has here the peculiar ending *-re*.

⁷ Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 729.

twice as frequent as the former¹. The perfect indicative active has some of the regular secondary endings (*-va, -ma, -ur*), but the rest are of a peculiar type.

Active endings.

Primary. Sing. 1. *-mi*². 2. *-si*. 3. *-ti*³. Du. 1. *-vas*⁴. 2. *-thas*⁵. 3. *-tas*⁵. Pl. 1. *-masi, -mas*². 2. *-tha, -thana*⁷. 3. *-anti*⁸.

Secondary. Sing. 1. *-m*. 2. *-s*⁹. 3. *-i*¹⁰. Du. 1. *-va*. 2. *-tam*. 3. *-tām*. Pl. 1. *-ma*. 2. *-ta, -tana*¹¹. 3. *-an, -ur*¹².

Middle endings.

Primary. Sing. 1. *-e*. 2. *-se*¹³. 3. *-te*¹⁴. Du. 1. *-vahe*¹⁵. 2. *-āthe*¹⁶. 3. *-āte*¹⁶. Pl. 1. *-mahe*¹⁷. 2. *-dhve*¹³. 3. *-ante*¹⁹.

Secondary. Sing. 1. *-i*²⁰. 2. *-thās*²¹. 3. *-ta*²². Du. 1. *-vahi*. 2. *-āthām*²³. 3. *-ātām*²³. Pl. 1. *-mahi*. 2. *-dhvam*²⁴. 3. *-anta*²⁵.

a. Beside the perfect endings containing *r*, act. du. 2. *-athur*, 3. *-atur*, pl. 3. *-ur*, middle *-re*, some verbs have endings with initial *r* in the 3. pl. mid. ind. and opt. of most tenses. These endings are *-re* and *-rate* in the pres. ind.; *-rire* in the perf. ind.; *-ran* in the opt. pres. and the ind. imperfect, pluperfect, and aorist; *-ram* in the ind. aor.; *-ranta* in the pluperfect; *-rata* in the opt. In the AV. *-rām* and *-rātām* appear in the 3. pl. impv. mid.²⁶

b. More than twenty roots have forms in which certain endings are added to the root with the connecting vowel *i* or less commonly *ī*. These roots are *an-* 'breathe', *am-* 'injure', *as-* 'be', *āṇ-* 'praise', *ās-* 'rule', *aud-* 'impel', *jan-* 'beget', *tu-* 'be strong', *dhvan-* 'sound', *brū-* 'speak', *vam-* 'vomit', *vas-* 'clothe', *vṛṣ-* 'rain', *śnath-* 'pierce', *śru-* 'hear',

¹ AVERY 227 (middle).

² The subjunctive has *-āni* and instead of it (13 times) *-ā*; cp. AVERY 225 (mid.) and BRUGMANN, KG. 772.

³ The perf. ind. has the peculiar endings 1. *-a* or *-au*, 2. *-tha*, 3. *-a* or *-au* in the sing.

⁴ This ending does not occur in the RV.; cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 24.

⁵ The perf. act. du. has the peculiar endings 2. *-athur*, 3. *-atur*.

⁶ *-masi* occurs 109 times in the RV., being more than 5 times as frequent as *-mas* (cp. WHITNEY 548; AVERY 226), but in the AV. *-mas* has become commoner than *-masi* in the proportion of 4 to 3. On these endings cp. NEISSER, BB. 30, 311—315.

⁷ In the RV. *-tha* occurs more than 6 times as often as *-thana* (AVERY 226). The perf. ind. has the peculiar ending *-a*.

⁸ The *an* is replaced by *a* (for the sonant nasal) in reduplicated verbs and a few others treated as such; cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 51 (mid.).

⁹ The impv. act adds *-ahi, -hi, -āna, -āt* or no ending.

¹⁰ The 3. impv. has *-tu* instead of *-ti*; in the RV. and TS. also *-tā*; see 418 b.

¹¹ In the RV. *-ta* occurs more than 4 times as often as *-tana* (560 occurrences to 125; AVERY 226).

¹² In the ind. perf., the ind. *s*-aorist, and the optative, *-ur* always appears, sometimes also in the imperfect; cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 52. The impv. has *-antu*, which loses its *n* under the same conditions as *-anti*.

¹³ In the AV. *-sai* is the only form of the subjunctive (WHITNEY 561, a).

¹⁴ *-tai* occurs once in the RV. for *-te* in the subjunctive; it is the usual form in the AV. In the RV. *-e* sometimes occurs for *-te* in the ind. pres.; it is the only ending in the perf. ind.

¹⁵ The subjunctive has *-vahi*.

¹⁶ In the *a*-conjugation *-the* and *-te*; *-āthe* and *-āte* appear in the RV. as subjunctives in several forms; *-ate* occurs once as an indicative; cp. WHITNEY 547, c and 561, a; DELBRÜCK, Verbum 106 and p. 45 (mid.).

¹⁷ *-mahai* is the usual form in the subjunctive in the RV. and AV.

¹⁸ In the RV. once *-dhvai* in the subjunctive.

¹⁹ In the impv. *-antām* and *-ātām*.

²⁰ In the optative (*īy*)-*a*.

²¹ In the impv. *-va*.

²² In the impv. *-tām*.

²³ In the *a*-conjugation *-ethām* and *-etām*.

²⁴ Once *-dhva* in the RV.

²⁵ In the impv. *-antām*; both this ending and *-anta* lose their *n* under the same conditions as *-anti*. The perf. ind. has *-re*.

²⁶ See DELBRÜCK, Verbum 76—78; AVERY 226; BRUGMANN, KG. 797; cp. also BOLLENSEN, ZDMG. 22, 599; KUHN, KZ. 18, 400; BENFEY, Ueber die Entstehung und Verwendung der im Sanskrit mit *r* anlautenden Personalendungen, Abh. d. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen 15, Göttingen 1870; WINDISCH, Berichte der sächsischen Gesellschaft d. Wiss. 1889, p. 1 ff.; ZIMMER, KZ. 30, 224 ff.

śvas- 'breathe', *śidh-* 'repel', *stan-* 'thunder', *stambh-*¹ 'prop'. There are also a few 3. plurals in *-i-re*, viz. *ṛṇvire*, *pinvire*, *ṣṛṇvire*, *sunvire* and *hinvire*, in which the connecting vowel *i* appears².

The Augment.

413. The augment³ (originally doubtless an independent temporal particle) consists of the syllable *a-*, which is prefixed to the imperfect, pluperfect, aorist, and conditional, giving to those forms the signification of past time. It invariably bears the acute when the verb is accented, like the preposition immediately preceding a verb in a principal sentence (1111). The augment sometimes appears lengthened before *n*, *y*, *r* or *v*, the only examples being *ā-naṣ-* from *naṣ-* 'attain'; *ā-yunak* (beside *a-yunak*), *ā-yukta* (beside *a-yukta*), and *ā-yukṣātām*, from *yuj-* 'join'; *ā-riṇak* and *ā-raik*, from *ric-* 'leave'; *ā-var*, from *vr-* 'cover'; *ā-vṛṇi*, from *vr-* 'choose'; *ā-vṛṇak*, from *vṛj-* 'turn'; *ā-vidhyat* (beside *a-vidhyat*), from *vyadh-* 'wound'. The only one of these forms written with *ā* in the Pada text is *ā-var* (but once also *a-var*). There is also one passage (II. 17. 9) in which the metre seems to require that *yās ta' vidhat* should be read *yās ta āvidhat*⁴.

a. With the initial vowels *i*, *u*, *r* the augment irregularly contracts to the Vṛddhi vowels *ai*, *au*, *ār*; e. g. *āicchas*, 2. sing. imperf. of *iṣ-* 'wish'; *āunat*, 3. sing. imperf. of *ud-* 'wet'; *ārta*, 3. sing. aor. of *r-* 'go'. This appears to be a survival of a prehistoric contraction of *ā* with *i*, *u*, *r* to *āi*, *āu*, *ār*, which is otherwise almost invariably represented by *e*, *o*, *ar*⁵.

b. The augment is **very often dropped**. This optional loss is to be explained as a survival from the Indo-European period when, being an independent particle, the augment could be dispensed with if the past sense was clear from the context. In the RV. the number of examples in which the augment is wanting (about 2000) is considerably more than half that of forms in which it is prefixed (about 3300), more than one half of these unaugmented forms being aorists. In the AV. the number of forms which lose the augment is less than half that of those which retain it, more than four fifths of these unaugmented forms being aorists. In sense, the forms which drop the augment are either indicative or injunctive. The indicatives have for the most part a past, but often also (generally when compounded with prefixes) a present meaning. In the RV., the indicative and injunctive unaugmented forms are about equal in number⁶; the injunctives being used in nearly one-third of their occurrences with the prohibitive particle *mā*. In the AV. about nine-tenths of the unaugmented forms are injunctive, some four-fifths of these being construed with *mā*.

Formation of the Moods.

414. 1. **Subjunctive**⁷. The subjunctive is a very common mood in the RV. and the AV., occurring three or four times as often as the optative. It is formed from the present, the perfect, and the aorist⁸. The stem is formed by adding *a* to the indicative stem. When a strong and weak stem are distinguished, the *a* is attached to the former; while it coalesces to *ā* with the final of the stem in the *a-* conjugation. Thus the subjunctive stem of

¹ AVERY 226.

² AVERY 227 (top).

³ Cp. AVERY 225; BRUGMANN KG. 626.

⁴ WHITNEY 585, a.

⁵ Cp. above 19 a, 4. 5.

⁶ WHITNEY 587, a. According to AVERY 225, the unaugmented forms of the RV.

have a historical sense in 488 instances only.

⁷ See especially W. NEISSER, *Zur vedischen Verballehre* (Inaugural-Dissertat.), Göttingen 1882 = BB. 7 (1883), 211-241.

⁸ Only a single form of the future subjunctive occurs.

the root *duh-* 'milk' is *dóh-a-*; of *yuj-* 'join' *yundáj-a-*; but of *bhū-* 'be' *bhāv-ā-*. Owing to the analogy of the *a-* conjugation, other verbs sometimes add *ā* instead of *a*, e. g. *brav-ā-thá* from *brū-* 'speak'¹. The subjunctive is on the whole inflected like an indicative, but with fluctuations between the primary and the secondary endings, besides some variations in the endings themselves. Thus in the active, (1) the ending of the 1. sing. is *-āni*, of which the *ni* is dropped thirteen times in the RV., e. g. *dóh-āni*, *yundáj-āni*, *bhāv-āni*; *bhāv-ā*; (2) the 1. du. and 1. 3. pl. have the secondary endings *-va*, *-ma*, *-an* only; e. g. *dóh-āva*, *dóh-āma*, *dóh-an*; *bhāv-āva*, *bhāv-āma*, *bhāv-ān*; (3) the 2. 3. sing. may take the secondary endings as well as the primary; e. g. *dóh-a-si* or *dóh-a-s*; *bhāv-ā-ti* or *bhāv-ā-t*².

In the middle, (1) the only secondary ending is found in the 3. pl., *-anta*, which occurs beside and more frequently than *-ante*; (2) the ending *-ai*, which is normal in the 1. sing. (being = *a + e*), has spread from that person to forms in which *e* would be normal. Thus the 1. du. has *-āvahai* only; in the 1. pl., *-āmahai* is the usual form in the RV. and AV. beside the rarer *-āmahe*; in the 2. sing., *-sai* always appears for *-se* in the AV., though it does not occur in the RV.; in the 2. pl., *-āhvai* occurs once for *-dhve*³ in the RV.; in the 2. 3. du., *-aithe* and *-aite* occur several times in the RV., being doubtless intended for subjunctive modifications⁴ of the indicative *-ethe* and *-ete* of the *a-* conjugation; in the 3. sing., *-tai* occurs once in the RV. for *-te*, and is the usual form in the AV.

a. The subjunctive endings in combination with the *-a* of the stem are accordingly the following:

Active			Middle		
sing.	du.	pl.	sing.	du.	pl.
1. <i>āni</i> , <i>-ā</i>	<i>-ā-va</i>	<i>-ā-ma</i>	1. <i>-ai</i>	<i>-ā-vahai</i>	<i>-ā-mahai</i> , <i>-ā-mahe</i>
2. <i>-a-si</i> ⁵ , <i>-a-s</i> ⁶	<i>-a-thas</i>	<i>-a-tha</i>	2. <i>-a-se</i> , <i>-a-sai</i>	<i>-aithe</i>	<i>-a-dhve</i> , <i>-a-dhvai</i>
3. <i>-a-ti</i> ⁷ , <i>-a-t</i>	<i>-a-tas</i>	<i>-a-n</i>	3. <i>-a-te</i> , <i>-a-tai</i>	<i>-aite</i>	<i>-a-nte</i> , <i>-a-nta</i> .

415. **Injunctive.** The unaugmented forms of past tenses used modally, are sometimes called improper subjunctives⁸, but they are more suitably termed injunctives, as they appear to have originally expressed an injunction. This is borne out by the fact that since the IE. period the second and third persons imperfect (except the 2. sing. act.) had come to be used as regular imperatives expressing a command⁹. But the unaugmented forms of the imperfect that could be distinguished from the regular imperative (as *bhāras*, *bhārat*, *bharan*) and especially unaugmented aorists¹⁰, are often used in a sense fluctuating between that of the subjunctive (requisition) and of the optative (wish)¹¹. Thus *bhāratu* 'let him bear', but *bhārat* 'may he bear', *bhūt* 'may he be'.

416. **Optative.** This mood, which is comparatively rare in the Samhitās, is formed from the present, the perfect, and the aorist. The stem is formed with *-yā* or *-ī*, which, when strong and weak stem are distinguished,

¹ Cp. WHITNEY 560e; BRUGMANN, KG. 719.

² The subjunctive in *ā* is in origin an old injunctive: BRUGMANN, KG. 716 (end).

³ In the form *mādayādhvai* 'may ye rejoice'.

⁴ *kṛṇvāite*, however, appears also as an indicative; see DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 45.

⁵ In the aor. subj., *-si* occurs only once in the RV.

⁶ In the *a-* conjugation *ā* appears throughout: *-āsi*, *-ās*, etc.

⁷ In the aor. subj., *-ti* occurs only six times in the RV.

⁸ WHITNEY 563.

⁹ The 3. sing. and pl., e. g. *bhārat-u* and *bhārant-u*, are explained as injunctives and the particle *u*: BRUGMANN, KG. 729, 1.

¹⁰ The aorist injunctives were probably used originally with the prohibitive particle *mā* only: BRUGMANN, KG. 716, 2 (end).

¹¹ Cp. WHITNEY 575.

are attached to the latter. In the *a*- conjugation *-ī* is added (coalescing with *a* to *e*) throughout; in other verbs *-ī* is added in the middle only, and *-yā* (often to be read as *-iā*) in the active only¹.

a. Roots ending in *ā* usually change that vowel to *e* before *-yā*: e. g. *de-yām* (perhaps to be explained as *dāiḡām*)² 'I would give'. But *ā* is sometimes retained, as in *yā-yām* 'I would go'.

b. The endings are the secondary ones. There are, however, some irregularities in the 1. sing. and the 3. pl. 1. The 3. pl. mid. always takes *-an* instead of *-am*. 2. The 3. pl. act. always takes *-ur*, before which the *ā* of *-yā* is dropped, while in the *a*- conjugation *y* is interposed between *e*³ and *-ur*. 3. The 1. sing. mid. has the peculiar ending *a* with *y* interposed between it and the modal *-ī*. 4. The 1. sing. act. of the *a*- conjugation attaches *-am* instead of *-m* (the termination *-m* being unknown), interposing *y* between it and the *e*³ of the stem.

a. The endings of the optative in combination with the modal suffix are accordingly the following:

1. Graded conjugation.

Active			Middle		
sing.	du.	pl.	sing.	du.	pl.
1. <i>-yā-m</i>	<i>-yā-va</i>	<i>-yā-ma</i>	1. <i>-ī-y-ā</i>	<i>-ī-vāhi</i>	<i>-ī-māhi</i>
2. <i>-yā-s</i>	<i>-yā-tam</i>	<i>-yā-ia</i>	2. <i>-ī-thās</i>	<i>-ī-y-āthām</i>	<i>-ī-dhvām</i>
3. <i>-yā-t</i>	<i>-yā-tām</i>	<i>-y-ūr</i>	3. <i>-ī-tā</i>	<i>-ī-y-ātām</i>	<i>-ī-r-ān</i>

2. a- conjugation.

1. <i>-e-y-am</i>	<i>-e-va</i>	<i>-e-ma</i>	1. <i>-e-y-a</i>	<i>-e-vahi</i>	<i>-e-mahi</i>
2. <i>-e-s</i>	<i>-e-tam</i>	<i>-e-ta</i>	2. <i>-e-thās</i>	<i>-e-y-āthām</i>	<i>-e-dhvam</i>
3. <i>-e-t</i>	<i>-e-tām</i>	<i>-e-y-ur</i>	3. <i>-e-ta</i>	<i>-e-y-ātām</i>	<i>-e-r-an.</i>

417. **Precative.** This is a form of the optative which adds an *-s* after the modal suffix in several persons, and is made almost exclusively from aorist stems. In the RV. there occur a few forms of the precative in three persons (1. 3. sing., 1. pl.) active, and in two persons (2. 3. sing.) middle; thus **active**: 1. sing. *bhū-yā-s-am* (aor.) 'may I be'; 3. sing. *aś-yās* (for **aś-yī-s-t*) 'may he attain' (aor.); *babhū-yās* 'may he be' (perf.); 1. pl. *kri-yā-s-ma* 'may we do' (aor.); **middle**: 2. sing. *maṃ-s-ī-ṣ-thās* (aor.) and 3. sing. *maṃ-s-ī-ṣ-ṭa* (aor.), from *man-* 'think'.

418. **Imperative.** This mood has no mood-sign of its own, as all the first persons are subjunctives and the second and third persons are mostly old injunctives. The purely injunctive forms are the 2. 3. du. and 2. pl. active and middle, ending in *-tam*, *-tām*, *-ta*; *-āthām*, *-ātām*, *-dhvam*. The 3. sing. pl. act. in *-tu*⁴ and *-antu*⁵, and the 3. pl. mid. in *-antām*⁵ may be modifications of injunctives. The imperative has, however, distinctive forms of its own in the 2. sing. act.: *-dhi*, *-hi*, *-āna*, *-tāt*; and in the middle: 2. sing. *-sva* and 3. sing. *-tām* or *-ām*.

a. The 2. sing. act. in the *a*-conjugation has no ending, employing the bare stem (like the vocative singular of the *a*- declension); e. g. *bhāra* 'support'; *neṣa* 'lead' (aor. of *√nī*). In the graded conjugation, when a strong and weak stem are distinguished, the ending is attached to the latter: *-dhi* is added after both consonants and vowels, *-hi* (the later form of *-dhi*) after vowels only; thus *ad-dhi* 'eat'; *śru-dhi* and *śṛṇu-dhi* 'hear'; *i-hi* 'go', *jāgr-hi* 'awake', *pipr-hi* 'save', *śṛṇu-hi* 'hear'. In the *nā*- class, *-hi* is added

¹ On the accentuation cp. above 9 and 24 a.

² Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 555 (bottom).

³ The *e* (for *a*) is here probably due to the influence of the other forms *-es*, *-et*, etc.: BRUGMANN, KG. 728.

⁴ Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 729, 1; IF. 18, 71; DELBRÜCK, Vergl. Syntax 2, p. 357.

⁵ The ending *-antu* and *-antām* lose their *n* under the same conditions as *-anti* (p. 314, note 8).

only when the root ends in a vowel, but *-āna*¹ when it ends in a consonant; thus *pu-nīhi* 'purify', but *as-āna* 'eat'.

b. The ending *-tāt* occurs some twenty times in the RV. When strong and weak stem are distinguished, it is added to the latter; e. g. *vit-tāt* 'thou shalt regard', *dhat-tāt* 'thou shalt place', *kṛnu-tāt* 'thou shalt make', *punī-tāt* 'thou shalt purify', etc.² Its use is almost restricted to the 2. sing. It is, however, once³ found in the RV. and once in the TS. in the sense of the 3. sing., once as 2. du. in the RV., once as 2. pl. in the TS., and once as 1. sing. in AV.⁴ It appears to have the value of a future imperative, expressing an injunction to be carried out at a time subsequent to the present. It may originally have been identical with the abl. *tād* 'after that', 'then'; *kṛnu-tāt* would thus have meant 'do (it) then'⁵.

I. The Present System.

419. This group consists of a present indicative together with a subjunctive, an injunctive, an optative, an imperative, and participles, besides a past augmented tense called the imperfect because formed analogously to the Greek tense. This is the most important system, as its forms are about three times as common as those of the three other systems taken together⁶. Hence roots are generally classified according to the manner in which their stems are formed in the present system. Here **two** distinct conjugations may be conveniently distinguished.

The first or *a-* conjugation, all the stems in which end in *-a*, retains the stem unaltered (like the *a-* declension) in every tense, mood, and participle, accenting the same syllable throughout the present indicative, its moods and participles, as well as the unaugmented imperfect⁷. The secondary conjugations in *-a* (desideratives, intensives, causatives, denominatives) as well as the future⁸, follow this conjugation in their inflexion.

The second or graded conjugation is characterized by shift of accent between stem and ending, accompanied by vowel gradation. Minor differences consist in the loss of *n* in the 3. pl. middle, in the addition of another suffix (*-āna* instead of *-māna*) in the middle participle, in the employment of an ending in the 2. sing. impv. act., and in vowel gradation, with shift of accent, in the modal suffix of the optative.

a. The first or *a-* conjugation.

420. The special characteristics of this conjugation are:

1. The *-a* of the stem is lengthened before the endings of the 1. du. and pl. which begin with *v* and *m*; e. g. *jayāmasi* 'we conquer'; while the initial *a* of the endings of the 3. pl. *-anti*, *-ante*, *-an*, *-anta*, is dropped; e. g. *bhāra-nti* 'they bear'.

2. The optative sign is throughout *-ī*, which combines with the *-a* of the present stem to *e*; e. g. *bhāves*.

3. The 2. sing. impv. act. has no ending except the comparatively few instances (about sixteen) in which *-tāt* is added.

¹ On the origin of this peculiar imperative form cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 839, 5.

² See DELBRÜCK, Verbum 38.

³ Op. cit. 77; WHITNEY 571, b. AVERY, however (225, bottom), states that it occurs 5 times in the RV. as a 3. sing.

⁴ WHITNEY, loc. cit.

⁵ BRUGMANN, KG. 732.

⁶ WHITNEY 600, a.

⁷ But when the augment was added, it received the accent just like the verbal preposition in a principal sentence (the verb itself remaining unaccented).

⁸ Also aorist stems ending in *-a*.

4. The 2. 3. du. mid. substitute *e* for the *ā* of the endings *-āthe*, *-āte*; e. g. 2. *vāthe* 'ye two travel', 3. *vāthe* 'they two thrive'.

5. The middle participle regularly ends in *-māna*.

a. Five classes or types may be distinguished in the present stems of the *a*- conjugation. These are: 1. Stems in which the radical syllable has a strong grade accented vowel¹; e. g. *bhāra-ti*, from *bhr-* 'bear'. 2. Stems in which the radical syllable has a weak grade vowel, the thematic *a* being accented²; e. g. *rujā-ti*, from *ruj-* 'break'. 3. Stems formed with the suffix *-ya*, being either (a) ordinary transitive or intransitive verbs³, e. g. *ās-ya-ti* 'throws'; or (b) passives, e. g. *nī-yā-te* 'is led'. 4. Stems ending in *-aya*, being either (a) causatives (*-āya*) or (b) denominatives (*-ayā*)⁴. 5. Stems formed with the suffix *-sa*, added to the reduplicated root, being desideratives; e. g. *pī-pā-sa* 'desire to drink'. The last two classes, which retain the present stem throughout their inflexion, constitute three of the secondary conjugations which will be treated separately below (541—570).

1. The radically accented *a*- class (*bhāva*-).

421. This is by far the commonest type of the *a*- conjugation, about 300 such present stems occurring in the *Samhitās*⁵. The radical vowel takes *Guṇa*, unless it is medial and long by nature or position; thus from *jī-* 'conquer': *jāy-a*; *nī-* 'lead': *nāy-a*; *bhū-* 'be': *bhāv-a*; *budh-* 'awake': *bódh-a*; *srp-* 'creep': *sārp-a*; but *jinv-* 'quicken': *jīnv-a*; *krīl-* 'play': *krīl-a*. Roots with medial *a* remain unchanged, e. g. *vad-* 'speak': *vād-a*.

a. There are, however, several irregularities in the formation of the present stem: 1. *ñh-* 'consider' takes *Guṇa*: *ñha-* (but *ñh-* 'remove' remains unchanged: *ñha-*); *guh-* 'hide' lengthens its vowel: *gūha-*; *kram-* 'stride' lengthens its vowel in the active: *krāma-* (but *krama-* in the middle); *kṛp-* 'lament' retains its vowel unchanged: *kṛpa-*. — 2. The roots *damś-* 'bite' and *sañj-* 'hang' lose their nasal: *dāsa-*, *saja-*. — 3. *gam-* 'go', *yam-* 'reach', *yu-* 'separate' form their stem with the suffix *-cha*: *gāccha-*, *yāccha-*, *yucca-*. — 4. Four stems are transfers from the reduplicating class⁶: *pība-* from *pā-* 'drink', *tiṣṭha-* from *sthā-* 'stand', *śīda-*⁷ (for **si-sad-a*) from *sad-* 'sit', *sācā-*⁸ (for **sā-sac-a*) from *sac-* 'accompany'; four others⁹ are transfers from the *nu*- class, being either used beside or having entirely superseded the simpler original stems: *i-nv-a* from *i-* 'send', beside *i-nó-u*; *jī-nv-a* from *jī-* 'quicken', beside *jī-nó-si*; *hi-nv-a* from *hi-* 'impel', beside *hi-nó-ti*; *pīnv-a* 'fatten' was doubtless originally **pī-nu-* from the root *pī*¹⁰.

422. Present indicative. The forms of this tense which actually occur, if made from *bhāva*-, would be as follows:

Active. Sing. 1. *bhāvā-mi*, 2. *bhāva-si*, 3. *bhāva-ti*. Du. 1. *bhāvā-vas* (TS.), 2. *bhāva-thas*, 3. *bhāva-tas*. Pl. 1. *bhāvā-masi* and *bhāvā-mas*, 2. *bhāva-tha*¹¹, 3. *bhāva-nti*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *bhāv-e*, 2. *bhāva-se*, 3. *bhāva-te*¹². Du. 1. *bhāvā-vahe*, 3. *bhāv-ete*. Pl. 1. *bhāvā-mahe*¹³, 2. *bhāva-dhve*, 3. *bhāva-nte*.

The forms which actually occur are the following:

¹ The first class of the Indian grammarians.

² The sixth class of the Indian grammarians.

³ The fourth class of the Indian grammarians.

⁴ The nominal *a* preceding the *-ya* is here sometimes dropped or changed to *ā* or *i*. See below 562. Some of these verbs in *-aya*, having lost their special stem meaning, are treated as a class (the tenth) of primary verbs.

⁵ See WHITNEY 214—216, cp. 744.

⁶ *dād-a* occasionally appears for the regular *dādā*, from *dā-* 'give'.

⁷ See ROZWADOWSKI, BB. 21, 147.

⁸ A reminiscence of its reduplicative origin is the loss of the nasal (the sonant becoming *a*) in the ending of the 3. pl.: *sācāti*, *sācāta*.

⁹ *r-nv-ā*, beside *r-nó-ti* from *r-* 'send', is a similar transfer to the sixth class.

¹⁰ See WHITNEY, Roots, under *pīnv*.

¹¹ *vāda-thana* is the only example of the ending *-thana* in the indicative of the *a*- conjugation.

¹² The RV. once has *sóbhe* as 3. sing. for *sóbhate*.

¹³ DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 30 (top), AVERY p. 235, WHITNEY 735, b, and GRASSMANN, under *man* 'think', give *manāmahé* (IX. 412),

Present Indicative.

Active. Sing. 1. *acāmi, ārcāmi, avāmi, āhāmi* (AV. VS.), *khānāmi, gācchāmi* (AV.), *carāmi, codāmi, jānāmi, jayāmi, tapāmi* (AV.), *tiṣṭhāmi* (AV.), *dahāmi, dhāvāmi* (AV.), *nāyāmi* (AV. TS.), *pacāmi* (AV.), *patāmi, pibāmi*¹, *bhajāmi, bhārāmi, bhāvāmi* (AV.), *māndāmi* (TS. IV. 2. 6¹), *yacchāmi* (AV.), *yajāmi* (AV.), *yācāmi, rapāmi, rājāmi, rohāmi* (AV.), *vādāmi, vapāmi* (AV.), *vāhāmi, śāṃsāmi, śikṣāmi, śumbhāmi, sajāmi, sapāmi, sīdāmi*¹ (AV.), *svadāmi, harāmi*.

2. *atasi, arṣasi, arhasi, āvasi, invasi*², *āhasi, kṣayasi, cārasī, jayasi, jinvasi*², *jūrvasi, tapasi* (AV.), *tarasi, tiṣṭhasi*¹, *tīrvasi, dāśasi, dhanvasi, dhāvasi, nāyasi, pātasi, pīnvasi*², *pīvasi*¹, *bhāvasi, bhūṣasi, madasi* (AV.), *yācchasi, yājasi, rākṣasi, rājasi, rohasi, vañcasi* (AV.), *vādasi, vapasi, varṣasi* (AV.), *vāhasi, śāṃsasi, śikṣasi, śārpasi* (AV.), *śāscasi*¹, *sīdasi*¹, *harasi* (AV.).

3. *acati* (AV.), *ājati, ānati* (AV.), *ayati, ārcati, ardati* (AV.), *arṣati, arhati, āvati, invati*², *iṣati, ihati* (Kh. II. 10⁵), *ūhati, ājati, oṣati, krāndati, krāmati* (AV.), *krīḷati, kṣāyati, kṣarati, khanati* (AV.), *khādati, gācchati, gūhati* (AV.), *cāratī, cētati, jāyati, jīnvati*², *jīvati, jūrvati, jrayati, tapati, tārati, tiṣṭhati*¹, *tśarati* (AV.), *dadati*¹, *dahati* (AV.), *dāśati, dāsati, dhāmāti, dhāvati* 'runs' and 'washes', *nīkṣati, nāndati* (AV.), *nāyati, navati* (AV.) 'praises', *pācati, pātati, pīnvati*², *pībati*¹, *pīyati, bādhati, bhājati, bhūnati, bhārati, bhārvati, bhāvati, bhāṣati* (AV.), *bhūṣati, bhādati, mādati, mārhati, mehati* (AV.), *yācchati, yājati, yātati, yabhati* (TS. VII. 4. 10²), *yāmāti, yācāti* (AV.), *yūcchati, rākṣati, rādati, rapati, rājati, rādhati, rējati, rebhati, rōdhati, roṣati, rūhati, vāñcāti* (AV.), *vādati, vāpāti, varjati, vardhati, varṣati* (AV.), *vasati* 'dwells', *vahati, vāṣati, vēnati, śāṃsati, śāsati*³, *śikṣati, śundhati, śumbhati, śūcāti* (AV. TS.), *sarjati, śārpāti, sādhati, sīdāti*¹, *sēdhati, skandati, stobhati, sphūrjati* (AV.), *sredhati, hārati, hīmsati*⁴ (Kh. IV. 5¹¹).

Du. 1. *cārāvas* (TS. I. 5. 10¹). — 2. *acathas, ārcathas, arhathas, āvathas, invathas*², *karṣathas, kṣāyathas, gācchathas, ghōṣathas, cetathas, janathas, jīnvathas*², *jīvathas, jūrvathas, tiṣṭhathas*¹, *dhāmathas, nakṣathas, nayathas, pātathas, pīnvathas*², *bhārathas, bhāvathas, bhūṣathas, mādathas, yajathas, yātathas, rakṣathas* (AV. TS.), *rājathas, rohathas, vanathas, varathas, vahathas, śikṣathas, sadathas, sādhatas, sīdathas*¹, *svādathas*.

3. *invatas*², *ejatas* (AV.), *kṣayatas, khādatas* (AV.), *gācchatas* (AV.), *ghōṣatas, cāratas, tiṣṭhatas*¹ (AV.), *dravatas* (AV.), *dhāvatas* 'wash', *nakṣatas, pācatas* (AV.), *pīnvatas*², *pībatas*¹, *bhāvatas, bhūṣatas, manthatas, mārhatas, yacchatas* (AV.), *yūcchatas, rakṣatas, rājatas, vardhatas* (AV.), *vasatas, vāhatas*.

Pl. 1. *ārcāmasi, ārkāmasi, khaṇāmasi* (AV.), *cārāmasi* and *cārāmas* (AV.), *janāmasi, jayāmasi, tarāmasi, dāyāmasi* (AV.), *dahāmasi* (AV.), *namāmasi* (AV.), *nāyāmasi* and *nayāmas* (AV.), *pibāmas*¹ (AV.), *bādhamasi, bhajāmas* (AV.), *bhārāmasi, mādāmasi* and *madāmas, methāmasi, yājāmasi* and *yājāmas*, *vādāmasi* and *vadāmas, vāsāmasi* (AV.), *śāṃsāmas* (AV.), *sajāmasi* (AV.), *harāmasi* (AV.) and *hārāmas* (AV.).

2. *ājatha*⁵, *āvatha, ājatha, krīḷatha, kṣāyatha, khādatha, gācchatha, caratha* (AV.), *cētatha, jīnvatha*², *tākṣatha, tīrvatha, dhāvatha* (AV.), *nāyatha, naśatha, patatha, pīnvatha*² (TS. III. 1. 11⁸), *bhāratha, bhāvatha, bhūṣatha, mādatha, moṣatha, rākṣatha, rājatha, rējatha, vahatha, śārpatha*. — With *-thana* only *vādathana*.

3. *acanti* (AV.), *ājanti, ārcanti, ārṣanti, ārhanti, āvanti, krāndanti,*

but this is due to Sandhi (108), *manāmahe*¹ standing for *manāmahe āti* (Pp.).

¹ A transfer from the reduplicating class.

² A transfer from the *nu*-class.

³ A transfer from the root class for *śāsi*.

⁴ A transfer from the infixing class.

⁵ The Samhitā lengthens the final vowel in at least ten of the following forms.

krāmantī (AV.), *krīlantī*, *krśāntī*, *kṣārantī*, *kṣodantī*, *khanantī* (AV.), *khādantī* (AV.), *gacchantī*, *gūmantī*, *gūhantī*, *cārantī*, *jāyantī*, *jārantī*, *jīnvantī*¹, *jīvantī*, *tīkṣantī*, *tīpantī*, *tarantī*, *tīṣṭhantī*², *trāsantī*, *tsārantī*, *dabhartī*, *dahantī*, *dāsantī* (AV.), *drāvantī*, *dhanvantī*, *dhāmantī*, *dhāvantī*, *dhārvantī*, *nakṣantī*, *nandantī*, *namantī*, *nāyantī*, *naśantī* 'they attain', *nikṣantī* (AV.), *nindantī*, *pācantī*, *pātantī*, *pīnvantī*¹, *pībantī*², *pīyantī*, *bhājantī*, *bhanantī*, *bhārantī*, *bhāvantī*, *bhūṣantī*, *majjantī*, *mādatī*, *mānthantī*, *marantī*, *mardhantī*, *mimantī*² (*mā*- 'bellow'), *mehantī*, *yācchantī*, *yājantī*, *yācantī* (AV.), *yodhantī* (AV.), *rākṣantī*, *rāpantī*, *rādantī*, *rājantī*, *robhantī*, *rōhantī*, *vādantī*, *vanantī*, *vāpantī*, *vārdhantī*, *vārṣantī*, *valgantī* (AV.), *vāsantī*, *vasantī* (AV.), *vāhantī*, *vēnantī*, *śāmsantī*, *śīksantī*, *śīcantī*, *ścīlantī*, *śapantī*, *sarpantī* (AV.), *śūdantī*², *sedhantī*, *skandantī*, *stobhantī*, *srāvantī*, *svādantī*, *svārantī*, *hārantī* (AV.), *hīmsantī*³.

Indicative Middle.

Sing. I. *aje*, *āme*, *arce*, *īkṣe*, *gacche* (TS. I. I. 10²), *daye* (AV. TS.), *name*, *nikṣe* (AV.), *bādhe* (AV.), *bhāre*, *bhikṣe*, *mande*, *yāje*, *rabhe*, *lūbhe* (AV.), *vade*, *vānde*, *varie*, *śraye* (AV.), *sāhe* (AV.), *stāve*, *svaje* (AV.), *hāve*.

2. *aṛṣase* (AV.), *ohase*, *garhase*, *gāhase*, *cākṣase*, *cayase*, *jarase*, *joṣase* (AV.), *tīṣṭhase*², *toṣase*, *dohase*, *nakṣase*, *nayase*, *pavase*, *pinvase*¹, *bādhasse*, *bhrājase*, *manḥase*, *mandase*, *modase*, *yacchase*, *yajase*, *yamase*, *rakṣase*, *ramase* (AV.), *rōcase*, *rohase*, *vārdhase*, *vahase*, *śūmbhase*, *śobhase*, *sācse*, *stāvase*, *harsase*.

3. *ajate*, *ayate*, *īkṣate* (AV.), *īśate*, *īṣate*, *ejate*⁴, *edhate*, *dhate*, *kypate*, *kalpate* (AV.), *kramate*, *krīḍate* (AV.), *gacchate*, *gāhate*, *gūhate*, *ghoṣate*, *cāyate*, *cātate*, *codate*, *cīyāte* (AV.), *jārate*, *jīmbhate*, *tandate*, *tīṣṭhate*², *tejate*, *toṣate*, *dākṣate*, *dadate*² (AV.), *dudhate*² (TS. II. 2. 12⁴), *dīhate*⁵, *dyotate* (AV.), *dhāvate*, *nakṣate*, *nāmte*, *nāyate* (AV.), *nāsate*, *ndsate*, *pācate* (AV.), *pāyate*, *pāvate*, *pīnvate*¹, *pībate*², *prāthate*, *plāvate*, *bādhasse*, *bhājate*, *bhāndate*, *bhāyate*, *bhārate*, *bhikṣate*, *bhūjate*, *bhrājate*, *bhṛṣate*, *māṇhate*, *madate* (AV.), *mārate*, *modate*, *yājate*, *yatate*, *yamate*, *yojate*, *raṇhate*, *rakṣate*, *rapṣate*⁶, *rāmte*, *rambate*, *rējate*, *rōcate*, *rohate*, *līyate* (AV.), *vañcate* (AV.), *vādte*, *vanate*, *vāndate*, *vapate*, *vārate* 'covers', *vāriate*, *vārdhate*, *varṣate* (AV.), *vāsate* (x. 37³), *vāhate*, *vēpate*, *vyathate*, *śapate* (AV.), *śīkṣate*, *śūmbhate*, *śrayate* (AV.), *sācate*, *sahate*, *sādhate*, *sēcate*, *sēvate*, *stūrate*, *sayate*, *stāvate*, *smayate*, *syāndate*, *svādte*, *hārsate*, *hāvate*, *hāsate*⁷, *hūrāte*. — With -e for -te: *joṣe*, *toṣe*⁸, *mahe*, *śīye*, *śēve*, *stāve*.

Du. I. *sācāvahe*.

2. *jayethe*, *jarethe*, *rakṣethe*, *varethe*, *vahethe*, *śrayethe*, *sacethe*.

3. *carete*, *jarete*, *tarete*, *namete*, *bādhete* (AV.), *bhayete*, *bharete*, *methete*, *yatete*, *rejte*, *vādete*, *vartete*, *vardhete*, *vepete*, *vyathete*, *sacete*, *smayete*, *havete*.

Pl. I. *ṣadāmahe* (AV.), *cāyāmahe*⁹ (AV.), *jarāmahe*, *nakṣāmahe*, *nāvāmahe*, *nāsāmahe*, *bādhāmahe*, *bhājāmahe*, *bhāyāmahe*, *bharāmahe*, *mānāmahe*¹⁰, *māndāmahe*, *marāmahe*, *yājāmahe*, *yācāmahe*, *rabhāmahe*, *vānāmahe*, *vāndāmahe*, *sahāmahe* (AV.), *starāmahe*, *stāvāmahe*, *svajāmahe*, *hāvāmahe*.

2. *cayadhve*, *dhavadhve*, *bādhadhve*, *bhāradhve*, *mandadhve*, *vāhadhve*, *śayadhve*, *sācadhve* (AV.).

¹ Transfer from the -*nu* class.

² A transfer form from the reduplicating class.

³ A transfer from the infixing nasal class.

⁴ In *āpejate* in IV. 48², v. 64²: Pp. *āpa i jate*.
⁵ *dohāte* (x. 133⁷), DELBRÜCK, Verbum 97, and AVERY 233, is a mistake for *dōhate* (a transfer from the root class).

⁶ Cp. BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 10, 18.

⁷ From *hās*- 'go emulously', a secondary

form of *hā*- 'leave' (IX. 27⁵; x. 127³); cp. p. 322, note 3. This form is given by AVERY 258 as subjunctive of the *s*-aorist of *hā*-.

⁸ (iv. 38¹). With irregular accent, like that of similar forms in the graded conjugation.

⁹ Conjecture for *cayāmahe*, AV. XIX. 48¹: see WHITNEY's note on the passage in his Translation.

¹⁰ See note on *bhāvāmahe*, above, p. 319, note 13.

3. *āyante*, *ikṣante* (AV. TS.), *iṣante*, *ēdhante*, *kṣāḍante*, *gācchante* (TS. IV. 2. 6²), *cātante*, *cyāvante*, *jāyante*, *jarante* 'sing', *tiṣṭhante*¹, *dāḍante*¹ (AV.), *dhavante*, *nakṣante*, *namante*, *navante*, *pāvante*, *pībante*¹, *pluvante* (AV.), *bādhante*, *bhajante*, *bhāyante*, *bhīrante*, *bhrūjante*, *māḍante* (AV.), *yājante*, *yātante*, *yācante*, *rakṣante*, *rante*², *rapṣante* (AV.), *rabhante*, *ramante*, *rējante*, *rīcante*, *vadante*, *vārante*, *vārtante*, *vārdhante*, *vahante*, *vyathante*, *śayante*, *ślūmbhante*, *śrayante*, *sācante*, *sāpante*, *sāhante*, *stāvante*, *spārdhante*, *svajante*, *svadante*, *hīrante*, *hāvante*, *hāsante*³ (AV.).

Present Subjunctive⁴.

423. Active. Sing. 1. *ajāni* (TS. VII. 4. 19¹; VS. XXIII. 19), *carāni*, *jīvāni* (AV.), *tarāni* (AV.), *nāyāni*, *pacāni*, *bhajāni*, *rājāni*, *vādāni* (AV.), *vāhāni*, *hārāni* (AV.). — Without -ni: *arc*.

2. a. With -si: *ājāsi*, *gācchāsi* (AV.), *jayāsi*, *tiṣṭhāsi*¹ (AV.), *nayāsi* (AV.), *pībāsi*¹, *bhājāsi*, *bhāvāsi*, *bhāsāsi* (AV.), *yājāsi*, *vadāsi*, *vahāsi*.

b. With -s: *āvās*, *gacchās*, *jāyās*, *jīvās* (AV.), *jūrvas*⁵, *tiṣṭhās*¹, *bhārās*, *vadās* (AV.), *vānās* (AV.), *vārdhās*, *śīkṣās*.

3. a. With -ti: *ājāti*, *ejāti* (AV.), *gācchāti*, *jayāti*, *jīvāti*, *tāpāti*, *tiṣṭhāti*¹, *dabhāti*, *dahāti*, *dhanvāti*, *nīyāti*, *pācāti*, *pātāti*, *pādāti*, *pībāti*¹, *bōdhāti*, *bhājāti*, *bhārāti*, *bhāvāti*, *marāti*, *yājāti*, *rakṣāti* (AV.), *vadāti*, *vahāti* (AV.), *śāmsāti*, *śāpāti* (AV.), *ślūmbhāti* (AV.), *śrayāti* (AV.), *sīdāti*¹, *svādāti*, *svarāti*.

b. With -t: *ārcāt*, *ārcāt*, *ārcāt*, *āvāt*, *invāt*⁶, *ejāt*, *gācchāt*, *ghōṣāt*, *janāt* (AV. VI. 81¹), *jivāt*, *tiṣṭhāt*¹, *dāsāt* (AV.), *dāsāt*, *dhāvāt* (AV.), *nāyāt* (AV.), *nīndāt*, *pācāt*, *pātāt*, *pībāt*¹, *bhajāt* (AV.), *bhārāt*, *bhūṣāt*, *yācchāt*, *yajāt*, *rējāt* (AV.), *rīhāt* (AV.), *vārdhāt*, *vahāt* (AV. TS.), *śāmsāt*, *śāpāt* (AV.), *śīkṣāt*, *śarpāt* (AV.), *skāndāt* (TS. I. 6. 2²), *smārāt* (AV.), *hārāt* (AV.).

Du. 1. *cārāva*, *jāyāva*, *pībāva*¹, *vānāva*, *śāmsāva*.

2. *āvāthas*, *tarāthas* (AV.), *tiṣṭhāthas*¹, *nāyāthas* (AV.), *pībāthas*¹, *bhāvāthas* (AV.), *vadāthas*, *smārāthas*.

3. *cārātās*⁷, *pībātās*¹, *vāhātās*, *śāpātās*.

Pl. 1. *ārcāma*, *krāmāma*, *khānāma* (TS. IV. 1. 2³), *taṣṣāma*, *namāma* (TS. V. 7. 4¹), *patāma* (Kh. p. 171. 6), *bhajāma*, *bhārāma*, *bhāvāma*, *madāma*, *manthāma*, *marāma*, *yajāma*, *rādhāma*, *vadāma*, *vārdhāma*, *vāsāma*, *śreṣṭhāma*⁸, *hārāma*.

2. *āvātha*, *gacchātha*, *jayātha*, *jīvātha* (TS. V. 7. 4¹)⁹, *yacchātha* (AV.), *vāhātha*.

3. *ārcān*, *krīlān*, *gācchān*, *ghāṣān*, *cārān*, *jīvān* (AV.), *dāsān* (AV.), *patān*, *yacchān* (AV.), *vādān*, *vārdhān*¹⁰, *vahān*, *śīkṣān* (AV.), *sīdān*¹ (AV.), *hārān* (AV.).

Middle. Sing. 1. *gācchai* (AV.), *mānai*, *marai*, *stāvai*. — 2. *vārdhāse*; *nayāsai* (AV.). — 3. *jarāte*, *tiṣṭhāte*¹, *pavāte*, *bhayāte*, *yājāte*, *vāhāte*, *śrayāte*, *svajāte*; *carātai* (AV.), *jayātai* (TS. AV.), *yajātai*, *śrayātai* (AV.), *svajātai* (AV.).

¹ A transfer form from the reduplicating class.

² According to ROTH, ZDMG. 20, 71, for **raṇ-ante*; WHITNEY, Roots = *r-ante*, under *r* 'go'; also GRASSMANN, under root *ar*.

³ From *hās* 'go emulously': see WHITNEY's note on AV. IV. 36⁵.

⁴ No forms of the 2. 3. pl. subj. middle occur in this class.

⁵ DELBRÜCK p. 37 (top) gives *tāṣṣās*, which I cannot trace.

⁶ A transfer from the -*nu* class.

⁷ DELBRÜCK, Verbum 82, gives *tiṣṭhāthas*, but I cannot trace it.

⁸ Perhaps from *śrīṣ* = *ślīṣ* 'clasp': cp. WHITNEY, Roots.

⁹ DELBRÜCK 48 gives *pībātha* also.

¹⁰ *vārdhān* (I. 70⁴; VI. 17¹¹) as well as *ārcān* (IV. 55²; V. 31⁵) are given as indicatives by DELBRÜCK, Verbum 91; cp. p. 327, note 3.

Du. 1. *rabhāvahai* (TS. IV. 4. 7²), *sācāvahai*, *sahāvahai*. — 3. *yātāite*.

Pl. 1. *nāsāmahai*, *bhājāmahai* (AV.), *yājāmahai*, *vānāmahai*.

Present Injunctive.

424. Active. Sing. 1. *cyāvam*, *takṣam*, *tiṣṭham*¹, *bhojam*, *yojam*.

2. *āvas*, *eṣas* (AV.), *oṣas*, *gūhas*, *caras*, *tiṣṭhas*¹ (AV.), *dāhas*, *namas* (AV.), *madas* (AV.), *yamas*, *vadas* (VS. XXIII. 25¹), *vanas*, *vapas*, *vāras*, *vasas*, *venas*, *śocas*.

3. *arcat*, *aṣat* (AV.)³, *karṣat*, *krandat*, *krāmat*⁴ (AV.), *kṣarat*, *cārat*, *cetat*, *cōdat*, *janat*, *jāyat*, *jōsat*, *takṣat*, *tandrat*⁵, *īapat*, *tamat*, *tārat*, *tiṣṭhat*¹, *dadat*¹, *dābhat*, *dāsat*, *dāṣat*, *dāsat*, *drāvāt*, *nākṣat*, *nayat*, *naṣat*, *pācat*, *pātāt*, *pinvat*², *pibat*¹, *prāthāt*, *bādhāt*, *bhārat*, *bhavāt* (AV.), *bhāsat*, *bhramṣat* (AV.), *madat* (AV.)⁶, *minat*, *yāmat*¹, *raṇat*, *rādāt*, *rāpat*, *rādhāt*, *rejat*, *reṣat*, *rodhat*, *vādat*, *vārat*, *vārtāt*, *vārdhat*, *vāsat*, *śakat*, *śardhat*, *śikṣat*, *śnāthāt*, *śramat*, *sadat*, *sārpāt*, *saṣcat*¹, *svājāt*.

Pl. 3. *arcan*, *cāran*, *dabhan*, *dhāvan*, *nākṣan*, *nāṣan* ('lose' and 'reach'), *bharan* (AV.), *bhāvan* (AV.), *yaman*, *rānan*, *vaman*, *vardhan*, *sāsan*, *sādhan*⁸, *sīdan*¹.

Middle. Sing. 2. *gūhathās* (AV.), *bādhathās*, *rabhathās* (AV.).

3. *ṛsata*, *bharata*, *rocata*, *vārdhata*, *sacata*, *sādhata*.

Pl. 3. *āmanta*, *āyanta*, *caranta*, *cyavanta*, *jananta*, *tiṣṭhanta*¹, *nakṣanta*, *namanta*, *nāyanta*, *navanta*, *naṣanta*, *nasanta*, *pinvanta*², *pravanta*, *bhājanta*, *bhananta*, *bhāraṇta*, *bhikṣanta*, *yakṣanta*, *yavanta*, *raṇanta*, *raṇta* (I. 61¹²; VII. 39³)⁹, *ramanta*, *rējanta*, *vanta*¹⁰, *vāraṇta* ('cover'), *vardhanta*, *vārdhanta*, *śocanta*, *sācanta*, *sapanta*, *sādhanta*, *stāvanta*, *smayanta*, *hāvanta*.

Present Optative.

425. Active. Sing. 1. *careyam* (AV.), *bhaveyam* (TS. IV. 7. 12²), *vadheyam* (AV.), *śikṣeyam*. — 2. *āves*, *bhaves*, *mades*, *vanes*. — 3. *āvet*, *gacchet* (AV.), *caret*, *taret*, *pātet*, *bhāvet* (AV.), *yacchet* (AV.), *lābhet* (AV.), *vadet* (AV.), *vaṣet*¹¹ (AV.), *sravet*, *haret* (AV.). — Du. 3. *grāsetām*.

Pl. 1. *krāmema*, *kṣayema* (AV.), *khanema* (TS. IV. 1. 2⁴), *gacchema* (AV. TS.), *cayema*, *carema*, *jāyema*, *jīvema*, *tārema*, *tiṣṭhema*¹, *dāṣema*, *pātema* (TS. IV. 7. 13¹), *bharema* (AV. TS.), *bhāvema*, *bhūṣema*, *mādemā*, *māhema*, *yatema*, *rapema*, *rāhema* (AV.), *vatema*, *vadema*, *śikṣema*, *sapema*, *sīdema*¹ (AV.), *hārema* (AV.). — 3. *tāreyur*, *yāceyur* (AV.), *vaheyur*, *saheyur* (SA. XII. 32).

Middle. Sing. 1. *saceya*. — 3. *ajeta*, *kalpeta* (SA. XII. 20), *kṣameta*, *jareta*, *bhikṣeta*, *yajeta*, *vadeta*, *śāṃseta* (AV.), *saceta*, *saheta* (SA. XII. 20), *staveta*.

Du. 1. *sacevahi* (AV.).

Pl. 1. *gāhemahi*, *bhājemahi*, *bhāremahi*, *yātemahi*, *rabhemahi*, *sācemahi*. — 3. With ending *-rata*: *bharerata*.

Present Imperative.

426. Active. Sing. 2. *aca*, *āja*, *ārca*, *ārṣa*, *āva*, *inva*², *ūha* (AV.), *ōṣa*, *karṣa*, *kranda*, *krāma*, *kṣāra*, *khāda* (AV. TS.), *gāccha*, *gada* (AV.), *cāra*,

¹ Transfer form from the reduplicating class.

² A transfer from the *-nu* class.

³ AV. X. 4¹, some Mss. *riṣat*: see WHITNEY's note in his Translation.

⁴ Emendation for *kṣāmat*, AV. VII. 63¹: see WHITNEY's Translation.

⁵ II. 30⁷, perhaps to be emended to *tandat*.

⁶ AV. XX. 49² emendation for *mada*.

⁷ DELBRÜCK 56 (top) adds *rākṣat*.

⁸ DELBRÜCK, Verbum 89 (p. 63), takes *hāran* as an unaugmented imperfect, but it seems to occur only as a N. sing. m. participle.

⁹ According to DELBRÜCK 113 for **raṇanta*; WHITNEY, Koots, *r-anta*. Cp. p. 322, note 2.

¹⁰ DELBRÜCK l. c., for **van-anta*.

¹¹ AV. XII. 42⁷: should probably be *vaṣet*. Cp. p. 324, note 3.

cōda; *jāya*, *jinva*¹, *jīva*, *jūrva*, *jīṣa*, *tīpa*, *tara*, *tiṣṭha*², *daśa* (AV.), *dīha*, *dṛmha* (AV.), *drava*, *dhanva*, *dhama*, *dhāva*, *nama*, *nāya*, *niṣa* (AV.), *pāta*, *pava*, *pinva*¹, *pība*², *protha*, *bīdha*, *bhāja*, *bhāra*, *bhāva*, *bhūṣa*, *mada*, *māntha* (AV.), *manda*, *myakṣa*, *mrada*, *yāccha*, *yāja*, *yābha* (AV.), *yoja*, *rākṣa*, *rāpa*, *rāda*, *rāja* (AV.), *rīha*, *vada*, *vadha* (AV.), *vapa*, *vārda*, *vasa*³ (AV.), *vasa* (AV.), *vāha*, *vāñcha*⁴ (AV.), *śāṃsa*, *śārdha*, *śīkṣa*, *śumbha*, *śōca*, *śraya* (AV. TS.), *sāra*, *sarpa*, *saha* (SA. XII. 31), *sādha*, *sīda*², *sēdha*, *skanda* (AV.), *stana* (AV.), *srava*, *svadu*, *svapa*, *svara*, *hara*, *hinva*¹. — With ending *-tāt*: *avatāt*, *oṣatāt*, *gacchatāt* (AV.), *jinvatāt*¹ (AV.), *dahatāt*, *dhāvatāt* (AV.) 'run', *bhavatāt*, *yacchatāt*, *yācatāt*, *rākṣatāt*, *vahatāt*, *śrayatāt* (TS. VII. 4. 19²).

3. *ajatu*, *añcatu* (AV.), *arcatu*, *aṣatu* (AV.), *āvatu*, *invatu*¹, *iṣatu* (AV.), *ejatu*, *ēsatu* (AV.), *oṣatu* (AV.), *krandatu*, *krāmatu* (TS. VII. 3. 11¹), *krośatu* (AV.), *gacchatu*, *caratu* (AV.), *jayatu*, *jinvatu*¹, *jīvatu* (AV.), *tapatu*, *tiṣṭhatu*², *dahatu* (AV.), *dṛmhatu* (AV.), *dravatu* (AV.), *dhāvatu*, *nakṣatu* (AV.), *nayatu*, *patatu* (AV.), *pibat*², *bīdhatu*, *bhavatu*, *bhūṣatu*, *manthatu* (AV.), *māndatu*, *yacchatu*, *yajatu*, *rākṣatu*, *rājatu* (AV.), *rohatu*, *vadatu* (AV.), *vapatu* (TS. AV.), *vārdhatu*, *varṣatu* (Kh. II. 13²), *vasatu* (AV.), *vahatu*, *śīkṣatu*, *śocatu*, *sarpatu*, *sīdatu*², *sedhatu*, *hinvat*¹. — With ending *-tāt*: *gacchatāt*, *smaratāt* (AV.).

Du. 2. *ajātam*, *āvātam*, *invatām*¹, *oṣātam*, *gācchatām*, *jāyatām*, *jāratām*, *jinvatām*², *takṣātam*, *tīpatām*, *tiṣṭhatām*², *tūrvatām*, *dahatām* (AV.), *dhāvatām*, *nayatām*, *patatām*, *pinvatām*, *pibatām*², *bīdhatām*, *bhajatām*, *bhāratām*, *bhāvatām*, *bhūṣatām*, *māṃhatām* (Kh. I. 10²), *yacchatām*, *yātātām*, *rākṣatām*, *rohatām* (TS. I. 8. 12³), *vānatām*, *vārdhatām*, *vāhatām*, *venatām*, *śīkṣatām*, *sīdatām*², *sēdhatām*.

3. *ayātām* (AV.), *āvātām*, *invātām*¹, *krośātām* (AV.), *gacchatām*, *cetatām*, *jāyātām* (AV.), *jīvātām* (AV.), *drāvātām*, *pibatām*² (AV.), *bharātām* (AV.), *bhavātām*, *madātām*, *mehātām* (AV.), *yacchatām*, *rākṣātām*, *vāhatām*, *veṣātām* (AV.), *sīdatām*².

Pl. 2. *ārcata*, *aṣata*⁵, *avata*, *gacchata*, *gūhata*, *carata*, *codata*, *janata*, *jayata*, *jinvata*¹, *jīvata*, *takṣata*, *tapata*, *tarata*, *tiṣṭhata*¹, *trasata*, *dakṣata*, *dṛmḥata*, *dhāvata*, *nāyata*, *nindata*, *pācata*, *patata* (AV.), *pinvata*¹, *pībata*², *bhājata*, *bhārata*, *bhāvatata*, *bhāvata*, *bhūṣata*, *madata*, *mānthata*, *yācchata*, *yajata*, *yācata*, *rākṣata*, *rohata*, *vadata*, *vanata*, *vapata*, *varḥata*, *vahata*, *yajata* (AV.), *śāṃsata*, *śundhata* (Kh. III. 16²), *śumbhata*, *śōcata* (AV.), *sacata*, *sarpata*, *saścata*², *sīdata*², *sēdhatata*, *stobhata*, *sredhata*, *harata* (AV.). — With ending *-tana*: *bhajatana*.

3. *ārcantu*, *aṣantu*, *āvantu*, *kasantu* (AV.), *krośantu* (AV.), *kṣarantu*, *gacchantu*, *carantu*, *jāyantu*, *jīvantu*, *takṣantu*, *tapantu* (AV. TS.), *tiṣṭhantu*², *trasantu* (AV.), *dahantu*, *drāvantu*, *dhanvantu* (AV.), *dhāvantu* (AV.), *dhūrvantu*, *namantu* (AV. TS.), *nayantu*, *pacantu*, *patantu*, *pībantu*², *bīdhanu*, *bhāyantu* (AV.), *bharantu* (AV.), *bhāvantu*, *mathantu* (AV.), *madantu*, *manthantu* (AV.), *māndantu*, *yācchantu*, *yajantu*, *ylcchantu*, *rākṣantu*, *radantu*, *rohanu*, *lapantu* (AV.), *vādantu*, *vapantu*, *vārdhantu*, *vārsantu* (AV.; Kh. II. 5), *vasantu* (AV.), *vāhantu*, *vāñchantu*, *śundhantu*, *śumbhantu* (AV.), *śrośantu*, *sajantu* (AV.), *sarpantu* (AV.), *sīdantu*², *sedhantu*, *stobhantu*, *sravantu*, *svādantu*, *svarantu*, *harantu* (AV.).

Middle. Sing. 2. *ācasva* (AV.), *edhasva* (AV.), *kālpasva*, *kramasva*, *gacchasva* (AV.), *codasva*, *cyavasva* (AV. TS.), *jārasva*, *tapasva*, *dayasva* (AV.),

¹ Transfer from the *-nu* class.

² Transfer from the reduplicating class.

³ AV. III. 4¹, perhaps to be read *vasa*.

⁴ AVERY 243 adds *vena*(?).

⁵ The form *aṣata* in AV. VI. 28² is a corruption: see WHITNEY's note in his Translation.

nakṣasva, *nabhasva* (AV.), *namasva*, *nayasva*, *pīvasva*, *pīvasva*¹, *pībasva*², *prathasva*, *plavasva*³ (Kh. II. 16), *bādhasva*, *bhajasva*, *bhārasva*, *mādasva* (AV.), *mandasva*⁴, *yajasva*, *yatasva*, *rakṣasva*, *rabhasva*, *ramasva*, *vadasva*, *vāndasva*, *vārtasva*, *vārdhasva*, *vāhasva*, *śocasva*, *śrayasva*, *śvañcasva*, *ścasva*, *sīhasva*, *sīdasva*², *sevasva* (AV.), *syandasva*, *svajasva* (AV.), *svādasva*, *hārṣasva*.

3. *edhatām* (TS. VII. 4. 19²), *kalpatām* (AV.), *gacchatām*, *jaratām*, *tiṣṭhatām*² (AV.), *dadatām*², *dayatām* (AV.), *dyotatām* (AV.), *nabhatām* (AV.), *pāvatām*, *pīvatām*¹, *prathatām*, *bādhatām*, *bhayatām* (AV.), *yajatām*, *rabhatām* (AV.), *ramatām* (AV.), *rocātām*, *vanatām*, *variatām*, *vārdhatām*, *śrayatām* (AV.), *sacātām*, *sahitām* (AV.).

Du. 2. *kalpethām* (TS. IV. 2. 5¹), *gāhethām* (AV.), *cīdethām*, *cyavethām* (AV.), *jarethām*, *bādhetthām*, *yajethām*, *rabhetthām* (AV.), *vartethām* (AV.), *vārdhetthām*, *vahethām*, *śrayethām*, *sacethām* (AV.), *smarethām*.

3. *kalpetām* (TS. IV. 4. 11¹), *śrayetām*, *sacetām*.

Pl. 2. *ajadhvam*, *kṣāmadhvam*, *gacchadhvam*, *cyavadhvam* (TS. IV. 7. 13⁴), *tiṣṭhadhvam*², *nayadhvam*, *namadhvam*, *pavadhvam*, *pīvadhvam*¹, *pībadhvam*², *bādhadhvam*, *bhajadhvam* (AV.), *bharadhvam*, *modadhvam*, *yacchadhvam*, *yajadhvam*, *rabhadhvam*, *rāmadhvam*, *vadadhvam*, *vartadhvam*, *śrayadhvam*, *sacadhvam* (AV.), *sāhadhvam*, *syandadhvam* (AV.), *svajadhvam*, *hārṣadhvam* (AV.). — With ending *-dhva*: *yījadhva*.

3. *ayantām* (AV.), *kālpantām* (TS. IV. 4. 11¹), *jayantām*, *tiṣṭhantām*², *namantām*, *pīvantām*⁵, *bādhantām* (TS. IV. 2. 6⁴), *bharantām* (AV.), *yajantām*, *yatantām*, *radantām* (AV.), *rabhantām* (AV.), *ramantām* (AV.), *layantām*, *vartantām*, *vārdhantām*, *śrayantām*, *sacantām*, *sādhantām*, *syandantām*, *hārṣantām* (AV.).

Present Participle.

427. a. The active form made with the suffix *-ant*⁶ is very common. Stems of forms which occur are: *ājant-*, *ātant-*, *ārcant-*, *āṣant-*, *ārhan-*, *āvant-*, *invant*¹, *ūksant-*, *ūjant-*, *ēśant-*, *ōśant-*, *ōśant-* (AV.), *kūlpant*¹ (AV.), *kījant-* (AV.), *krāndant-*, *krāmant-*, *krīlant-*, *krōśant-*, *kṣāyant-*, *kṣārant-*, *kṣārant-*, *khānant-* (AV.), *khādant-* (AV.), *gacchant-*, *gūhant-*, *ghṣant-*, *cāiant-*, *cārant-*, *cētant-*, *cēśant-* (AV.), *jājhihant-*, *jāñjant-*, *jāyant-*, *jārant-*, *jīvant*¹, *jīvant-*, *jīrvant-*, *tāksant-*, *tāpant-*, *tārant-*, *tiṣṭhant*², *tīrvant*⁸, *dāsant-*, *dāhant-*, *dāsant-*, *drāvant-*, *dāmant-*, *dhāvant-*, *dhūrvant-*, *dhūrant-*, *nāksant-*, *nāddant-* (AV.), *nāyant-*, *nāvant-*, *pācant-*, *pātant-*, *pīvant*¹, *pībant*², *pīśant-*, *prōthant-*, *bhājant-*, *bhārant-*, *bhārvant-*, *bhāvant-*, *bhāśant-*, *bhūśant-*, *bhrājant-*, *mādat-*, *mēvant-* (AV.), *mēhant-* (AV.), *mīrcant-*, *yāksant-*, *yāccchant-*, *yājant-*, *yātant-*, *yācant-*, *yīccchant-*, *yēśant-*, *rāksant-*, *rāddant-*, *rāpant-* (TS. VII. 1. 11¹), *rājant-*, *rēbhant*⁹, *rōhant-*, *lāpant-* (AV.), *vātant-*, *vāddant-*, *vāpant-*, *vārdhant-*, *vārṣant-* (AV.), *vāsant-*, *vāhant-*, *vēnant-*, *vēśant-*, *vṛjant-*, *vṛādhant-*, *sāmsant-*, *sāpant-*, *sārdhant-*, *śāsant-*, *śīksant-*, *śōcant-*, *śvāyant*¹⁰, *sānant-*, *sāpant-*, *sārjant-* (AV.), *sārpant-*, *sādhant-*, *sāhant-* or *sāhant-*, *sīdant*², *sēdhant-*, *skāndant-* (AV.), *stōbhant-*, *srāvant-*, *srēdhant-*, *hāyant-*, *hārant-*, *hārśant-*, *hēśant-*.

b. The middle participles almost invariably formed with the suffix *-māna* are also numerous: *ātamāna-*, *āmamāna-* (AV.), *āyamāna-*, *īkṣamāna-* (AV.), *īṣamāna-*, *kālpamāna-* (TS. IV. 2. 10²), *kṣpamāna-*, *krīkṣamāna-*, *krōśamāna-*, *kṣāmamāna-*,

¹ Transfer from the *-nu* class.

² Transfer form from the reduplicating class.

3 Accented *plāvāsva*.

4 AVERY 243 adds *yacchasva* (?).

5 AVERY 246 adds *pīvantām* (?).

6 On the declension of these stems see 314.

⁷ If *kālpāt*, AV. XI. 52⁶, is with WHITNEY in his Translation emended to *kālpān*.

⁸ From *tīrv-* a secondary form of *tur-*.

⁹ Fem. *rēbhatyau* (Kh. I. 37).

¹⁰ The form *śvāyat*, VII. 50¹, seems to be regarded by DELBRÜCK (p. 56, middle) as an injunctive of *svi-*.

khānamāna-, *gāhamāna-*, *gīhamāna-*, *cāyamāna-*, *jānamāna-*, *jāramāna-*, 'singing' and 'approaching', *jāsamāna-*, *jīhamāna-*, *tīñjamāna-*, *tījamāna-*, *tūsamāna-* (AV.), *dīkṣamāna-* (AV.), *dīsamāna-*, *dyūtamāna-*, *dhāvamāna-*, *nākṣamāna-*, *nāmamāna-*, *nāyamāna-*, *nīvamāna-*, *nādhāmāna-*, *pāvamāna-*, *pīncāmāna-*¹, *pībdāmāna-*, *prāthamāna-* (AV. TS.), *prīthamāna-*, *bādhamāna-*, *bhāndamāna-*, *bhūyamāna-*, *bhīramāna-*, *bhīkṣamāna-*, *bhrājamāna-*, *māpḥamāna-*, *māndamāna-*, *mīghamāna-*, *mīdamāna-*, *yācchamāna-*, *yājāmāna-*, *yātāmāna-*, *yācamāna-* (AV.), *yādamāna-*, *rāpḥamāna-*, *rākṣamāna-*, *rābhamāna-*, *rāmbamāna-*, *rīsamāna-* (AV.), *rījamāna-*, *rīcamāna-*, *vāndamāna-*, *vārtamāna-*, *vārdhamāna-*, *vāhamāna-*, *vīpāmāna-* (AV.), *vyāthamāna-*, *śīkṣamāna-*, *śīmḥamāna-*, *śībhamāna-*, *śrīyamāna-*, *śrīsamāna-*, *śvāncāmāna-*, *sācamāna-*, *sāhamāna-*, *stīvamāna-*, *spīrdhamāna-*, *smīyamāna-*, *syāndamāna-*, *hārṣamāna-*, *hāvamāna-*, *hāsamāna-*.

a. A few middle participles in *-āna* instead of *-māna*, seem to be formed from present stems of this class: thus *vyācāna-*, *prathāna-*, *yātāna-* and *yatāna-*, *śīmḥāna-*³; but it is probably better to class them as somewhat irregular or isolated root aorist participles⁴.

Imperfect Indicative.

428. It is to be noted that the longer ending of the 2. pl. active never occurs in the imperfect of this or any other class of the *a-* conjugation. Unaugmented forms are fairly common; used injunctively they are in the 3. sing. very nearly as frequent (424) as the regular subjunctive⁵ (423).

Active sing. 1. *āgaccham* (AV.), *acaram*, *ataksam*, *ataram*, *anamam*, *anayam*, *apīncam*¹, *abharam*, *abhavam*, *abhedam*, *arodham*, *aroham*, *asīdam*; *āvam*; *yamam*.

2. *ākrāndas*, *ākṣaras*, *āgacchas*, *ācaras*, *ājanas*, *ājayas*, *ātaras*, *ātiṣṭhas*², *ādahas*, *ādhamas*, *ānayas*, *āpīncas*¹, *āpības*², *ābhajas*, *ābharas*, *ābhavas*, *āmadas*, *āyajas*, *āraṇhas*, *āradas*, *āvadas*, *āvapas*, *āvahas*, *āsīkṣas*, *āsadas*, *āsarpas* (AV.), *asīdas*², *asēdhas*, *asravas*; *ājas*, *āvas*; *tapas* (AV.), *bhāras*.

3. *ākrāndat*, *ākrāmat*, *ākṣarat*, *ākhanat* (AV.), *āgacchat*, *āgūhat*, *ācarat*, *ācalat* (AV.), *acētat*, *ājanat*, *ājayat*, *ājinvat*¹, *ātaksat*, *atapat*, *atarat*, *ātiṣṭhat*², *ādadat*² (AV.), *ādahat*, *ādīsat*, *ādrīpḥat* (AV.), *ādravat*, *adhamat*, *anamat*, *ānayat*, *āpacat*, *āpatat* (AV.), *āpīncat*¹, *āpībat*², *ābhajat*, *abharat*, *dbhavat*, *ābhūsat*, *āmadat*, *amanthat*, *āmandat*, *āmūrchat* (AV.), *āyacchat*, *āraṣat*, *arapat*, *arohat*, *āvapat*, *āvaśat*, *āvasat*, *āvahat*, *āvenat*, *āsayat*, *āsāsāt*⁶ (Kh. 1. 9¹), *āsocat*, *asajat*, *asadat*, *āsīdat*², *asēdhat*, *askandat* (AV.), *āharat* (AV.); *ājat*, *ārcat*, *āvat*; *āirat* (1. *īr-*)⁷, *auhat* (ūh- 'push'); *krāndat*, *carat* (AV.), *taksat*, *tsārat*, *drīpḥat*, *naksat*, *nayat*, *pībat*², *bhārat*, *rēbhat*, *vāhat*.

Du. 2. *ājinvatam*¹, *ātaksatam* (AV.), *āpīnvatam*¹, *āprathatam*, *ābhavatam*, *āmanthatam*, *aradatatam*, *āsīksatam*, *āsācatam*², *āsīdatam*²; *ājatam*, *āvatam*; *āiratam*⁷ (*īr-* 'set in motion').

3. *ātiṣṭhatām*² (AV.), *ābhavatām* (TS. IV. 7. 15⁶), *āvardhatām*; *āvātām*; *auhatām* (AV. VS. TS.).

Pl. 1. *ātaksāma*, *ābharāma* (AV.). — 2. *ātaksata*, *ātiṣṭhata*², *ānadata* (TS. V. 6. 1²), *ānayata*, *āpīnvata*¹, *ābhavata*, *āvartata* (AV.), *āvalgata* (TS. V. 6. 1²), *āsarpata*; *āvata*; *auhata* (AV.).

3. *ākāsan* (AV.), *ākṛāman*⁸ (AV.), *ākṣaran*, *ākhanan* (AV.), *agūhan*,

¹ Transfer from the *-m* class.

² Transfer from the reduplicating class.

³ Cp. WHITNEY 741 a, and LINDNER, Nominalbildung 54 (top).

⁴ Cp. Root Aorist 506.

⁵ See WHITNEY 743.

⁶ Transfer from the root class.

⁷ Transfer from the root class, in which the verb *īr-* is also middle.

⁸ *akramus* is given by AVERY 249 as an impf. of this class with *-us*, but it is doubt-

ācaran (AV.), *acalan* (AV.), *ajanān*, *ājayan* (AV.), *ātākṣan*, *ātaran*, *ātiṣṭhan*¹, *ātrasan*, *ādāśan*, *adravan*, *adhrajan*, *anakṣan*, *ānāman* (AV.), *ānayan*, *āpinvan*², *apiban*¹ (AV.), *ābharan*, *ābhavan*, *ābhūsan*, *āmādan*, *āmādan*, *āyacchan* (AV.), *āyācan* (AV.), *ārākṣan*, *ārājan* (AV.), *āvadan*, *āvapan* (AV.), *āvārdhan*³, *āvahan*, *aveṣan* (√*iṣ*-), *āśaṃsan*, *āsikṣan* (AV.), *āśrayan* (AV.), *āśṭhivan*⁴ (AV.), *āsredhan*, *āsvaran*; *ājan*, *āyan* (AV.), *ārcan*⁵, *ārcan*⁵, *ājan* (ej- 'stir'), *auhan*⁶ (AV.); *jinvan*, *tākṣan*, *tsāran* (AV.), *dādan*¹ (AV.), *bharan*, *bhūsan*, *śrūsan*, *śīdan*⁷.

Middle. Sing. 1. *atiṣṭhe*¹ (AV.). — 2. *dgāhathās* (AV.), *āpavathās*, *āmāndathās*, *ārocathās*; *gāhathās* (AV.).

3. *akalpata*⁸ (AV.), *atakṣata*, *apinvata*², *abādhatā*, *āmāṃhatā*⁹, *āmanthata*, *āmādata*, *āraṃhatā*, *arākṣata*, *ārocata*, *āvartata*, *āvārdhatā*, *āvalgata* (AV.), *āśāpata*; *ājata*, *āyata*; *āikṣata*¹⁰ (AV.), *auhata* (āh- 'remove'); *caṣṣata*, *janata*, *nakṣata*, *ninṣata*, *bādhatā*, *rejata*.

Du. 2. *ābādhehām*, *ārabhehām* (AV.). — 3. *akṛpetām*, *apṛathetām*, *ābhyaśetām*¹¹, *ārejetām*; *dikṣetām*¹⁰.

Pl. 3. *ākālpanta* (AV.), *akṛpanta*, *ākhananta*, *āgacchanta*, *ajananta*, *atiṣṭhanta*¹, *ādadanta*¹, *adhavanta*¹², *anamanta* (TS. IV. 6. 2⁶), *ānayanta*, *ānavanta*, *apacanta*, *apṛathanta*, *ābhajanta*, *ābhayanta*, *ābharanta*, *āyajanta*, *aravanta*, *arejanta*, *avādanta*, *āvartanta*, *āvārdhanta*, *avepanta* (AV.), *āvradanta*, *āśamanta* (TS. IV. 6. 3²), *āsacanta*, *āsapanta*, *āsahanta*; *āikṣanta*¹⁰ (AV. TS.); *ṛṣanta*, *kṛpanta*, *jananta*, *navanta*, *prathanta*, *bhājanta* (AV.), *bhananta*, *mananta*, *vapanta*.

2. The suffixally accented *ā*- class (*tudā*-)¹³.

429. Nearly one hundred roots belong to this class. The radical vowel is almost always medial, being regularly *i*, *u* or *y*. If the vowel is final, which is very rare, it is almost invariably short. As the *-a* is accented, the radical vowel appears in its weak form; e.g. *huv-ā* (but according to the radically accented class, *hūv-a*) from *hū*- 'call'.

a. There are, however, some irregularities in the formation of the present stem. 1. Several roots instead of appearing in their weak form, are nasalized: *kṛt*- 'cut': *kṛtā*-; *ṛp*- 'be pleased': *ṛpā*-; *ṛiṣ*- 'adorn': *ṛiṣā*-; *muc*- 'release': *muñcā*-; *lip*- 'smear': *līpā*-; *ḥip*- 'break': *ḥimpā*-; *vid*- 'find': *vidā*-; *siñc*- 'sprinkle': *siñcā*-. A few other roots occasionally have nasalized forms according to this class: thus *tundate*, beside the regular *tudāti* etc., from *tud*- 'thrust'; *dṛmḥēthe*, beside *dṛmḥata*, etc., from *dṛh*- 'make firm'; *śumbhānt*-,

less an aorist: see WHITNEY, Roots, under √*kram*.

1 Transfer form from the reduplicating class.

2 Transfer from the *-nu* class.

3 *āreṇ* (IV. 55²; V. 31⁵) and *vārdhān* are given as indicatives by DELBRÜCK 91, followed by AVERY 249. Cp. p. 322, note 10.

4 From *ṣṭhiv*- 'spue'. originally **ṣṭhiv*-: cp. V. NEGELEIN 24, note 6: the root is there wrongly given as *ṣṭhiv*.

5 *āsthan* (AV. XIII. 1⁵) is given by V. NEGELEIN 18, note 1 as imperfect of *as*; but see WHITNEY's note on AV. XIII. 1⁵.

6 *akṛpṛan* being formed with the ending *-ran* (DELBRÜCK 124) is doubtless an aorist; cp. WHITNEY, Roots under √*kṛp*. See below, 500.

7 *sran* (IV. 21⁹) according to DELBRÜCK, Verbum 89 (p. 63, middle), followed by AVERY 249, for **asara-n*; but *avasran* is 3. pl. aor.

of *vas*- 'shine' with ending *-ran* (not *ava-sran*: accent!). Cp. WHITNEY, Roots, under *vas* 'shine'.

8 DELBRÜCK 176 and AVERY 247 give *akṛvata* as (once) 2. 3. sing. If this is correct, the form would be a transfer for *akṛvata*.

9 *āmata* is given by DELBRÜCK 101 and AVERY 247 as belonging to this class (presumably from the root *am*-), but it is doubtless 3. sing. mid. aor. of *man*- 'think'; see WHITNEY, Roots, under √*man*.

10 From *ikṣ*- 'see'.

11 From *bhyas*- 'fear'.

12 VII. 18¹⁵: from *dhav*- 'run' = *dhav*-.

13 Cp. E. LEUMANN, Die Herkunft der 6. Praesensklasse im Indischen (Actes du X. Cong. Intern. Orient. II. 1, 39–44; IF. 5, Anz. 109; KZ. 34, 587 ff.).

beside *śimbhate* and *śóbhate*, from *śubh-* 'shine'; *śynthati* (TS¹), beside the regular *śrathnās* etc., from *śrath-* 'loosen'. — 2. Four roots form their stem with the suffix *-chā*: *i-* 'wish': *i-ccā-*; *ṛ-* 'go': *ṛ-ccā-*; *prā-*¹ 'ask': *pr-ccā-*; *vas-* 'shine': *u-ccā-*. — 3. Two stems are transfers from the nasal class of the second conjugation: *ṛṇā-*, beside *ṛṇ-*, from *ṛṇ-* 'fill'; *mṛṇā-*, beside *mṛ-*, from *mṛ-* 'crush'; *ṛñjā-* 'stretch' has become the regular stem beside 3. pl. *ṛñjate*; and 2. pl. *umbha-ta* (AV.), appears beside *ubh-nā-*, from *ubh-* 'confine'. — 4. Beside the normal *-nu* stem *ṛ-nu*, the root *ṛ-* also has the transfer stem *ṛṇv-ā-*. — 5. While roots ending in *i* or *ū* change these vowels into *iv* or *uv* before *-ā* (e. g. *ksiy-ā-*, from *ksi-* 'dwell', *yuv-ā-* from *yu-* 'join'), the TS. has *ksy-ānt-* beside RV. *ksiyānt-* 'dwelling'.
b. The present stems *chyā-* (AV.) 'cut up', *dyā-* (AV.) 'divide', *śyā-* 'sharpen', *śyā-* 'bind', though regarded by the Indian grammarians as belonging to the *-ya* class, should most probably be classified here, because the *a* is accented, *i* appears beside *ā* in various forms from these roots, and *-yā* is here often to be read as *-ia*, while this is never the case in the *-ya* class.

430. The inflexion is exactly the same as that of *bhāva-*. The forms which actually occur are the following:

Present Indicative.

Active. Sing. 1. *icchāmi*, *ukṣāmi* (AV.), *kirāmi* (AV.), *khidāmi* (AV.), *girāmi*² (AV.), *ṛtāmi* (AV.), *tirāmi*, *dyāmi* (AV.), *diśāmi* (TS. AV.), *dhuvāmi* (AV.), *prccāmi*, *muñcāmi*, *rujāmi*, *limpāmi* (AV.), *vindāmi*, *viśāmi* (AV.), *vr̥scāmi* (AV.), *vr̥hāmi*, *siñcāmi*, *sulāmi* (TS. VII. 4. 19⁹), *suvāmi*, *srjāmi*, *spr̥śāmi*, *syāmi* (AV. TS.).

2. *icchasi* (AV.), *ucchasi* (TS. IV. 3. 11⁵), *tirasi*, *ksipasi* (AV.), *tr̥mpāsi*, *prcchasi*, *mṛṇasi*, *vindasi*, *vr̥scasi*, *suvāsi*.

3. *anāti* (AV.), *icchati*, *ucchati*, *ṛcchati* (AV.), *ṛṇvati*, *ṛṇtāti* (AV.), *ṛṇsati* (TS. IV. 2. 5⁶), *ksiyati* (AV.), *khidāti*, *girati* (AV.), *chyati* (TS. V. 2. 12¹), *dyati* (AV.), *pīṇsati*, *prcchati*, *pr̥nāti*, *miśati*, *muñcati* (AV.), *yuvāti*, *rujāti*, *vr̥cāti*, *vindāti*, *viśati* (AV.), *vr̥scati*, *vr̥hati*, *siñcati* (AV.), *suvāti*, *srjāti*, *sphurāti* (AV.), *syati*.

Du. 2. *ṛṇvathas*, *bhasāthas*, *muñcathas*, *viśathas* (AV.), *vr̥hathas*, *srjāthas*.

3. *icchatas* (AV.), *muñcatas* (AV.), *siñcatas*.

Pl. 1. *girāmas* (AV.), *ṛtāmasi* (AV.), *tirāmasi*, *dyāmasi* (AV.), *nudāmasi* (AV.) and *nudāmas* (AV.), *prccāmas* (AV.), *mṛśāmasi*, *vr̥hāmasi* (AV.) and *vr̥hāmas* (AV.), *suvāmasi* (AV.), *srjāmasi* (AV.) and *srjāmas* (AV.), *spr̥śāmasi*.

2. *muñcātha*, *siñcātha* (TS. AV.).

3. *anānti* (AV.), *icchānti*, *ukṣānti*, *ucchānti*, *ṛcchānti*, *ṛñjānti*, *ṛśānti*, *ksiyānti* (AV.), *khidānti* (AV.), *ṛtānti*, *tirānti*, *tuñjānti*, *prcchānti*, *miśānti*, *muñcānti*, *muñcānti*, *mṛśānti*, *rujānti*, *vindānti*, *viśānti*, *vr̥scānti*, *śumbhānti*, *siñcānti*, *suvānti*, *srjānti*, *spr̥śānti*, *sphurānti*, *syānti*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *īṣe* 'send', *nude* (AV.), *prcché*, *muñce* (AV.), *mṛje*, *vindhe*, *viśé* (AV.), *śuṣe*, *siñce*, *huvé*.

2. *icchase*, *ṛñjāse*, *juśāse* (AV.), *prccchase*, *mṛśāse*, *yuvase*, *vindāse*, *siñcāse*.

3. *icchate* (AV.), *ukṣāte*, *ṛñjāte*, *kirate*, *ṛṇsāte* (AV.), *tirāte*, *tundate*, *turāte* (TS. II. 2. 12⁴), *nudate* (AV.), *pīṇsāte*, *prccchate*, *pr̥ncāte*, *muñcate*, *mṛśate*, *yuvāte*, *vindāte*, *vindhāte*, *viśāte*, *vr̥scate* (AV.), *srjate*. — With ending *-e*: *huvé*.

Du. 2. *dr̥ṇhēthe*, *nudethe* (AV. TS.), *yuvethe*, *vindethe* (Kh. I. 12⁸).

3. *tujete*.

Pl. 1. *nudāmahe* (AV.), *yuvāmahe*, *viśāmahe*, *siñcāmahe*, *huvāmahe*.

3. *icchante* (AV.), *ukṣānte*, *tirānte*, *vijānte* (AV.), *vindānte* (AV.), *viśānte*, *vr̥scante* (AV.), *srjante* (AV.).

¹ The suffix *-cha* has in this instance attached itself throughout the conjugation to the root, which thus becomes for practical purposes *pracch-* (but *prāś-nā-* 'question'); cp. *prec-or* and *posco* for **porc-sco* in Latin.

² From *gr-* 'swallow'.

Present Subjunctive.

431. Active. Sing. 1. *srjáni*; *mṛkṣā*. — 2. *kirāsi*, *muñcāsi* (AV.), *rujāsi*; *siñcās*. — 3. *tirāti*, *bhṛjjāti*, *mṛlāti*, *mṛdhāti*, *vanāti*, *vidhāti*, *viśāti* (AV.), *suwāti*, *srjāti* (AV.); *icchāt*, *ucchāt*, *ṛcchāt*, *nudāt* (ŚA. XII. 29), *prcchāt*, *prñāt*, *muñcāt* (AV.), *mṛlāt*, *mṛśāt* (AV.), *vṛścāt*, *siñcāt*, *srjāt*, *spṛśāt* (AV.).

Du. 1. *viśāva* (AV.). — 3. *mṛlātas*.

Pl. 2. *viśātha* (AV.). — 3. *ucchān*, *prcchān*, *sphurān*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *prcchai*, *viśāi* (TS. III. 5. 6¹). — 2. *yuvāse*. — 3. *juṣāte*, *tirāte*. — Du. 2. *prñāithe*. — 3. *yuvāite*. — Pl. 1. *siñcāmahai*.

Present Injunctive.

432. Active. Sing. 2. *icchas* (AV.), *guhas*, *rujās*, *vṛhas*, *vṛścas*, *sicas*, *srjās*.

3. *ucchat*, *kṛntāt*, *kṣipāt*, *khidāt*, *juśāt*, *mṛnat* (AV.), *rujāt*, *rudhat*, *ruvāt*, *vidhat*, *viśāt*, *vṛhat*, *siñcat*, *srjāt*², *spṛśāt* (AA. V. 2²), *sphurat*, *huvat*.

Pl. 3. *trpān*, *vidhān*, *vindan*.

Middle. Sing. 3. *juśata*, *tirata*. — Pl. 3. *icchānta*, *iśanta*, *juśānta*, *tirānta*, *nudānta*, *bhurānta*, *yuvānta*, *vidhānta*, *srjānta*.

Present Optative.

433. Active. Sing. 1. *udeyam*² (AV.), *tireyam* (Kh. I. 9⁵), *vindeyam* (Kh. II. 6²). — 3. *icchet*, *ucchet* (AV.), *khidēt* (AV.), *prcchet*, *lumpēt* (AV.), *siñcēt* (AV.), *srjēt* (AV.). — Du. 1. *vṛheva*. — 2. *tiretam*. — Pl. 1. *iṣema*, *kṣiyema* (AV.), *rujema*, *ruhema* (Kh. II. 4¹), *vanēma*, *vidhēma*, *viśema*, *huvēma*. — 2. *tireta*; *tiretana*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *huvēya*. — 3. *iccheta* (AV.), *juṣēta*.

Pl. 1. *vanemahi*, *vidhemahi*. — 3. *juṣerata*.

Present Imperative.

434. Active. Sing. 2. *icchā*, *ucchā*, *ubja* (AV.), *kira*, *kṛntā* (AV.), *kṣipa*, *kṣiya* (AV.), *khida* (AV.), *cṛta*, *chya* (AV.), *tira*, *tuda*, *trmpā*, *nuda* (AV.), *piñśā* (AV.), *prccha*, *prñca*³ (AV.), *prña*, *pruśa*, *muñcā*, *mṛnā*, *mṛlā*, *mṛśa*, *yuva*, *rikha*, *rujā*, *ruva*, *viśa*, *vinda*, *vṛścā*, *vṛhā*, *śṛṇa* (AV.), *siñca*, *suva*⁴, *srjā*, *spṛśa*, *sphura*, *śya*. — With ending *-tāt*: *mṛdatāt* (AV.), *vṛhatāt*, *viśatāt* (TS. VII. 1. 6⁶), *suwatāt*.

3. *icchatu*, *ukṣatu* (AV.), *ucchatu*, *ubjatu* (AV.), *ṛcchatu*, *kirātu* (TS. III. 3. 11⁵), *kṛśatu* (AV.), *cṛtatu* (AV.), *tiratu* (Kh. II. 1. 1²), *trmpatu*, *diśatu* (AV.), *dyatu* (AV.), *nudatu* (AV.), *piñśatu*, *muñcatu* (AV. TS.), *mṛlatu*, *viśātu* (AV. TS.), *vindatu* (AV.), *vṛścatu* (AV.), *siñcatu*, *suvalu*, *syatu*. — With *-tāt*: *viśatāt* (Kh. IV. 6¹; 8³).

Du. 2. *ukṣatam*, *ubjātam*, *tiratam*, *trmpatam*, *nudatam* (AV.), *bṛhatam* (AV.), *muñcātām*, *mṛlātām*, *viśatām* (AV.), *vṛhatam*, *siñcatām*, *srjātām*, *sphuratām* (AV.), *syatām*.

3. *juśatām* (Kh. I. 3¹), *trmpatām*, *dyatām* (AV.), *muñcatām*, *viśatām* (TS. VII. 3. 13¹), *suwatām* (AV.), *syatām*.

¹ AVERY adds *sydhat*(?): perhaps the aor. injunctive *sridhat* is meant.

² With Samprasāraṇa. This verb otherwise follows the radically accented *a*-class.

³ Transfer from the infixing nasal class (*Vpṛc*): that it would have been accented

prñcā is to be inferred from the fem. part. *prñcat-ī* (RV. AV.), though the AV. has also *prñcat-ī*.

⁴ In AV. VII. 14³ *suva* appears in the Pp. as *śva*.

Pl. 2. *icchata*, *ukṣata*, *uchata*, *umbhata* (AV.), *rñjata*, *khuddata*, *grñata* (AV.), *tirata*, *tudata* (AV.), *nudata*, *piñjata*, *prechata*, *prñata*, *muñcata*, *mṛjata*, *mṛñata* (AV.), *viṣata* (AV.), *vṛhata*, *śundhata*, *siñcata*, *śijata*, *spṛjata*.

3. *ukṣantu* (AV.), *ucchāntu*, *ubjantu*, *rechantu*, *rdantu*, *kṣantu*, *chyanu* (TS. v. 2. 12¹), *tiranu*, *tudantu* (AV. TS.), *disantu* (Kh. III. 10³), *nudantu* (AV.), *bhurantu*, *muñcantu*, *mṛjantu*, *viṣantu*, *siñcantu*, *śuvantu*, *śijantu*.

Middle. Sing. 2. *icchasva*, *kṣasva*, *gurasva*, *juṣṣva*, *nuddsya*, *prechasva* (Kh. II. 13¹), *prñasva*, *mṛśasva*, *yuvāsya*, *vindāsya* (AV.), *viśāsya*, *vṛśasva*, *siñcasva*, *śjāsya*, *spṛśasva* (AV.), *syasva*.

3. *icchatām* (AV.), *juṣṭhām*, *nudatām* (AV.; ŚA. XII. 9), *prñatām*, *muñcatām* (AV.), *viṣatām*, *śjātām* (AV.).

Du. 2. *ukṣethām*, *juṣṭhām*, *nudhām*, *prñethām*, *vṛsethām*, *śjethām* (AV. TS.). — 3. *juṣṭhām*.

Pl. 2. *kramādhvam* (TS. IV. 6. 5¹), *juṣādhwam*, *tiradhvam*, *prñādhvam*, *viśādhvam* (AV.), *siñcādhvam*, *śjādhwam*, *syādhvam*.

3. *juṣāntām*, *muñcantām* (AV.), *riśantām*, *vijantām* (AV.), *vṛścantām* (AV.), *spṛśantām* (AV.).

Present Participle.

435. Active. *icchant-*, *ukṣant-* (AV.), *ucchānt-*, *ubjānt-*, *ṛśant-*, *kṛntānt-*, *kṣānt-*, *ksipānt-*, *ksiyānt-*, *khidānt-* (AV.), *guhānt-*, *citānt-*, *jurānt-*, *tirānt-*, *tujānt-*, *tudānt-*, *tyjānt-*, *disānt-*, *drñhānt-* (AV.), *nudānt-*, *nuvānt-*, *prechānt-*, *pruśānt-* (AV.), *bhujānt-*, *mithānt-*, *miśānt-*, *muñcānt-*, *mṛjānt-*, *mṛśānt-*, *riśānt-*, *rujānt-*, *rudhānt-*, *ruvānt-*, *vidhānt-*, *viśānt-*, *vṛśānt-*, *śucānt-*, *śumbhānt-*, *śuśānt-* and *śvasānt-*, *siñcānt-*, *śuvānt-*, *śjānt-*, *sphurānt-*, *huvānt-*¹ (*hū* 'call').

Middle. *icchāmāna-*, *ukṣāmāna-*, *uśāmāna-* (√*vas*-), *uśāmāna-* (*vas* 'wear'), *guhāmāna-*, *juṣāmāna-*, *dhṛśāmāna-*, *nṛtāmāna-*, *prechāmāna-*, *bhurāmāna-*, *muñcāmāna-* (AV. TS.), *yuvāmāna-*, *vijāmāna-* (AV.), *śucāmāna-*.

Imperfect Indicative.

436. Active. Sing. 1. *atiram* (TS. IV. 1. 10³), *āprecham*, *ārujam*.

2. *ātiras*, *anudas*, *apṛṇas*, *āmuñcas*, *amṛṇas*, *arujas*, *avindas*, *avṛhas*, *āsrjas*, *āspṛhas*, *āsyas* (AV.); *dicchas*, *āucchas*; *vindas*, *vṛśas*, *śjjas*.

3. *ākrñtai*, *ākhidat*, *ājusat*, *ātirat*, *āduhat* (TS. IV. 6. 5¹), *āpiṃśat*, *apṛñat*, *āmuñcat*, *amṛñat*, *amṛśat* (AV.), *arujat*, *āvīdhat*, *āvīndat*, *āviśat*, *āvṛścat*, *āsiñcat*, *āsurat*, *āsrjat*, *āspṛśat*, *āspṛurat*, *āsyat*; *āicchat* (AV.), *āukṣat*, *āucchat*, *āubjat*; *tudat*, *tṛṇhāt*, *rujāt*, *likhat* (AV.), *vīndat*, *vṛścāt*, *śyat*, *siñcat*, *śjāt*.

Du. 2. *atiratam*, *āmuñcatam*, *āmṛñatam*, *āvīndatam* (Kh. I. 3¹), *āsiñcatam*.

3. *āmuñcatām*, *āsiñcatām* (AV.).

Pl. 1. *dicchāma*. — 2. *āpiṃśata* (√*piś*-), *āprechata*, *āmuñcata*, *āsrjata*. —

3. *āpiṃśan*, *āpiśan*² (AV. IV. 6⁷), *āvīndan*, *āviśan* (AV.), *āvṛścan* (AV.), *āsiñcan*, *āsrjan*, *āspṛśan* (AV.); *ārdan* (√*rd*-); *āukṣan*; *arujan*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *ājuṣe* (AV.), *āvīṣe*, *āhuve*. — 2. *āmuñcathās*, *āviśathās* (AV.). — 3. *ājuṣata*, *āmuñcata*, *āsiñcata* (AV.), *āsrjata*; *drñhata*.

Du. 2. *ānudethām*, *āvīndethām*.

Pl. 2. *ājuṣadhvam*. — 3. *ājuṣanta*, *ātiranta*, *āviśanta*, *ānudanta* (AV.), *āmuñcanta* (AV.), *āvīvanta* (AV.), *āvīndanta*, *āviśanta*, *āsrjanta*, *āspṛśanta* (AV.), *āhuvanta*; *āiśanta* (*iṣ* 'send'); *grñanta*, *juṣanta*.

¹ The fem. is regularly formed from the strong stem in *-ant*; but the weak stem in *-at* appears in *siñcat-ī*, beside *siñcānt-ī*. ² Anomalous form for **āpiṃśan*, from *piś*- 'crush'.

3. The *ya*- class¹.

437. The present stems formed with this suffix fall into two groups. In the first, consisting of about 70 transitive or intransitive verbs, the suffix is unaccented; in the second, consisting of rather more than 80 verbs with a passive meaning, the suffix is accented. In all probability both groups were identical in origin, with the accent on the suffix. This is indicated by the fact that the root though accented in the first group appears in its weak form; and that this group consists largely of intransitive verbs and to some extent of verbs with a passive sense. The latter are manifestly transfers from the *-yá* or passive group with change of accent. Thus *jáyate* 'is born' is an altered passive beside the active *jánati* 'begets'. The accent moreover occasionally fluctuates. Thus the passive *mucyáte* 'is released' once or twice occurs (in the RV. and AV.) accented on the root; and there is no appreciable difference of meaning between *kṣyate* and *kṣyáte* 'is destroyed'; *jíyate* and *jíyáte* 'is overcome'; *pácya* and *pacyáte* 'is cooked'; *míyate* and *míyáte* (AV.) 'is infringed'².

A. The radically accented *ya*- class.

438. The root nearly always appears in a weak form. Thus roots that otherwise contain a nasal, lose it: *dr̥ṇh-* 'make firm': *dr̥h-ya-*. The root *vyadh-* 'pierce' takes Samprasāraṇa: *vidh-ya-*. The root *spāś-* 'see' loses its initial: *pās-ya-*. Several roots ending in *ā* shorten the vowel before the suffix: *dhā-* 'suck': *dhaya-*; *mā-* 'exchange': *maya-*; *vā-* 'weave': *vāya-*; *vyā-* 'envelope': *vyāya-*; *hvā-* 'call': *hvāya-*³.

a. Several other roots usually stated as ending in *ā* remain unchanged: *gā-* 'sing': *gāya-*; *glā-* 'be weary': *glāya-* (AV.); *trā-* 'save': *trāya-*; *pyā-* 'fill up': *pyāya-*; *rā-* 'bark': *rāya-*; *vā-* 'blow': *vāya-*; *srā-* 'boil': *srāya-*⁴.

b. The root *śram-* 'be weary' lengthens its vowel: *śrāmya-*⁵.

c. The final of roots in *-ṛ* sometimes becomes both *ū*⁶ and *ūr*; thus *jṛ-* 'waste away' becomes *jūrya-* and *jūrya-* (AV.); *tṛ-* 'cross': *tūrya-* and *tūrya-*⁷ (AV.). The root *pṛ-* 'fill' because of its initial labial becomes *pūrya-* only.

439. The forms actually occurring in this class are the following:

Present Indicative.

Active. Sing. 1. *asyāmi* (AV.), *īsyāmi*, *nahyāmi*, *pāśyāmi* (AV.), *vidhyāmi* (AV.), *hvāyāmi*.

2. *āsyasi*, *īsyasi*, *ucyasi* (√uc-), *gāyasi*, *nāsyasi*, *pāsyasi*, *pūsyasi*, *rānyasi*, *rāyasi*, *rişyasi*, *haryasi*.

3. *āsyati*, *īyati* (RV¹), *īsyati*, *krudhyati* (AV.), *gāyati*, *jūryati* (AV.), *jūryati*, *tanyati*, *dāsyati*, *dāhyati* (AV.), *diyati*, *dūryati* (AV.), *dusyati* (SA. XII. 23), *dhayati*, *nāsyati*, *nṛyati* (AV.), *pāsyati*, *pūsyati*, *ranyati*, *rişyati*, *vayati* (AV.), *vāyati*, *vidhyati*, *vayati*, *śimiyati* (TS. v. 2. 12¹), *śusyati* (Kh. iv. 5³⁸), *sidhyati*, *haryati*, *hṛsyati*, *hvāyati*.

Du. 2. *diyathas*, *ranyathas*. — 3. *asyatas* (AV.), *nāsyatas*, *pāsyatas*, *pūsyatas*, *rişyatas* (AV.), *vayatas* (AV.), *vāyatas*, *śrāmyatas* (AV.).

¹ Cp. LORENTZ, IF. 8, 68—122.

² Also in Brāhmaṇa passages of the TS. *ricyate* 'is left' beside *ricyāte* (V.), *lipyate* 'is lost' beside *lipyāte* (AV.), *hīyate* 'is left' beside *hīyāte* (V.).

³ These are reckoned by the native grammarians as ending in *e* and belonging to the *a*-class. This seems preferable from the point of view of vowel gradation: see 27, a, 3.

⁴ Such roots are reckoned by the native

grammarians as ending in *-ai* and belonging to the *a*-class. The latter form is preferable from the point of view of gradation. Cp. 27, a, 1; BB. 19, 166.

⁵ In B. this analogy is followed by several roots in *-am*.

⁶ In the *ā*-class *-ṛ* becomes *-ir*, e. g. *tṛ-*: *tīrā-*.

⁷ Only in an emendation *ava-tūryati* (AV. XIX. 9⁸) for *āvatūryati*, Pada *āvatih yatiḥ*.

Pl. 1. *asyāmasi, pāśyāmasi* and *pāśyāmas* (AV.), *vidhyāmas* (AV.), *vyayāmasi* (AV.TS.), *haryāmasi, hṛdyāmasi*.

2. *āsyatha, pāśyatha, pūsyatha, risyatha, hāryatha*.

3. *āsyanti* (AV.), *āryanti, gāyanti, jūryanti, dasyanti, dhāyanti* (AV.), *nāsyanti* (AV.), *nāhyanti, nṛtyanti* (AV.), *pāśyanti, pūsyanti, rānyanti, risyanti, vāyanti, vāyanti, vidhyanti* (AV. TS.), *śrāmyanti, hāryanti, hṛdyanti*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *isyē, padye* (AV.), *gāye, nahye* (TS. I. 1. 10¹), *mānye, mṛsyē, vyaye* (AV.), *hṛaye*.

2. *īyase* (i-‘go’), *jāyase, trāyase, dīyase, pātyase, pyāyase, mānyase, mīyase, mūcyase*.

3. *isyate, īyate, rjyate, kṣiyate, jāyate, jiyate, trsyate* (AV.), *dāyate, dīpyate* (AV.), *pācyate, pātyate, pādyaate, pāśyate, pūsyate* (AV.), *budhyate* (AV.), *manyate, mīyate, mṛsyate, rīyate, haryate*.

Du. 3. *jāyete* (AV.), *hṛdyete*.

Pl. 1. *hṛdyāmahe*. — 2. *trāyadhve*. — 3. *īyante, kṣiyante, jāyante, trāyante, pādyaante, manyante* (AV.), *mayante, mṛsyante, yidhyante, rīyante, hṛdyante*.

Present Subjunctive.

440. Active. Sing. 1. *pāśyāni* (AV.). — 2. *pāśyāsi, haryāsi* (AV.); *pāśyās* (AV.); *risyās, hūryās*. — 3. *risyāti; pāśyāt, pūsyāt, risyāt* (TS. I. 6. 2¹).

Pl. 1. *pāśyāma* (AV.). — 3. *pāśyān*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *yidhyai*. — 2. *pāśyāsai* (AV.). — 3. *manyāte, mūcyātai* (AV.). — Pl. 1. *hṛayāmahai* (AV.).

Present Imperative.

Active. Sing. 2. *dīvyas*. — 3. *gāyat, dīyat, pāśyat, vidhyat*. — Pl. 3. *pāśyan*.

Middle. Sing. 2. *manyathās*. — 3. *jāyata, mānyata*. — Pl. 3. *dāyantu*.

Present Optative.

Active. Sing. 1. *vyayeyam*. — 2. *pāśyes*. — 3. *dasyet, dhayet* (AV.), *risyet*. — Du. 3. *hṛayētām* (TS. III. 2. 4¹). — Pl. 1. *pāśyema, pūsyema, budhyema* (AV.), *risyema*.

Middle. Sing. 3. *pāśyeta, manyeta* (AV.), *mīyeta* (ŚA. XII. 20). — Pl. 1. *jāyemahi*.

Present Imperative.

441. Active. Sing. 2. *asya, gāya, dīya, dhya, nāśya, nahya* (AV.), *nṛtya* (AV.), *pāśya, yidhya, vāya, vidhya, śusya* (AV.), *śūya* (AV.), *harya, hṛaya*. — With ending -tāt: *asyatāt* (AV.).

3. *asyatu, ucyatu* (AV.), *trpyatu* (AV.), *nāsyatu, nṛtyatu* (AV.), *rādhyatu* (AV.), *vidhyatu* (AV.), *śusyatu, śūyatu, hṛdyatu* (AV.).

Du. 2. *asyatām, isyatām* (AV.), *dīyatām, nahyatām* (AV.), *pūsyatām* (AV.), *vidhyatām, hāryatām*. — 3. *asyatām* (AV. TS.), *nahyatām* (ŚA. XII. 32), *vidhyatām*.

Pl. 2. *isyata, gāyata, jasyata, nāsyata* (AV.), *nahyata* (AV.), *pāśyata, pūsyata, mūhyata* (AV.), *vayata, vidhyata, haryata*. — With ending -tana: *nahyatana*.

3. *gāyantu* (AV.), *trpyantu* (AV.), *nāsyantu* (AV.), *pūsyantu, mūhyantu, mēdyantu, vyayantu* (AV.), *śimyanu* (TS. V. 2. 11¹), *haryantu* (AV.), *hṛdyantu* (AV.).

Middle. Sing. 2. *jāyasva, trāyasva, dāyasva, dhryasva, nahyasva* (AV.), *padyasva, pāśyasva, pyāyasva, budhyasva* (TS. AV.), *manyasva* (TS. AV.), *vyayasva, hṛayasva* (AV.).

3. *rādhyatām, jāyatām, trāyatām, dīpyatām* (TS. IV. 7. 13⁴), *pādyaatām* (AV.), *pyāyatām* (TS. AV.), *manyatām* (TS. AV.), *mēdyatām* (AV.), *rādhyatām* (AV.), *śīyatām* (AV.) ‘lie’, *hṛayatām* (AV.).

Du. 2. *trāyethām, manyethām, hvayethām* (AV.). — 3. *trāyētām.*

Pl. 2. *asyadhvam, jāyadhvam* (AV.), *trāyadhvam, dayadhvam, nahyadhvam* (AV.), *budhyadhvam, stuyadhvam.* — 3. *jāyantām, trāyantām, padyantām* (AV.), *pyāyantām, manyantām* (AV. TS.), *vyayantām* (TS. III. 3. 11³), *hvayantām* (TS. III. 2. 4¹).

Present Participle.

442. Active. *āsyant-, īsyant-, ſjyant-, (ā-)kupyant-* (AV.), *ṣṣūdyant-, gāyant-, gṛdhyant-¹, tṛsyant-, dīyant-, nṛtyant-, pṣṣyant-, pīyant-, pīṣyant-, yāsyant-, yūdhyant-, rāyant-, (ā-)lubhyant-* (AV.), *vāyant-, vīdhyant-* (AV.), *vyāyant-, śīmyant-* (TS. V. 2. 12¹), *stīyant-, hāryant-;* and the compound *án-ava-glīyant-* (AV.) 'not relaxing'.

Middle. *īyamāna-, kāyamāna-, cāyamāna-, jāyamāna-, trāyamāna-, dāyamāna-, nāhyamāna-, pātyamāna-, pādya-māna-, pṣāyamāna-, pūryamāna-, pyāyamāna-, bīdhya-māna-, mānyamāna-, yūdhya-māna-, rādhyamāna-* (AV.), *vāśyamāna-* (AV.), *hāryamāna-, hvāyamāna-.*

Imperfect Indicative.

443. Active. Sing. 1. *ādiyam, āpaśyam, avyayam.* — 2. *apaśyas, āyudhyas.* — 3. *agāyat, adhayaṭ, anṛtyat* (AV.), *āpaśyat, ayudhyat, avayat* (AV.), *āvidhyat, avyayat, āharyat, dhvayat; āsyat.*

Du. 3. *āpaśyatām.*

Pl. 1. *āpaśyāma.* — 3. *ajūryan², āpaśyan, āvayan* (AV.), *ahvayan* (AV.); *āsyān* (AV.).

Middle. Sing. 2. *ājāyathās, aharyathās; jāyathās.* — 3. *ājāyata, apatyata, amanyata, arājyata* (AV.); *jāyata.*

Du. 2. *dhvayethām* (AV.). — 3. *dhvayetām.*

Pl. 3. *ājāyanta, ānahyanta* (AV.), *apadyanta* (AV.), *āpaśyanta, āman-yanta, ahvayanta; jāyanta, dāyanta.*

B. The suffixally accented *yā-* class (passive).

DELBRÜCK, Verbum 184 (p. 166—169). — AVERY, Verb-Inflection 274—275. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 768—774; Roots 230—231. — V. NEGELEIN 38—40.

444. Any root that requires a passive forms its present stem by adding accented *-yā* (which never needs to be pronounced *-ia*). The root appears in its weak form, losing a nasal and taking Samprasāraṇa; thus *añj-* 'anoint': *añj-yā-* 'be anointed'; *vac-* 'speak': *uc-yā-* 'be spoken'. Final vowels undergo the changes usual before *-ya* in verbal forms: final *i* and *u* being lengthened, *ā* mostly becoming *ī*, *r* being generally changed to *ri*, and *ṛ* becoming *īṛ³*. Thus *mī-* 'fix': *mīya-*; *su-* 'press': *sūyā-*; *dā-* 'give': *dā-yā-* (but *jñā-* 'know': *jñā-yā-*); *kṛ-* 'make': *kri-yā-*; *śṛ-* 'crush': *śīrya-*.

a. The root *tan-* 'stretch' forms its passive from *tā-*: *tā-yā-*. Similarly *jan-* 'beget' makes its present stem from *jā-*: *jāya-te*, which has, however, been transferred to the radically accented *ya-* class. *mri-yā-te* 'dies' (*Vmr-*)⁴ and *dhriyāte* (*Vdhṛ-*) 'is steadfast', though passives in form, are not so in sense⁵.

445. The inflexion is identical with that of the radically accented *ya-* class in the middle, differing from it in accent only. No forms of the optative are found in the RV. or AV. The forms actually occurring are the following:

¹ *āvatīryatīs* (AV. XIX. 9⁸) is a corrupt reading: see WHITNEY's Translation; cp. p. 331, note 7.

² AVERY 249 adds *adhayan*(?).

³ No example of *ūr* seems to occur in the Sāmhitās, but *pūr-ya-* from *pṛ-* 'fill' is found in the *-ya* class.

⁴ This root has a transitive sense ('crush') only in its secondary form *mṛn-*, and in the AV. in the imperative forms *mṛnīhi* and *mṛnūta*.

⁵ Cp. above 437.

Present Indicative.

Sing. 1. *hīve* (*hā*- 'leave'). — 2. *acyāse* (*añc*- 'bend', AV.), *ajyāse* (*√aj*- and *√añj*-), *idhyāse*, *ucyāse* (*√vac*-), *nīyāse*, *pūyāse*, *badhyāse* (AV.), *mucyāse* (AV.), *mṛjyāse*, *yujyāse*, *riçyāse*, *rudhyāse* (*rudh*- 'hinder'), *śasyāse* (*√śams*-), *sicyāse*, *stīyāse*, *hūyāse* (*hū*- 'call'). — 3. *ajyāte* (*√aj*- and *√añj*-), *asyāte* (AV.), *idhyāte*, *ucyāte* (*√vac*-), *udyāte* (*ud*- 'wet' and *vad*- 'speak'), *upyāte* (*√vap*-), *uhyāte* (*√vah*-), *rcyāte* (*arc*- 'praise'), *kriyāte*, *ṣṣyāte* 'is destroyed', *gamyāte* (AV.), *grhyāte* (AV.), *chidyāte* (AV.), *jīyāte* (AV.)¹, *tapyāte*, *tīyāte*, *tujyāte*, *dabhyāte*, *dīyāte* 'is given' (AV.), *dīyāte* 'is divided' (AV.), *duhyāte*, *dṛsyāte*, *dhamyāte*, *dhīyāte* (*dhā*- 'put'), *dhriyāte*, *nīyāte*, *pacyāte*, *pīyāte* 'is drunk' (AV.), *pūyāte*, *prcyāte*, *badhyāte* (*√bandh*-)², *mathyāte* (AV.), *mucyāte*, *mṛjyāte*, *mriyāte*, *yujyāte*, *riçyāte*, *ribhyāte*³, *lupyāte* (AV.), *vacyāte* (*√vañc*-), *vidyāte* 'is found', *vyjyāte*⁴, *śasyāte* (*√śams*-), *śisyāte*, *śriyāte*, *śrūyāte*, *sicyāte*, *sūyāte* 'is pressed', (*√su*-), *ṣjyāte*, *hanyāte*, *hūyāte* 'is called'.

Du. 3. *ucyāte* (*√vac*-).

Pl. 1. *tapyāmahe* (AV.), *panyāmahe*. — 3. *upvānte* (*√vap*-), *rcyānte*, *rdhyānte* (AV.), *kriyānte*, *jñāyānte*, *trhyānte* (AV.), *dahyānte* (AV.), *duhyānte* (AV.), *bhrīyānte*, *mīyānte* 'are fixed' (*√mi*-, AV.), *mriyānte* (AV.), *yujyānte*, *vacyānte* (*√vañc*-, AV.), *vīyānte* (*√vī*-, AV.), *śasyānte* (*√śams*-), *śriyānte* (AV.), *ṣjyānte* (AV.), *hanyānte*, *hūyānte*.

Present Subjunctive.

446. Sing. 3. *uhyāte*, *bhrīyāte*, *śisyātai*⁵ (AV.).

Du. 2. *ūhyāthē*⁶.

Present Infinitive.

Sing. 3. *sūyāta* (*√su*-).

Present Imperative.

Sing. 2. *idhyāsva* (AV. TS.), *dhīyasva* (AV.), *dhriyasva* (AV.), *mucyasva* (Kh. II. 11⁴), *mriyāsva* (AV.), *vacyasva* (*√vañc*-).

3. *rdhyatām* (AV.), *tīyatām* (AV.), *dhīyatām* (AV.), *dhūyatām* (AV.), *dhriyatām* (AV.), *prcyatām*, *badhyatām* (AV.), *mucyatām* (AV.), *hanyatām* (AV.), *hūyatām*.

Pl. 2. *prcyadhvam* (AV. TS.), *yujyadhvam*, *vicyadhvam* (AV.).

3. *tapyantām* (AV.), *trhyantām* (AV.), *prcyantām* (AV.), *badhyantām*, *bhajyantām* (*√bhañj*-, AV.), *vacyantām*, *vyścyantām*, *hanyantām* (AV.).

Present Participle.

447. *acyāmāna*- (AV.), *ajyāmāna*-, *idhyāmāna*-, *udyāmāna*- (*√vad*-, AV.), *upyāmāna*- (*√vap*-, AV.), *uhyāmāna*-, *rcyāmāna*-, *kriyāmāna*- (AV.), *kriyāmāna*-, (*ā*-)*ṣṣiyāmāna*-, *gīyāmāna*-, *guhyāmāna*-, *tapyāmāna*-, *tīyāmāna*-, *tujyāmāna*-, *trhyāmāna*-, *dadyāmāna*-⁷, *dīyāmāna*- (AV.), *duhyāmāna*- (AV.), *dhīyāmāna*-, *nahyāmāna*- (AV.), *nidyāmāna*-, *nīyāmāna*-, *pacyāmāna*-, *piśyāmāna*- (AV.), *pūyāmāna*-, *prcyāmāna*-, *badhyāmāna*-, *bhajyāmāna*-, *mathyāmāna*-, *madyāmāna*-, *mīyāmāna*- (*mi*- 'fix'), *mṛjyāmāna*-, *yamyāmāna*-, *vacyāmāna*- (*√vañc*-),

¹ From *√jyā*- or *√j*- 'scathe'.

² *bhidiate*, AV. XX. 131¹, is an emendation.

³ *īyate*, AV. XX. 1343 4, is an emendation.

⁴ The forms *vr̥scate*, *vr̥scante*, *vr̥scantām* appear occasionally to stand for *vr̥ścyate*, *vr̥ścyante*, *vr̥ścyantām* in the AV. See v. NEGELEIN 40; BLOOMFIELD, SBE. 42, 418.

⁵ Emendation in AV. II. 31³, for *uchiśātai*, the reading of the text.

⁶ A 3. pl. mid. in *-antai* once occurs in the TS. in the form *jāyantai*: WHITNEY 760 a.

⁷ From the weak present stem *dad-* of *dā-* 'give'.

vīdyāmāna- (AV.), *śasyāmāna-*, *sicyāmāna-*, *srjyāmāna-*, *stāyāmāna-*, *kanyāmāna-* (AV.), *himsyāmāna-*, *hūyāmāna-* (*hū-* 'call'); from the causative of *√bhaj-*: *bhājyāmāna-* (AV. XII. 4²⁸).

Imperfect Indicative.

448. Sing. 3. *anīyata*, *āmucyata*, *aricyata*. — Pl. 3. *ātapyanta* (AV. TS.), *apacyantu*, *apreyanta*, *śsicyanta* (AV.); *acyanta*.

b. The second or graded conjugation.

449. The chief characteristic of this conjugation is vowel gradation in the base¹ consequent on shift of accent. The base has a strong grade vowel in the singular indicative (present and imperfect) active, throughout the subjunctive, and in the 3. sing. imperative active. Minor peculiarities are: 1. loss of *n* in the endings of the 3. pl. mid. (*-ate*, *-ata*, *-atim*); 2. formation of the 2. sing. imperative active with a suffix, generally *-dhi*; 3. vowel gradation in the modal suffix of the optative (act. *-yā*; mid. *-ī*); 4. formation of the middle participle with *-āna*.

a. The second conjugation comprises five distinct classes falling into two main groups in which α) the vowel of the root (simple or reduplicated) is graded; β) the vowel of the suffix (nearly always containing a nasal) is graded.

α. 1. The root class.

450. The base is formed by the root itself, to which the personal endings are directly attached (in the subjunctive and optative with the intervening modal suffix). The radical vowel is accented and takes Guṇa in the strong forms. More than a hundred roots are comprised in this class².

a. A good many irregularities are met with in this class, with regard to both the base and the endings. 1. *√ṛddhi* is taken in the strong forms by *mṛj-* 'wipe' (e. g. *māṛj-mi*), and before consonants by roots ending in *-u*, i. e. by *ksqu-* 'whet', *nu-* 'praise', *yu-* 'unite' (AV.), *stu-* 'praise'; e. g. *stāu-mi*³, *ā-stau-t*⁴, but *ā-stav-am*. — 2. The Guṇa vowel, along with the accent, is retained in the root of *śī-* 'lie' (middle) throughout the weak forms; e. g. sing. 1. *śāy-e*, 2. *śē-se*. In the 3. pl. this verb at the same time inserts *r* before the endings: *śē-rate*, *śē-re* (AV.), *śē-ratim*, *ā-śē-rata*, *ā-śē-ran*⁵. — 3. Several roots form a base with the connecting vowel *i* or *ī*⁶ before consonant endings. The roots *an-*⁷ 'breathe', *rud-*⁸ 'weep', *vam* 'vomit', *śvas-* 'blow', *svap-*⁹ 'sleep' insert *i* before all terminations beginning with a consonant, except in 2. 3. impf., where they insert *ī*: e. g. *āni-ti*, *āni-t*; *avami-t*; *śvasi-ti*. The roots *īd-* 'praise' and *ī-* 'rule' add *i* in some forms of the 2. pers. middle: *īdī-śva*; *īī-se* (beside *īd-se*), *īī-dhve*. The 3. pl. *īī-re* is, owing to its accent¹⁰, probably to be accounted a present rather than a perfect¹¹. Occasional (imperative sing.) forms with connecting *i* from other roots also occur: *jāni-śva* 'be born', *vasi-śva* 'clothe', *śnati-hi* 'pierce', *stani-hi* 'thunder'. The root *brū-* 'speak' regularly inserts *ī* in the strong forms before terminations beginning with consonants; e. g. *brūvi-mi*. The same *ī* also appears in the form *tavi-ti* from *tu-* 'be strong'; in *amī-si* and in the TS.¹² *amī-ti*, *amī-śva*, *āmī-t* from *am-* 'injure'; and in *śamī-śva* (VS.), from *śam-*

¹ Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 211.

² Several roots of this class show transfers to the *a-* conjugation: cp. WHITNEY 625 a.

³ The RV. has once 2. sing. *sto-ṣi* (X. 22⁴), a form which AVERY 275 takes to be a 3. sing. aor. pass. injunctive.

⁴ *√ṛddhi* on the other hand once appears even in the weak form 3. pl. impf. *anāvan*. On the *√ṛddhi* in these verbs, cp. v. NEGELEIN 10 a.

⁵ There are some transfer forms according to the *a-* conjugation from the stem *śāy-a-*, including the isolated active form *śāyāt*, which is common. Nearly a dozen roots

besides *śī-* retain the accent on the radical syllable throughout. See 97, 2 a.

⁶ This *ī* is, however, in reality originally part of a dissyllabic base: cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 212, 2.

⁷ The AV. has also forms according to the *a-* conjugation: *āna-ti*, etc.

⁸ The RV. has no such forms from *rud-* and *svap-*.

⁹ The AV., however, has the form *svap-tu*.

¹⁰ See 97, 2 a and 484.

¹¹ The 3. sing. impf. of this verb is in the MS. *aśa* (like *aduha*), cp. WHITNEY 630.

¹² WHITNEY 634.

'labour'. — 4. A few roots undergo peculiar shortenings in the weak forms: *as-* 'be' loses its vowel¹ (except where protected by the augment)², e. g. *s-mās* 'we are'; *han-*³ 'slay' in the weak forms lo-*es* its *n* before terminations beginning with consonants (except *m*, *y* or *v*), but syncopeates it *a* before terminations beginning with vowels, when *h* reverts to the original guttural *gh-*; e. g. *ha-thā*, but *han-yāma*; *ghn-ānti*. part. *ghn-ānt-*; the root *vas-* 'be eager', takes Samprasāraṇa; e. g. 1. pl. *us-māsi*, part. *us-ānd-4*, but 1. sing. *vās-mi*. The root *vas-* 'clothe' similarly takes Samprasāraṇa once in the participle *us-ānd-* (beside the usual *vācāna-*). — 5. With regard to endings, the root *sās-* 'order' loses the *n* in the 3. pl. active (as well as middle) and in the participle, being treated like roots of the reduplicating class [457]5: 3. pl. impv. *sās-atu* (TS.), part. *sās-at-6*. The root *duh-* 'milk' is very anomalous in its endings: middle impv. 3. sing. *duh-ām*, 3. pl. *duh-rām* and *duh-rāṇm*; ind. 3. pl. mid. *duh-ré* and *duh-rāte* beside the regular *duh-até* (with irregular accent)⁷; active imperf. 3. sing. *ā-duh-a-8* beside *ā-dhok*, 3. pl. *a-duh-ran* beside *ā-duh-an* and *āduh-ir*⁹; and in the 3. opt. the entirely anomalous sing. *duh-ī-yāt* (RV.) and pl. *duh-īyān* (RV.) (for *duh-yāt* and *duh-yūr*).

Present Indicative.

451. A final or prosodically short medial radical vowel takes Guṇa in the singular; elsewhere it remains unchanged, excepting the changes of final vowels required by internal Sandhi, and the irregular shortenings mentioned above (450, a 4). The ordinary endings are added directly¹⁰ to the root. But the 3. sing. mid. ends in *-e* nearly as often as in *-te*; and anomalous endings appear in the 3. persons of the roots *ī-*, *duh-*, *sās-*, *śr-*¹¹.

The forms actually occurring would, if made from *i-* 'go' and *brū-* 'speak', be as follows:

Active. Sing. 1. *ī-mi*. 2. *ī-ṣi*. 3. *ī-ti*. — Du. 2. *i-thās*. 3. *i-tās*. — Pl. 1. *i-māsi* and *i-mās*. 2. *i-thā* and *i-thāna*. 3. *y-ānti*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *bruv-ē*. 2. *brū-ṣé*. 3. *brū-té* and *bruv-é*. — Du. 2. *bruv-āthe*. 3. *bruv-āte*. — Pl. 1. *brū-māhe*. 2. *brū-dhve*. 3. *bruv-āte*.

The forms which actually occur are the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *ādmī*, *āsmi*, *īmi*, *kṣamī*, *dvāṣmi* (AV.), *pāmi* 'protect', *mārijmi*, *yāmi*, *yaumi* (AV.) 'join', *vaśmi*, *vāmi*, *sāsmi* (AV.), *staumi* (AV. TS.), *hanmi*, *harmi*. — With connecting *ī-*: *brāvīmi*.

2. *āṣi*, *āsi*, *ēṣi*, *kārṣi* (AV.), *caṣi* (= **caṣ-ṣi*), *chantṣi* (√*chand-*), *dārṣi* (√*dr-* 'pierce'), *pārṣi* (√*pr-* 'pass'), *pāṣi* ('protect'), *bhāṣi*, *yāṣi*, *vakṣi* (√*vas-* 'desire'), *vēṣi* (√*vṛ-*), *sāṣi*, *sātṣi*, *stoṣi*¹², *hāṣi*. — With imperative sense¹³: *kṣēṣi* (√*ks-* 'dwell'), *jēṣi*, *jīṣi* (= **joṣ-ṣi* : *juṣ-* 'enjoy'), *dārṣi*, *dhākṣi* (√*dah-* 'burn'), *nakṣi* (√*naṣ-* 'attain'), *nēṣi*, *pārṣi*, *prāṣi*, *bhākṣi* (√*bhaj-* 'divide'), *matsi*, *māsi*, *yākṣi* (√*yaj-* 'sacrifice'), *yāṁsi* (√*yam-* 'reach'), *yāsi*, *yōṣi* (√*yudh-* 'fight'), *rāṣi* (√*rad-* 'dig'), *rāṣi*, *vākṣi* (√*vah-* 'carry'), *vēṣi* (√*vṛ-*), *śrōṣi*, *sakṣi* (√*sah-* 'prevail'), *sātṣi*, *hoṣi* (√*hu-* 'sacrifice'). — With connecting *ī-*: *amīṣi*, *brāvīṣi*.

¹ It is, however, preserved in an altered form in the 2. sing. impv. act.: *e-dhi* for **as-dhi* (62, 4, 6, p. 57). This verb has the further anomalies of losing its *s* in the 2. sing. pres. *a-si*, and in inserting *i* in the 2. 3. sing. impf. *ās-ī-s*, *ās-ī-t*. It has no middle.

² Cp. v. NEGELEIN 83; VAN WIJK, IF. 18, 59.

³ Limited to the active in this conjugation in the RV.

⁴ The only middle form.

⁵ There are also some transfer forms according to the *a-* conjugation: 3. sing. *sāsati*.

⁶ Similarly from *dās-* 'worship' the part. *dās-at-*.

⁷ In the middle participle the *h* of the root reverts to the guttural *gh*: *dūgh-āna-*.

⁸ Transfer to the *a-* conjugation.

⁹ The MS. has further anomalous endings in the imperf. mid.: 3. sing. *a-duh-a* and 3. pl. *a-duh-ra*, probably as parallel to the present *duhe* and *duhre*: WHITNEY 635.

¹⁰ Excepting the few forms of roots which may take connecting *i* or *ī* (450, a 3).

¹¹ See above 450, a 2, 3, 5; cp. JOHANSSON, KZ. 32, 512; NEISSER, BB. 20, 74.

¹² See 450, a 1, note 3.

¹³ Some of these have no corresponding root present or root aorist; cp. WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 624; BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 2, 271; NEISSER, BB. 7, 230ff., 20, 70ff.; BRUGMANN, IF. 18, 72; DELBRÜCK, Verbum 30; Syntaktische Forschungen 5, 209.

3. *ātti*, *āsti*, *ēti*, *kṣeti*, *takti* (*tak-* 'rush'), *dāti* (*dā-* 'share'), *dāṣṣi* (*dās-* 'worship'), *dvēṣṣi*, *pāti*, *bhārti*, *bhāti*, *mārṣi* (SĀ. XII. 9), *yāti*, *rāṣṣi* (*rāj-* 'rule'), *relhi* (*rih-* 'lick'), *vaṣṣi* (*vaṣ-* 'desire'), *vāti*, *vēti*, *stauti* (AV.; Kh. v. 3²), *hānti*. — With connecting *-i-* or *-ī-*: *āniti*, *śvāsiti*; *amīti* (TS. VS.), *tavīti* (*tu-* 'be strong'), *brāvīti*.

Du. 2. *ithās*, *kṛthās*, *pāthās*, *bhūthās*, *yāthās*, *vūthās*, *sthās* (as- 'be'), *hathās* (*ṽhan-*).

3. *attas*, *etas*¹ (AV.), *kṣitās*, *dvīṣtas* (AV.), *pātas*, *psātās* (AV.), *bhūtas*, *yātas*, *vātas*, *stas*, *snātās*, *hatās*, *hnutas*.

Pl. 1. *admāsi* (AV.), *imāsi*, *uśmāsi*² (*ṽvaṣ-*), *stumāsi*, *smāsi*, *hanmasi* (AV.); *dvīsmās*, *brūmās* (AV.), *mṛjmas* (AV.), *yāmas*, *rudhmas* (AV.), *vidmas* (Kh. IV. 5³³), *stumas* (AV.), *smas*, *hanmas*.

2. *itha*, *kṛtha*, *gathā* (RV¹)³, *nethā*⁴, *pāthā* 'protect'⁵, *yāthā*, *stha*, *hathā*; *pāthāna*, *yāthāna*, *sthāna*.

3. *adanti*, *amānti*, *uśānti*, *kṣiyānti*, *ghnānti* (*ṽhan-*), *dānti* (*dā-* 'cut'), *duhanti*, *dvīṣānti* (AV.), *pānti*⁶, *bruvānti*, *bhānti*, *mṛjānti*, *yānti*, *yānti*, *rihānti*, *rudānti*, *vānti*, *vyānti* (*ṽv-*), *sānti*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *īye* (*i-* 'go'), *īle*, *īse*, *uvē*⁷, *duhe*, *bruve*, *mṛje* (AV.), *yujē*, *yuve* (*yu-* 'join'), *suve* (*sū-* 'beget')⁸, *hnuve*.

2. *īkṣe*, *kṛṣe*, *cakṣe* (= **caks-se*)⁹, *dhukṣe* (AV.), *brūṣe*, *vitsē* (*vid-* 'find'), *śēse*. — With connecting *-i-*: *īṣiṣe*.

3. *āste*, *īṣte* (*ṽṣ-*), *īrte*, *īṣte* (*ṽṣ-*), *cāṣte* (*ṽcaks-*), *brūtē*, *vāste*, *śāste*, *śinkte*⁹ (*ṽśinṣ-*), *sūte*, *hate* (SĀ. XII. 27). — With ending *-e*: *īṣe*¹⁰, *citē* (*cit-* 'perceive'), *duhē*, *bruve*, *vidē* ('finds'), *śīye*¹¹.

Du. 2. *āsāthe*, *īśāthe*, *cakṣāthe*, *vasāthe*. — 3. *āsāte*, *iyāte*, *duhāte*, *bruvāte*, *śayāte*, *sīvāte*.

Pl. 1. *āśmahe* (AV.), *īmahe*, *īśmahe* (AV.), *mṛjmāhe* (AV.), *yujmahe*, *śāśmahe*, *śēmahe* (AV.), *hūmāhe*. — 2. With connecting *-i-*: *īśidhve* (AV.). — 3. *āsate*, *īrate*, *īlate*, *īśate*, *śhate* (*ṽh-*), *grhate*¹², *cāṣate*, *duhatē*¹³, *dvīṣāte* (AV.), *nīpsate*, *bruvāte*, *rihatē*¹³, *vāsate*, *śāsate*, *suvaṭe*. — With ending *-re*: *duhrē*, *śēre* (AV.); with *-rate*: *duhrate*, *śērate* (AV. TS.).

Present Subjunctive.

452. In the AV. several forms are irregularly made with *ā*, as if following the *a-* conjugation. No examples of the 2. du. and pl. mid. are found. The forms which actually occur, if made from *brū-* 'speak', would be:

Active. Sing. 1. *brāvāṇi*, *brāvā*. 2. *brāvāvi*, *brāvās*. 3. *brāvāti*, *brāvāt*. — Du. 1. *brāvāva*. 2. *brāvāthās*. 3. *brāvatas*. — Pl. 1. *brāvāma*. 2. *brāvātha*. 3. *brāvan*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *brāvē*. 2. *brāvase*. 3. *brāvate*. — Du. 1. *brāvāvahai*. 3. *brāvāite*. — Pl. 1. *brāvāmahai*, *brāvāmahe*. 3. *brāvanta*.

The forms which actually occur are the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *āśāni* (AV.), *brāvāṇi*; *avā*, *bravā*, *stāvā*.

¹ With irregular strong radical vowel.

² Once anomalously *śmāsi*.

³ With loss of nasal as in *ṽhan-*.

⁴ With irregular strong radical vowel: cp. v. NEGELEIN 33.

⁵ Once from *pā-* 'drink', in I. 86¹?

⁶ Thirteen times from *pā-* 'protect', once (II. 11¹⁴) from *pā-* 'drink' (probably subj. aor.).

⁷ This form occurring only once in the RV. seems to be formed from a doubtful root *u-* 'proclaim'; cp. WHITNEY, Roots, under *u*.

⁸ *huvē*, sing. 1. and 3., should perhaps be

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placed here rather than in the *ā-* class; on this form cp. OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 59, 355 ff.; NEISSER, BB. 25, 315 ff.

⁹ *śīnte* (AV.).

¹⁰ AVERY 234 gives *īse* only, apparently instead of *īṣe*. The form *īṣe* would be 3. sing. mid. perfect.

¹¹ On these forms cp. v. NEGELEIN 102; NEISSER, BB. 20, 74.

¹² Placed by WHITNEY, Roots, doubtfully under the aorist of *ṽgrah-*.

¹³ With irregular accent.

2. *ayasi* (AV.), *āsasi*, *bravasi*; *āyas* (AV.), *āsas*, *kṣāyas* (kṣi- 'dwell'), *ghāsas*, *dānas*, *parcas*, *bravas*, *vēdas*, *śākas*, *hānas*; with -ā-: *āyās* (AV.).

3. *āyati*, *āsati*, *vayati* (√vī-), *vēdati*, *hanati*; *adat* (AV.), *āyat*, *āsāt*, *īrat*¹, *kṣayāt*, *ghasāt*, *cayāt*, *dēhat*, *dohāt* (I. 164²⁰), *dvēṣāt* (AV.), *pāt* ('protect'), *brāvat*, *vēdat* (vid- 'know'), *stāvat*, *hānat* (AV. TS.); with -ā-: *ayāt* (Kh. III. 1⁸), *asāt* (AV.), *rodāt* (Kh. 2. 11¹).

Du. 1. *hānāva*. — 2. *āsathas*, *vēdathas*. — 3. *pātas* 'protect' (iv. 55⁷).

Pl. 1. *ayāma*, *āsāma*, *kṣāyāma*, *dvēṣāma* (AV.), *brāvāma*, *stāvāma*, *hānāma*. — 2. *āsatha*², *stavatha*; with -ā-: *bravātha* (AV.), *hanātha* (AV.). — 3. *ayan*, *āsan*, *brāvan*, *yavan* ('join', AV. III. 17²), *hānan* (AV.); with -ā-: *ādān* (AV.), *ayān* (AV.).

Middle. Sing. 1. *stusē*³. — 2. *āsase*. — 3. *āsate*, *idhat*⁴, *dohate*, *dvēṣate* (TS. IV. 1. 10⁵), *vārjate*; with -tai: *āyātai* (AV.), *āsātai* (AV.); with secondary ending -ta: *īṣata*. — Du. 1. *brāvāvai*. — 3. *brāvāite*. — Pl. 1. *īlāmahi*, *brāvāmahi*; *īlāmahe*. — 3. *hānanta*.

Present Injunctive.

Active. Sing. 2. *vēs*. — 3. *vet* (x. 53⁹), *staut*; without ending: *dān*, *rāt*, *han*. — Pl. 3. *yan*, *san*.

Middle. Sing. 3. *vasta*, *sūta*. — Pl. 3. *īlata*, *vasata*.

Present Optative.

453. Active. Sing. 1. *iyām*, *yāyām*, *vidyām*, *syām*. — 2. *syās*. — 3. *adyāt* (AV.), *iyāt*, *brūyāt*, *vidyāt*, *syāt*, *hanyāt* (AV.).

Du. 2. *brūyātam* (TS. IV. 7. 15⁶), *vidyātam*, *syātam*. — 3. *syātām*.

Pl. 1. *iyāma*, *turvāma*, *vidyāma*, *syāma*, *hanyāma*. — 2. *syāta*; *syātana*. — 3. *adyūr*, *vidyūr*, *syūr*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *īṣiya*, *śāyīya* (AV.). — 3. *āsita*, *īlita*, *īṣita*, *duhita*, *bruvita*, *śāyita*, *stuvitā*. — Pl. 1. *bruvīmahi*, *vasīmahi*, *stuvīmahi*.

Present Imperative.

454. The endings are added directly to the root, which appears in its weak form except in the 3. sing. act., where it is strong and accented⁵. In the 2. sing. act., -dhi is added to a final consonant, -hi to a vowel; -tāt, which occurs only three times, may be added to either a consonant or a vowel. In the mid., -ām 3. sing., -rām and -ratām 3. pl., occasionally appear for -tām and -atām⁶.

Active. Sing. 2. *addhi*, *edhi* (as- 'be'), *tāhi* (√takṣ-), *psāhi* (AV.), *mṛdhi* (AV.), *viddhi* ('find' and 'know'), *śādhi* (√śās-); *ihī*, *jahī*⁷, *pāhi* 'protect', *brūhi*, *bhāhi*, *yāhi*, *vāhi*, *vihī*⁸, *vāhi*, *stuhī*, *snāhi* (AV.); with connecting -i-: *anihi* (VS. IV. 25), *snathihi*, *śvasihi* (AV.), *stanihi*; with -tāt: *brūtāt* (TS. I. 6. 4³), *vittāt*, *vittāt*. — 3. *attu*, *dstu*, *etu*, *dvēṣtu* (AV.), *pātu* 'protect', *psātu* (AV.), *mārṣtu* (AV. TS.), *yātu*, *vaṣtu* (√vaṣ-), *vātu*, *vētu*, *vettu* (AV.), *sastu*, *stantu* (AV.), *snautu* (TS. III. 5. 5²), *svāptu* (AV.), *hāntu*; with connecting -ī-: *brūvitu*.

¹ AVERY 230 here adds *rdhat*, which I regard as a root aor. subjunctive.

² *viddhi*, AV. I. 32¹, seems to be a corruption for *vēdatha*; cp. WHITNEY's note.

³ For *stus-a-i*; cp. AVERY 238; DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 181³; NEISSER, BB. 27, 262—280; OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 55, 39.

⁴ With irregular accent and weak root (VII. 18) for **indhate*, beside *inddhate* formed from √*idh*- according to the infixing nasal class.

⁵ This is also irregularly the case in six or seven forms of the 2. pl., before both -ta and -tana: *īta*, *nēta*, *stota*; *ētana*, *brāvātana*, *sotana*, *hantana*.

⁶ In *duhām*, *vidām* (AV.), *śayām* (AV.); *duhrām* (AV.), *duhratām* (AV.).

⁷ For **jha-hi*, from *han*- 'slay': see 32, 2 c. and cp. v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 8².

⁸ Metrically shortened for *vīhi*, from √*vī*-.

Du. 2. *attam* (AV.), *itam* (AV. TS.), *pātām* 'protect', *brūtam* (AV.), *yātām*, *vittām*, *vītām*, *stām* (as- 'be'), *stūtam*, *hatām*. — 3. *itām*, *duḡdhām* (√*duh*-), *pātām* 'protect', *sastām*, *stām* (AV.), *hatām* (AV.).

Pl. 2. *attā*, *itā* and *ēta*, *pātā* 'protect', *brūta*, *yātā*, *śasta* (śas- 'cut'), *sta* (VS. AV.), *stuta*, *hatā*; with *-tana*: *attana*, *ilana* and *ēana*, *yātāna*, *śastāna*, *sotana* (su- 'press'), *hantana*; with connecting *-ī-*: *bravītana*.

3. *adantu*, *ghnantu*, *drāntu*, *pāntu* 'protect', *bruvantu*, *yantu*, *yāntu*, *vāntu* (AV.), *vyāntu* (√*vī-*) and *viyantu* (TS.), *śāsatu* (TS.v.2.12¹), *śvāsantu* (AV.), *santu*, *svāpantu* (AV.).

Middle. Sing. 2. *īṣva*, *caḡṣva* (= **caḡṣ-ṣva*), *trāsva*, *dhuḡṣva*², *mṛḡṣva* (√*mṛj-*, AV.), *stuṣvā* (AV.); with connecting *-i-*: *īṣva*, *jāniṣva*, *vāsiṣva*.

3. *āstām*, *yutām* (AV.), *vastām*, *śetām* (AV.); with *-ām*: *duhām*, *vidām* (vid- 'find', AV.), *śayām* (AV.).

Du. 2. *īrāthām*, *caḡṣāthām* (TS.), *duhāthām* (AV.), *vasāthām* (TS.). — 3. *duhātām* (AV.). — Pl. 2. *ādhvām*² (√*ās-*), *īrādhvam*, *trādhvam*, *mṛdādhvam* (AV.). — 3. *īratām*, *stuvātām* (AV.); with *-rām*: *duhrām* (AV.); with *-ratām*: *duhratām* (AV.).

Present Participle.

455. The active participle is formed by adding *-ānt*³ to the weak root; thus *y-ānt*- from *i-* 'go'; *duh-ānt*- from *duh-* 'milk'; *s-ānt*- from *as-* 'be'. The strong stems of the participles of *dās-* 'worship' and *śās-* 'order' lose the *n*: *dās-at*⁴ and *śās-at*⁵. The middle participle is formed by adding the suffix *-ānā* to the weak form of the root; thus *iy-ānā*- from √*i-*; *uś-ānā*- from √*vas-*; *ghn-ānā*- (AV.) from √*ghan-*. In a few examples, however, the radical vowel takes Guṇa; thus *oh-ānā*- from *ūh-* 'consider'; *yodh-ānā*- from *yudh-* 'fight'; *śāy-ānā*- from *śī-* 'lie'; *stav-ānā*- from *stu-* 'praise'. The final of √*duh-* reverts to the original guttural in *dūgh-ānā*- beside the regular *dūhānā*-. The root *ās-* 'sit' has the anomalous suffix *-īna* in *ās-īna*- beside the regular *ās-ānā*-. Several of these participles in *-āna* alternatively accent the radical vowel instead of the final vowel of the suffix; thus *vid-āna*- beside *vid-ānā*- 'finding'.

Active. *adānt-*, *anānt-*, *uśānt-*, *ḡṣyānt-*⁶ 'dwelling', *ghnānt-* (√*ghan-*), *duhānt-*, *dviśānt-*, *dhr̥śānt-*, *pānt-* 'protecting', *bruv-ānt-*, *bhānt-*, *yānt-*, *rihānt-*, *rudānt-*, *vānt-*⁷ (AV.), *vyānt-* (√*vī-*), *sānt-*, *sasānt-*, *stuvānt-*, *snānt-*, *svāpānt-*; with loss of *n*: *dāsāt-*, *śāsāt-*.

Middle. *adānā*-, *āsānā*- and *āsīna*-, *indhāna*-, *iyānā*- (VS. x. 19; TS. i. 8. 14²), *īlāna*-, *īrāna*-, *īśāna*- and (once) *īśānā*-, *uśānā*-⁸, *uśānā*-⁹ (*vas-* 'wear'), *dhāna*- and *ohānā*- (√*ūh-*), *ḡṣṇuvānā*-¹⁰, *ghnānā*- (AV.), *dihānā*-, *dūghāna*- and *duhānā*- and *dūhāna*-, *dhr̥śānā*- (AV.), *nijānā*-, *bruvānā*-, *mṛjānā*-, *yuvānā*- (*yu-*

¹ DELBRÜCK 61 and AVERY 242 wrongly give this form as *duḡṣva*.

² In AV. (iv. 14²) and TS. (iv. 6. 51) some Mss. read *ādādhvam*. VS. xvii. 65 has *ādādhvam*.

³ The feminine is formed with *-ī* from the weak stem; thus *ghnat-ī*-, *duhat-ī*-, *yāt-ī*-, *yāt-ī*-, *bhāt-ī*-, *rudat-ī*-, *sat-ī*-. (AV.), *snāt-ī*-. But the AV. has *yāntī*- (beside *yātī*-) and *svāpāntī*-; see WHITNEY, Index Verborum 374⁴.

⁴ The verb *dās-* may have lost its nasal in the 3. pl. act., but there is no evidence of this, as the only form preserved according to the root class is 3. sing. *dāḡṣi*.

⁵ As in 3. pl.

⁶ *ḡṣyāntam* TS. iv. i. 2⁵.

⁷ *apa-vān* AV. xix. 50⁴ is probably N. sing. of this part.; see WHITNEY's note and cp. LANMAN 484².

⁸ The RV. has once the transfer form *uśāmāna*-.
⁹ Once, beside the regular *vāsāna*-. The RV. has also once the transfer form *uśāmāna*-.
¹⁰ The form *ḡṣṇānā* (x. 103¹²), doubtless 2. sing. impv. of the *nū-* class, is regarded by GRASSMANN as a participle.

'join'), *yodhānā-*, *rihānā-*, *vāsāna-* 'wearing', *vidāna-* and *vidānā-*, *vyānā-* (*√vī-*), *śāyāna-*, *śāsāna-* (AV. TS.), *śivāna-* (*sū-* 'bring forth', AV.), *stuvānā-* and *stavānā-*, *svānā-* (*su-* 'press', SV.)¹.

Imperfect Indicative.

456. Active. Sing. 1. *adoham* (Kh. v. 15¹⁴), *apām* ('protect'), *ābravam*, *avedam*, *ahanam*; *ādam* (VS. XII. 105), *āyam*, *āsam*, *airam* (*√ir-*).

2. *āpās*, *āyās*; *āis* (AV.); *ves* (*√vī-*); with connecting *-ī-*: *abravīs* (AV.); *āsīs*; without ending: *āhan*; *han*.

3. *āpāt*, *āyāt*, *avāt* (AV.), *astaut*; *ātī*²; with connecting *-ī-*: *ābravīt*, *avamīt*; *ānīt*, *āsīt*³; without ending: *adhok*, *dvet* (AV.), *āhan*; *ās* (= **ās-t*, from *as-* 'be'); *han*⁴.

Du. 2. *āyātam*, *ahatam*; *āstam*, *ditam*; *yātam* (AV.). — 3. *abrūtām* (AV.); *ātām* (VS. XXI. 43), *āstām*, *aitām* (AV. VS.).

Pl. 1. *atākṣma*, *āpāma*. — 2. *atāṣṭa*; *āita*; *abravīta*; *āyātana*, *āsastana*; *ditana*; *ābravītana*. — 3. *ādīhan* (AV.), *anāvān*, *abruvan*, *avyan* (*√vī-*); *āyan* (*i-* 'go'), *āsan*; *asan*⁵ (*as-* 'throw'), *-ghnan* (Kh. I. 2²); with ending *-ur*: *atviṣur*, *apur* (*pā-* 'protect'); *asur* (*as-* 'throw', I. 179²); *cākṣur*, *duhur*.

Middle. Sing. 3. *acaṣṭa*, *ataкта*, *āvasta* (AV.), *āsūta*; *āiṭṭa* (*√īḍ-*); *mṛṣṭa* (I. 174⁴), *sūta*.

Pl. 2. *ārādhvam*. — 3. *aghnata* (AV.), *acakṣata*, *ajanata*, *āmṛjata* (AV.), *aśāsata*; *āsata*, *dirata*. With ending *-ran*: *aduhran* (AV.), *dśeran*.

a. 2. The Reduplicating Class.

457. This class is less than half as frequent as the root class, comprising fewer than 50 verbs. The endings are here added to the reduplicated root, which is treated as in the root class, taking Guṇa in the strong forms. The stem shows the same peculiarity as the desiderative in reduplicating *ṛ* (= *ar*) and *ā* with *i*. Here, however, this rule is not invariable. All the roots with *r* except one reduplicate with *i*. They are *r-* 'go': *ī-y-ar*⁶; *ghr-* 'drip': *jīghar-*; *tīr-* 'cross': *tītr-*; *pīr-* 'fill' and *pr-* 'pass': *pīpar-*; *bhr-* 'bear': *bībhar-*; *sr-* 'run': *sīsar-*; *prc-* 'mix': *pīprc-*; but *vrt-* 'turn': *vavart-*. While nine roots reduplicate *ā* with *a*, thirteen do so with *i*. The latter are: *gā-* 'go': *jīgā-*; *ghrā-* 'smell': *jīghrā-*; *pā-* 'drink': *pībā-*; *mā-* 'measure': *mīmā-*; *mā-* 'bellow': *mīmā-*; *śā-* 'sharpen': *śīśā-*; *sthā-* 'stand': *tīṣṭhā-*; *hā-* 'go forth': *jīhī*⁷; *vac-* 'speak': *vīvac-*; *vas-* 'desire': *vīvaś-*⁸; *vyac-* 'extend': *vīvyac-*; *sac-* 'accompany': *śīṣac-*⁹; *han-* 'strike': *jīghna-*. Three of these, however, *pā-*, *sthā-*, *han-*, have permanently gone over to the *a-* conjugation, while a fourth, *ghrā-*, is beginning to do so. Contrary to analogy the accent is not, in the majority of verbs belonging to this class, on the root in the strong forms, but on the reduplicative syllable. The latter is further accented in the 3. pl. act. and mid., as well as in the 1. du. and pl. mid. Doubtless as a result of this accentuation, the verbs of this class lose the *n* of the endings in the 3. pl. act. and mid.; e. g. *bībhr-ati*¹⁰ and *jīghate*.

¹ To be pronounced thus in the RV., though always written *svānā-*.

² The form *aitat* (AV. XVIII. 34⁰) seems to be a corruption of *ātī*; see WHITNEY's note in his Translation.

³ Cp. v. NEGELEIN 8¹; REICHELt BB. 27, 89. VS. VIII. 46 has the transfer form *āsai*.

⁴ *ārudat* (AV.) is a transfer to the *a-* conjugation. In I. 77² *vās*, 3. sing., seems to be an aor. form = **vā-s-t*.

⁵ Unaugmented form IV. 3¹.

⁶ With *-y-* interposed between reduplication and root.

⁷ With *ī* for *ā*; inflected in the middle only.

⁸ Also *vavaś-*.

⁹ Also *śāśac-*.

¹⁰ That is, *a* replaces the sonant nasal.

a. There are a number of irregularities chiefly in the direction of shortening the root in weak forms. 1. Roots ending in *ā* drop their vowel before terminations beginning with vowels: e. g. *√mā*: *mim-e*, 3. pl. *mim-ate*. *√dā*- and *√dhā*-, the two commonest verbs in this class, drop the *ā* in all weak forms. — 2. The root *vyac*- takes Samprasāraṇa; e. g. 3. du. *viviktās*; analogously *hvar*- 'be crooked', makes some forms with Samprasāraṇa, when it reduplicates with *u*; e. g. *juhūrthās*, 2. sing. mid. injunctive. — 3. The verbs *bhas*- 'chew', *sac*- 'accompany', *has*- 'laugh', syncopate the radical vowel; thus *babhas-at*, 3. sing. subj., but *bāps-at*, 3. pl. ind.; *sāśc-at*, 3. pl. ind. pres., *sāśc-ata*, 3. pl. inj.; *jāks-at*, pres. part. — 4. The *ā* of *śā*- 'sharpen', *mā*- 'measure', *mā*- 'bellow', *dā*- 'give', *hā*- 'go away' (mid.), and (in AV.) *hā*- 'leave' (act.)¹, is usually changed to *i* before consonants; e. g. *śi jīmāsi*, *mimīte*, *rarūthās*², *jihīte*, *jahīta* (AV.); while the roots *dā*- 'give' and *dhā*- 'put' drop their vowel even here³; e. g. *dād-mahe*, *dadh-māsi*. — 5. The initial of *ci*- 'observe' reverts to the original guttural throughout; e. g. *cekṣi* (AV.). — 6. When the aspiration of *dadh*-, the weak base of *dhā*-, is lost before *i*, *th*, *s*, or *dhv*, it is thrown back on the initial; e. g. *dhat-sva*. — 7. The roots *dī*- 'shine', *dhī*- 'think', *pī*- 'swell', reduplicate with *i*; e. g. *dāidet*; *dāidhet*; *dāipet*. — 8. There are a number of transfers from this to other classes. Thus *caṣ*- 'see', originally a syncopated reduplicative base (= **caṣs*-), has become a root inflected according to the root class; *jaṣ*- 'eat', also originally a reduplicated base (*jaṣhas*-), has become a root from which is formed the past passive participle *jag-dhā*-, and which in the later language is inflected both in the root class and the *a*- class. The weak bases *dad*- and *dadh*- show an incipient tendency to become roots⁴, from which a number of transfer forms according to the *a*- conjugation are made, such as 3. sing. mid. *dada-te*, 3. pl. ind. act. *dādhaniti*, 3. pl. impv. act. *dadha-ntu*, 3. sing. mid. *dadha-te*, 2. du. *dadhethe* (AV.). The roots *pā*- 'drink', *sthā*-, *han*-, form only transfer stems according to the *a*- class: *piba*-, *sthā*-, *jighna*-; while *ghrā*-, *mā*- 'bellow', *rā*-, *bhas*-, *sac*- make occasional forms from transfer stems according to the *a*- class: *jighra*-, *mīma*-, *rāra*-, *bāpsa*-, *sāśca*-.

Inflexion.

458. The forms actually occurring would, if made from *bhr*- 'bear', be the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *bībharmi*. 2. *bībharsi*. 3. *bībharti*. — Du. 2. *bībhṛthās*. 3. *bībhṛtās*. — Pl. 1. *bībhṛmāsi* and *bībhṛmās*. 2. *bībhṛthā*. 3. *bībhṛati*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *bībhṛē*. 2. *bībhṛṣē*. 3. *bībhṛtē*. — Du. 1. *bībhṛvahe*. 2. *bībhṛāthe*. 3. *bībhṛāte*. — Pl. 1. *bībhṛmahe*. 2. *bībhṛdhve*. 3. *bībhṛate*.

The forms which actually occur are the following:

Present Indicative.

Active. Sing. 1. *īyarmi*, *jāhāmi*, *jīgharmi*, *juhōmi*, *dādāmi*, *dādāhāmi*, *pīpāmi* ('fill', AV.), *bībharmi*, *vivakmi* (*√vac*-), *śisāmi*.

2. *iyārṣi*⁶, *cikṣi* (AV.), *jāhāsi* (AV.), *jīgāsi*, *dādāsi*, *dādāhāsi*, *pīparṣi*, *bībharṣi*, *mamatsi*, *vavākṣi* (*√vas*-), *vivekṣi*⁷ (*viṣ*- 'be active'), *śisakṣi* (*√sac*-), *śisarṣi*⁸.

3. *īyarti*, *jāhāti*, *jīgāti*, *jīgharti*, *juhōti*, *dādāti*⁹, *dādāhāti*, *pīparti* 'fills' and 'passes', *bābhasti* (AV.), *bībharti* and (once) *bībhārti*, *mīmāti* 'bellows', *mimeti* (*mā*- 'bellow', SV.), *yuyoti* 'separates', *vavarti* (= *vavart-ti*, II. 38⁶), *vivakti*, *vivaṣti* (*√vas*-), *viveṣti* (*viṣ*- 'be active'), *sāsasti* (VS.) and *sasāsti* (TS. VII. 4.19¹), *śīṣakti* (*√sac*-), *śisarti*.

Du. 2. *dhatthās*, *nīnthās*, *pīpṛthās*, *bībhṛthās*. — 3. *dattās* (AV.), *dādāhātas*¹⁰ (AV.), *bībhātās* (AV.), *bībhṛtās*, *mīmītas*, *viviktās* (*√vyac*-), *viviṣtas*.

Pl. 1. *juhūmāsi*, *dadmasi*, *dadhmasi*, *bībhṛmāsi*, *śīṣmāsi*; *jahimāsi*¹¹ (AV.), *juhūmās*, *dadmas* (AV.), *dadhmas*, *bībhṛmas* (AV.), *viviṣmas*. — 2. *dhatthā*,

¹ This of course does not take place in the transfer verbs according to the *a*- conjugation.

² In the RV. *hā*- 'leave', has only forms with *ā* (never *i*).

³ But *rarāśva* (AV.).

⁴ The vowel of *hā*- 'leave' is also dropped in the 3. pl. opt. act. *jahyur* (AV.).

⁵ From the former is made the past passive participle *dat-tā*- 'given'.

⁶ This is the accentuation in MAX MÜLLER'S and AUFRECHT'S editions; both in Samhitā and Padapāṭha.

⁷ Cp. NEISSER, BB. 30, 303.

⁸ With imperative sense.

⁹ Also the transfer form *dādāti*.

¹⁰ With strong base, for *dhatthās*.

¹¹ With base weakened to *jahi*- for *jahī*-.

piṣṭhā, bibhrthā. — 3. *jahati, jighrati* (AV.), *jūhvati, dādāti, dādhati*¹, *dīdyati*² (AV.), *piṣṭati, bapsati* (√*bhas*-), *bibhrati*³, *sāscati*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *jūhvē, dād* (AV. TS.), *dadhē, mīmē*. — 2. *datse* (AV.), *dhatsē*. — 3. *jihite, juhute, dattē*⁴, *dhattē*⁵, *mimite, śisite*⁶; with -e: *dadhē* (+ AV.).

Du. 1. *dādvahe*. — 2. *dadhāthe*. — 3. *jihāte, dadhāte*⁷, *mimāte*⁸ (v. 82⁶).

Pl. 1. *dādmahe, mimīmahe* (AV.). — 2. *jihīdhve* (AV.). — 3. *jihate, dadhate*⁹, *mimate* ('measure'), *sisrate*.

Present Subjunctive.

459. Active. Sing. 1. *dadhāni, bibharāni* (TS. I. 5. 10¹). — 2. *jūhuras, dādas, dadhas, dīdhyas* (AV.), *viveśas*. — 3. *piṣṭati; dadat, dādhat, dīdayat, dīdayat*¹⁰ (AV.), *babhasat, bibharat* (AV.), *yuydāt* 'separate'.

Du. 2. *dādhatas, bapsathas* (Kh. I. 11¹).

Pl. 1. *jahāma, juhāvāma, dadhāma*. — 3. *dādan* (AV.), *dādhan, yuyavan*.

Middle. Sing. 2. *dādhasē*. — 3. *dādhatē*; with -tai: *dadātai* (AV.). —

Du. 1. *dadhārahai* (TS. I. 5. 10¹). — Pl. 1. *dadāmahe*. — 3. *jūhuranta*¹².

Present Injunctive.

Active. Sing. 2. *dadās* (AV.), *bibhes* (AV.). — 3. *jigāt, dadāt* (AV.), *vīvyak*.

Pl. 1. *yuyoma*¹³ (AV.).

Middle. Sing. 2. *jūhūrthās* (√*hvr*-). 3. *jihīta*.

Pl. 3. *sāscata*.

Present Optative¹⁴.

Active. Sing. 2. *mimīyās* (x. 56²). — 3. *jahyāt*¹⁵ (ŚA. XII. 11); *jūhuyāt* (AV.), *dadyāt* (AV.), *bibhīyāt, bibhīyāt, mamanyāt, mimīyāt* (mā- 'measure'). —

Du. 3. *yuyuyātām*. — Pl. 1. *jūhuyāma*. — 3. *jahyur*¹⁵ (AV.).

Middle. Sing. 3. *dādhitā* and *dadhītā*. — Pl. 1. *dadīmahi, dadhīmahi*. — 3. *dadīran*.

Present Imperative.

460. Active. Sing. 1. *jāhāni* (AV.). — 2. *daddhi, piṣṭgdhi* (√*prc*-), *mamaddhi, mamandhi, yuyodhi, vividdhi* (√*vis*-), *śisadhi*. — With -hi: *cikīhi* (ci- 'note', AV.), *didīhi* and *dīdīhi* (√*dī*-), *dehi* (√*dā*-), *dhehi, piṣṭhi, bibhrhi* (AV. TS.), *mimīhi* (mā- 'measure'), *ririhi*¹⁶ (√*rā*-), *śisīhi*. — With -tāt: *jahūtāt* (AV.), *dattāt, dhattāt, piṣṭtāt* (TS. IV. 4. 12¹). — 3. *ciketu* (TS. III. 3. 11⁵), *jūhātu, jigātu, juhoṭu* (TS. III. 3. 10⁷), *dādātu, dādātu, piṣartu* ('fill' and 'pass'), *bibhartu* (AV. TS.), *mimātu, yayastu, yuyotu, śisātu, śisaktu*.

¹ Also the transfer form *dadhanti*.

² Regarded by DELBRÜCK, *Verbum* p. 1333, as an intensive.

³ There is also a transfer form *mimanti* 'bellow'.

⁴ Also the transfer form *dadate*.

⁵ Also the transfer form *dadhate*.

⁶ There is also the transfer form *rarate* from √*rā*-.

⁷ Also the transfer form *dadhete* (AV.).

⁸ By AVERY 2374 given as 3. sing. subjunctive middle.

⁹ TS. I. 5. 10⁴, III. 1. 82 has the transfer form *dādante*.

¹⁰ Pp. *dīdayat*; see WHITNEY's note on AV. III. 83.

¹¹ *śaśvacāi* (RV. III. 33¹⁰) is probably sing. 1 perfect subj. (p. 361); but occurring beside the aorist form *namsai*, it may be an aorist, to which tense WHITNEY, *Roots*, doubtfully assigns it.

¹² *dīdayante* (AV. XVIII. 373) is perhaps a subjunctive.

¹³ With the strong base *yuyo-* for *yuyu-*.

¹⁴ AVERY 241 gives here several forms which it is better to class as optatives perfect.

¹⁵ With weak base *jah-*, for *jahv-*, which here loses its final vowel like *dadā-* and *dadhā-*.

¹⁶ The only form in which √*rā*-reduplicates with *i*.

Du. 2. *jahṭam* (AV.), *jigātam*, *dattām*, *dhattām*, *pipṛtām*, *mimṭām*, *yuyutām* and *yuyotām*¹, *śiṣṭām*, *sisṛtam*. — 3. *cikṛtām* (ci- 'note', AV.), *dattām*, *dhattām*, *pipṛtām*, *bibhṛtām*, *mimṭām*, *śiṣṭām*.

Pl. 2. *lyarta*², *jahṭa* (AV.), *jigāta*, *juhuta* and *juhṭa*³, *dattā* and *dādāta*⁴, *dhattā* and *dādhātā*⁵, *ninikṭa* (√nij-), *pipṛkṭa*, *pipṛtā*, *bibhṛta* (AV.), *bibhṛtā* (TS. IV. 2. 3²), *yuyṭa*¹, *śiṣṭa*, *sisakṭa*; *jigātana*, *juhṭana*³, *dadātana*⁴, *dhattana* and *dādhātana*⁵, *pipartana*⁶, *bibhṛtana*, *mamattāna*, *yuyṭana*¹, *vivaktana*. — 3. *dadatu* (AV.), *dadhatu*⁷.

Middle. Sing. 2. *jihṭṣva*, *datsva* (AV.), *dhatsva*, *mimṭṣva* (AV.), *rarāṣva* (AV.). — 3. *jihṭām*⁸.

Du. 2. *jihāthām* (TS. I. I. 12¹), *didhithām* (AV.), *mīmāthām*, *rarāthām*.

Pl. 2. *juhudhvam* (TS. IV. 6. 1⁵), *rarīdhvam*. — 3. *jihatām*, *dadhatām*, *sisratām* (Kh. I. 3⁶).

Present Participle.

461. Active. As the suffix *-ant* drops its *n* (like the endings of the 3. pl. act.) strong and weak stem are not distinguished. The feminine stem of course lacks *n* also; e.g. *bibhṛat-i*. Stems occurring are: *cikyat-* (ci- 'note')⁹, *jāhat-*, *jigat-*, *juhvat-*, *titrat-* (tṛ- 'cross'), *dādat-*, *dādhāt-*, *dīdyat-*, *didhyat-*, *bāpsat-*, *bibhṛyat-*, *bibhṛat-*, *śaścāt-* ('pursuer') and *śāścat-*¹⁰ ('helping'), *sisrat-*¹¹.

Middle. *jihāna-*, *juhvāna-*, *dādāna-*, *dādhāna-*, *dīdyāna-*, *didhyāna-*, *pīpāna-* (pā- 'drink', AV.) and *pīpānā-*¹², *pīpyāna-*¹³ (√pī-), *mīmāna-*, *rarāṇa-*¹⁴, *śiśāna-*.

Imperfect Indicative.

462. All the verbs of this class occurring in the 3. pl. act. take the ending *-ur* except *bhṛ-*, which has the normal *-an*. The verbs *dā-*, *dhā-*, *hā-* show the irregularity (appearing elsewhere also) of using the strong instead of the weak base in the 2. pl. act.

Active. Sing. 1. *adadām*, *adadhām*. — 2. *ādadaś*, *ādadhāś*¹⁵, *ādides*, *dvives* (√viṣ-); *bibhes* (AV.), *vivēs* (√viṣ-), *śiśas*. — 3. *aciket* (√ci-), *ājahāt*, *ājigāt*, *ādadhāt*¹⁶, *dādhāt*, *dādet*, *dbibhar*, *abibhet*, *dviviyak*¹⁷, *āśiśāt*; *vivēs* (√viṣ-).

Du. 2. *adattam*, *adhattam*. — 3. *dviviktām*, *āmimātām* (AV.)¹⁸.

Pl. 2. *ādadāta*¹⁹, *ādadhātā*¹⁹ and *ādhatta*; *ājahātana*¹⁹, *ādattana*. — 3. *abibhran*; *ajahur*, *ājuhavur*, *adadur*, *adadhur*, *āmamadur*, *aviviyacur*; *jahur*, *dadur*, *didhyur* (AV.), *viviyacur*.

Middle. Sing. 2. *ādhatthās*, *āmimīthās*; *didhthās* (AV.). — 3. *djihīta*, *adatta*, *adhatta*, *āpiprata*²⁰, *āmimīta*; *śiśīta*. — Pl. 3. *ājihata*, *ājuhvata*²¹.

¹ With strong base *yuyo-* for *yuy-*.

² With strong base *iyar-* for **iy-*; cp. v. NEGELEIN 65⁴f.

³ With strong base for weak.

⁴ Strong base *dādā-* for *dad-*.

⁵ Strong base *dādhā-* for *dadh-*.

⁶ Strong base *pīpar-* for *pīp-*.

⁷ Also the transfer form *dadhan'u*.

⁸ There is also the 3. sing. transfer form *dadatām*.

⁹ *cikyat* (IV. 38⁴), nom. sing. m., is given by v. NEGELEIN 77² as *cikyat* and explained as a pluperfect form.

¹⁰ When compounded with the negative particle, *śaścat-* remains unchanged in the fem. if accented *a-śaścāt*, but has *n* if accented on the prefix: *ā-śaścant-i*.

¹¹ For inflected forms of these stems see 312.

¹² With irregular accent.

¹³ The anomalous transfer form *bibhṛamāna-* takes the place of **bibhṛāna-*.

¹⁴ But perfect *rarāṇā-*.

¹⁵ There is no sufficient reason for regarding *ādadhāś* in x. 739, as a 3. sing. (AVERY 248; DELBRÜCK, Verbum 50, 59).

¹⁶ There is also the transfer form *dādat*. v. NEGELEIN 67² gives *dādhāt* (RV. AV.) which seems a misprint for *dādhāt*.

¹⁷ There is also the unaugmented transfer form *viviyācat*.

¹⁸ WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 665, quotes *ājahitām* from the TS. (mantra?).

¹⁹ With strong base instead of weak.

²⁰ Anomalous form instead of **āpipṛta*.

²¹ Also the transfer form *adadanta*. WHITNEY 658 also mentions the unaugmented 3. pl. *jihata*.

β. 1. The infixing nasal class.

463. This class, which includes fewer than 30 verbs, is characterized by the accented syllable *ná* preceding the final consonant of the root in the strong forms. That syllable in the weak forms becomes a simple nasal varying according to the class to which the following consonant belongs.

1. The infix, appearing in forms outside the limits of the present stem, has become part of the root in *añj-* 'anoint', *bhañj-* 'break', and *hims-* 'injure'. — 2. There are a few transfers to the *ā-* class, in which some of these verbs come to be inflected in the later language¹, and in which several verbs are regularly nasalized in the present stem (429, a, 1). — 3. Instead of the regular *-ná-*, the root *trh-* 'crush' infixes *-né-* in the strong forms; thus 3. sing. *trñe-dhi*. — 4. In the 3. pl. ind. mid. irregular accentuation of the final syllable occurs exceptionally in each of the forms *añjaté*, *indháté*, *bhuñjaté*².

Present Indicative.

464. The forms actually occurring, if made from *yuj-* 'join', would be the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *yundāmi*. 2. *yundāksi*. 3. *yundākti*. — Pl. 1. *yuñjmas*. 3. *yuñjānti*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *yuñjé*. 2. *yuñkṣe*. 3. *yuñkté*. — Du. 2. *yuñjāthe*. 3. *yuñjāte*. — Pl. 2. *yuñgdhvé*. 3. *yuñjāte*.

The forms which actually occur are the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *anajmi* (AV.), *chinadmi* (AV.), *trñadmi* (√trd-), *bhindāmi*, *yundāmi*, *ruñadmi* (*rudh-* 'obstruct'). — 2. *prñāksi* (√prc-), *bhindāksi*, *yunāksi*, *vrñāksi* (*vrj-* 'twist'). — 3. *anākti*, *undākti* (√ud-), *kṛñākti* (*kṛt-* 'spin'), *grñākti*³ (AV.x. 7⁴³), *chinākti* (AV.), *trñākti*, *piñāksi* (√piś-), *bhāñākti* (√bhañj-), *bhindākti*, *yundākti* (AV.), *riñākti* (√ric-), *ruñāddhi*, *vrñākti*, *hināsti* (√hims-, AV. ŚA.).

Pl. 1. *añjmas*. — 3. *añjānti*, *undānti*, *piñānti*, *prñānti*, *bhindānti*, *yuñjānti*, *viñcānti* (*vic-* 'sift'), *vrñjānti*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *añje*, *rñje* (*rj-* 'direct'), *prñce* (AV.), *yuñjé*, *vrñjé*. — 2. *yuñkṣe* (AV.). — 3. *añkté*⁴, *indhé* (= *ind-dhé*, √idh-), *prñkté*⁵, *yuñkté*⁵, *rundhé* (= *rund-dhé*, AV.), *vrñkte*, *hñste*⁶ (AV.). — With ending *-e*: *vrñjé*.

Du. 2. *añjāthe* (Kh. v. 6⁴; VS. xxxiii. 33), *yuñjāthe*. — 3. *añjāte* (VS. xx. 61), *tuñjāte*, *vrñjāte* (AV.).

Pl. 2. *añgdhvé*. — 3. *añjāte* and *añjaté*, *indhāte* and *indháté*, *rñjate*, *tuñjāte*, *prñāte*, *bhuñjāte* and *bhuñjaté*, *yuñjāte*, *rundhate* (AV.), *vrñjate*.

Present Subjunctive.

465. The weak base is once used instead of the strong in the form *añj-a-tas* for **anaj-a-tas*; and the AV. has once the double modal sign *ā* in the form *trñādh-ān*.

Active. Sing. 2. *bhindādas*. — 3. *rñādhāt*, *bhindādat*, *yundjāt*. — Du. 1. *riñdāva*. — 3. *añjātas*. — Pl. 3. *añjān*, *yundjān*, *vrñjān*; *trñādhān* (AV.).

Middle. Sing. 3. *indhāte*, *yundjate*. — Pl. 1. *bhuñjāmahai*, *ruñadhāmahai*.

Present Injunctive.

Active. Sing. 2. *piñāc* (√piś-), *bhindāt*. — 3. *piñāc*, *prñāc*, *bhindāt*, *riñāc* (√ric-).

Middle. Pl. 3. *yuñjāta*.

¹ Thus *ud-* 'wet': *unāti* is inflected as *unda-ti* in B. and S.; and *yuj-* 'join': *yundākti* as *yuñjā-ti* in U. and E., beside the old forms.

² In the RV. *añjaté* occurs once, *añjāte* 12 times, *indhāté* 4 times, *indhāte* 15 times, while *bhuñjaté* and *bhuñjāte* occur once each.

³ *ūd grñāti* 'ties up', is here only a corruption of the corresponding *ūt kṛñāti* of RV. x. 130², seemingly a form of *grath-* 'tie'.

⁴ AV. *añté*.

⁵ AV. *yuñte*.

⁶ With irregular accent.

Present Optative.

Active. Sing. 3. *bhindyāt* (AV.). — Middle. Sing. 3. *pr̥ñcitā*.

Present Imperative.

466. The only ending of the 2. sing. act. is *-dhi*, no form with *-tā* having been met with. As usual, the strong base sometimes appears in the 2. pl. act.: *unātta*, *yunākta*; *anaktana*, *pinas̥tana*.

Active. Sing. 2. *andhi*¹ (*√añj-*), *undhi* (= *unddhi*), *chindhi* (= *chind-dhi*), *trndhi* (= *trnddhi*), *pr̥ndhi* (= *pr̥ngdhi*), *bhandhi* (= *bhaṅgdhi*), *bhindhi* (= *bhinddhi*), *yundhi* (= *yungdhi*, AV.), *rundhi* (= *runddhi*, AV.), *v̥r̥ndhi* (= *v̥r̥ngdhi*). — 3. *anāktu*, *chindātu* (AV.), *tr̥ñēhu*² (AV.), *pr̥nāktu*, *bhanāktu* (AV.), *bhinātu* (AV.), *yundktu* (AV.), *vināktu* (*√vic-*, AV.), *v̥r̥nāktu*, *hindstu* (Kh. iv. 5¹⁵).

Du. 2. *antam* (= *añktam*, AV.), *chintām* (= *chinttām*, AV.), *pr̥iktām*. — 3. *añktām* (VS. II. 22).

Pl. 2. *unātta*³, *bhintta* (TS. iv. 7. 13²), *yunākta*, *v̥r̥ñkta*; *anaktana*, *pinas̥tana*. — 3. *añjantu*, *undantu* (AV.), *yun̄jantu* (AV.), *v̥r̄njantu* (AV.).

Middle. Sing. 2. *an̄kṣva*⁴ (AV.), *yun̄kṣvā*, *v̥r̄n̄kṣva* (AV.). — 3. *indhām*⁵ (= *inddhām*, AV.), *yun̄tām* (= *yundtām*, AV.), *rundhām* (= *runddhām*, AV.). — Du. 2. *yun̄jāthām*. — Pl. 2. *indhvam* (= *inddhvam*), *yungdhvām*. — 3. *indhātām*.

Present Participle.

467. Active. *añjant-*, *undant-* and *udat-*⁶ (AV.), *r̄ñjant-*, *r̄ndhant-*, *k̄r̄nat-*⁷ (AV.), *pin̄sat-*, *pr̄ñcāt-* and *pr̄ñcat-*⁸, *bhañjant-* and *bhañjat-*, *bhindant-* and *bhindat-* (AV.), *bhuñjati-*, *yun̄jati-*, *viñcāt-*, (*ā*)/*h̄imsant-*.

Middle. *añjānā-*, *indhānā-*, *tuñjānā-*, *tundānā-*⁹ (AV.), *pr̄ñcānā-*, *bhindānā-*, *yun̄jānā-* (TS. iv. 1. 1¹), *rundhānā-*, *sumbhānā-*¹⁰, *h̄imsānā-*.

Imperfect Indicative.

468. Active. Sing. 2. *ātr̄nat*¹¹ (AV.), *abhanas*¹² (AV.), *ābhinat*, *ar̄inak* (*√ric-*), *av̄r̄nak*; *unap* (*√ubh-*), *r̄nak* (Kh. iv. 6⁹), *pinak*, *bhināt*. — 3. *ātr̄nat*, *ap̄r̄nak* (*√pr̄c-*), *ābhinat*, *ayunak* and *āyunak*, *avinak* (*√vic-*, AV.), *av̄r̄nak* (*√vr̄j-*); *āunat* (*√ud-*); *bhināt*, *rinak*, *v̄r̄nak*. — Du. 2. *at̄r̄ntam* (= *at̄r̄nttam*). — Pl. 3. *ātr̄ndan*, *ābhindan*, *av̄r̄ñjan*; *añjan*, *āyun̄jan* (TS. i. 7. 7²).

Middle. Sing. 3. *ainddha* (*√idh-*, AV.). — Pl. 3. *ayun̄jata*, *arundhata* (AV.); unaugmented: *añjata*.

β. 2. The *nu-* class.

DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 154—157. — AVERY, Verb-Inflection 232 ff. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar p. 254—260; Roots 213. — v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 57—60; 63—64; 94.

469. More than thirty verbs follow this class in the Samhitās. The stem is formed by adding to the root, in the strong forms, the accented syllable *-nū*, which in the weak forms is reduced to *-nu*.

¹ For *añg-dhi*. The final consonant of the root is regularly dropped before the ending *-dhi*.

² Cp. v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 61³.

³ The AV. has the transfer form *umbhata* (*√ubh-*) according to the *ā*-class.

⁴ AV. XIX. 45: *āṅṣva* emended to *ā-an̄kṣva*; see WHITNEY's note on the passage.

⁵ v. NEGELEIN 63, note 1, thinks this form may be the starting point of the ending *-ām*

in the imperatives 3. sing. *vid-ām* and *dūh-ām*.

⁶ AV. also *pr̄ñcat-*.

⁷ *√ud-* otherwise follows the *ā*-class.

⁸ *√ubh-* otherwise follows the *a-* or *ā*-class.

⁹ From *√tr̄d-*. The MSS. have *ātr̄nat*: see WHITNEY's note on AV. XIX. 32⁴.

¹⁰ For **abhanak-s* (*√bhañj-*): see WHITNEY, Grammar 555, and his note on AV. III. 63. Cp. above 66, c, β 2 (p. 61).

a. Several irregularities occur with regard to root, suffix, and ending. 1. The root *sru-* 'hear' is dissimilated to *śr-*¹ before the suffix: *śr-nu-*, *śr-nó-*. — 2. The root *vr-* 'cover' assumes the anomalous form of *ūr-* (with interchange of vowel and semivowel): *ūr-nu-*, beside the regular *vr-nu-*². — 3. Four roots ending in *-n*, *tan-* 'stretch', *man-* 'think', *van-* 'win', *san-* 'gain', seem to form their stem with the suffix *-u*, being assigned by the Indian grammarians to a separate class, the eighth; but this appearance has probably been brought about by the *-an* of the root having originally been reduced to the nasal sonant: *ta-nu-* for **tā-nu-*³. — 4. In place of the regular and very frequent *kṛ-nu-*, there appears in the tenth book of the RV. the anomalous stem *kuru-*, once in the form *kur-mas* (X. 51⁷), 1. pl. pres. ind., and twice in the form *kuru* (X. 19², 145²), 2. sing. impv. act. The strong form of this stem, *karṣ-*⁴, which has the additional anomaly of Guṇa in the root, appears in the AV., where however the forms made from *kṛnó-*, *kṛnu-* are still upwards of six times as common as those from *karṣ-*, *kuru-*⁵. The isolated form *taru-te* 'attains', which occurs once in the RV. (X. 76²), seems to be analogous in formation to *karṣ-ti*, but it may be connected with the somewhat frequent nominal stem *taru-*⁶. — 5. The *u* of the suffix is dropped, in all the few forms which occur in the 1. pl. ind. act. and mid., before terminations beginning with *m*: *kur-más*, *kṛn-mási* (AV.), *tan-masi* (TS.), *hin-mas* (AV.), *hin-masi* (AV.); *kṛn-mahe*, *man-mahe*⁷. When the *-nu* is preceded by a consonant, the *u* becomes *uv* before vowel endings; e. g. *aśnuv-anti* (but *sunv-anti*). — 6. In the 3. pl. mid., six verbs of this class take the ending *-re*⁸ with connecting vowel *-i-*: *inv-ire*, *ṛnu-ire*, *ṣinv-ire*⁹, *śṛnu-iré*, *sunv-iré*, *hinv-iré*. The connecting vowel *-i-* is also taken by *śru-* in the 2. sing. mid. *śṛnu-i-ṣé* (for **śṛnu-ṣe*) used in a passive sense. — 7. Five stems of this class, *i-nu-*, *ṛ-nu-*, *ji-nu-*, *ṣi-nu-*, *hi-nu-*, have come to be used frequently even in the RV. as secondary roots following the *a*-conjugation. Of these *ṣinv-a-* occurs almost exclusively in the RV. as well as the AV.; *inv-a-* alone is met with in the AV.; and *jinv-a-* and *hinv-a-* are commoner in the RV. than *ji-nu-* and *hi-nu-*.

Present Indicative.

470. The forms actually occurring, if made from *kṛ-* 'make', would be as follows:

Active. Sing. 1. *kṛnómi*. 2. *kṛnósi*. 3. *kṛnóti*. — Du. 2. *kṛnuthás*. 3. *kṛnuthás*. — Pl. 1. *kṛnmási* and *kṛnmás*. 2. *kṛnuthá*. 3. *kṛnvānti*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *kṛnó*. 2. *kṛnuṣé*. 3. *kṛnute* and *kṛnó*. — Du. 2. *kṛnvāthe*. — Pl. 1. *kṛnmahe*. 3. *kṛnvāte*¹⁰.

The forms which actually occur are the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *ūrnomi* (AV.), *ṛnomi*, *kṛnómi*, *ṣṣinómi* (AV. TS.), *minomi* (*mi-* 'fix', AV.), *vr̥nomi* ('choose', Kh. II. 6⁵), *śaknomi* (AV.), *śṛnómi*, *hínómi*. — With *-u-*: *karomi* (AV. TS.), *tanomi*.

2. *āpnósi* (AV.), *inoṣi*, *kṛnósi*, *jinṣi*, *stṛnósi*, *hinṣi*; *tanósi*, *vanósi*.

3. *aśnoti* (*aś-* 'attain'), *āpnóti* (VS. AV.), *inṣti*, *unoti* (RV¹), *ūrnoti*, *ṛnoti*, *ṛdhnóti*, *kṛnóti*, *cinóti* 'gathers', *dāśnóti*, *duṇoti* (AV.), *dhūnoti*, *minoti* (AV.), *vr̥nóti*, *śaknoti* (AV.), *śṛnóti*, *sunóti*, *skunóti* (AV.), *hinṣti*; *karoti* (AV. TS. VS.), *tanóti*, *vanoti*, *sanóti*.

Du. 2. *aśnuthas* (Kh. I. 9²), *ūrñuthas*, *kṛnuthás*, *vanuthás*. — 3. *aśnutás*, *ūrñutás*, *kṛnutás*, *sunutás*; *tanutás* (Kh. III. 22⁶).

Pl. 1. *kṛnmási* (AV.), *hinmas* (AV.), *hinmási* (AV.); *kurmás*, *tanmási* (TS. IV. 5. 11¹). — 2. *aśnutha*, *kṛnuthá*, *dhūnuthá*, *sunuthá*. — 3. *aśnuvanti*,

¹ Cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 154¹.

² Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 674.

³ Cp. BRUGMANN, KZ. 24, 259; DELBRÜCK p. 156.

⁴ Perhaps starting from the aorist *á-kar* and following the analogy of *kṛnó-*; cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 656, 3.

⁵ WHITNEY 715.

⁶ Occurring in *táru-* 'swift'(?), *taru-tṣ-* 'conqueror', *táru-tra-* 'victorious', *táru-ṣa-* 'victor', and the verbal stem *táruṣya-* 'cross', 'overcome'.

⁷ Thus *kṛn-mahe* is not the only example

(DELBRÜCK 174, BRUGMANN, KG. 673) of this phenomenon. There is no example in the Saṃhitās of the 1. du. in *-vas* and *-vahe*; but **kṛn-vás*, **kṛn-váhe* must be presupposed to account for the loss of the *-u* before *-mas* and *-mahe*: BRUGMANN, KG. 673.

⁸ Like *duh-re* in the root class.

⁹ This is the only form (besides the participle *ṣinv-āná-* and *ṣinv-ánt-*, *ṣinv-at-īm* in AV.) in which the stem *ṣinv-* appears. All others are made from the transfer stem *ṣinv-a-*.

¹⁰ Sometimes accented *kṛnvāte*.

*ṛṇvānti, kṛṇvānti*¹, *cinvānti* (TS. I. I. 7²), *dabhnvanti, dunvanti* (AV.), *pruṣṇvanti, śaknūvānti* (AV.), *śṛṇvānti, sunvānti, hinvānti; kurvanti* (AV.), *tanvānti*.

Middle. Sing. I. *asnuve, kṛṇvê, hinvê; kurve* (AV.), *manvê* (AV.), *vanve*.

2. *asnuṣe, ūṛṇuṣe, kṛṇuṣê, cinuṣê, dhūnuṣê; tanuṣe* (AV.). — With connecting vowel -i-: *śṛṇu-i-ṣê*.

3. *asnutê, ūṛnutê, kṛṇutê, dhūnute, pruṣṇute, śṛnute; kurute* (AV.), *tanute, tarute, vanutê*. — With ending -e: *śṛṇvê, sunvê, hinvê*.

Du. 2. *tanvāthe*. — Pl. I. *kṛṇmahe, manmahe*. — 3. *asnuvate, kṛṇvāte, vṛṇvāte and vṛṇvātê, śṛṇvātê, hinvāte; kurvāte* (AV.), *tanvātê and tanvāte* (AV.). — With ending -re: *inv-i-re, ṛṇv-i-re, pinv-i-re, śṛṇv-i-rê, sunv-i-rê, hinv-i-rê*.

Present Subjunctive.

471. Active. Sing. I. *kṛṇavā, hinavā; sandvāni* (AV.). — 2. *ṛṇdvas, kṛṇdvas, tṛṇdvas, śṛṇdvas; karavas* (AV.). — 3. *asnavat², kṛṇdvat, cinavat, dhūnavat, pruṣṇdvat, śṛṇdvat, sundvat; vandvat*. — With double modal sign ā: *karavāt* (AV.), *kṛṇavāt* (AV. XX. 132³). — With ending -tai: *asnavātai³* (AV.). — Du. I. *asnavāva, kṛṇavāva*.

Pl. I. *asṇāvāma, kṛṇdvāma, mināvāma, śakṇdvāma, sunāvāma, śṛṇāvāma*. — 2. *sandvātha*; with double modal sign: *kṛṇavātha* (VS.). — 3. *asnavan, kṛṇdvan, śṛṇdvan*.

Middle. Sing. I. *asnavai* (VS. XIX. 37), *kṛṇdvai, sundvai; mandvai*. — 2. *kṛṇavase; vanavase*. — 3. *kṛṇdvate; mandvate*.

Du. I. *kṛṇavāvahai; tanavāvahai*. — 2. *asṇdvaithe*. — 3. *kṛṇvāite⁴*.

Pl. I. *asṇdvāmahai* (X. 97¹⁷)⁵, *kṛṇdvāmahai, śṛṇdvāmahai* (AV.). — 3. *asnavanta, kṛṇdvanta*.

Present Injunctive.

Active. Sing.⁶ 2. *ṛṇos*. — 3. *ūrṇot*. — Pl. 3. *ṛṇvan, minvān, hinvān; vanvan*.

Middle. Sing. 2. *tanuthās*. — 3. *ṛṇutā*. — Pl. 3. *kṛṇvata; manvata*.

Present Optative.

Active. Sing. I. *sanuyām*. — 3. *śṛṇuyāt* (AV.). — Pl. I. *cinuyāma, śṛṇuyāma; vanuyāma, sanuyāma*.

Middle. Sing. 3. *kṛṇvīta⁷; manvīta* (AV.).

Present Imperative.

472. Active. Sing. 2. *śṛṇudhi*. — With ending -hi⁸: *akṣṇuhi* (akṣ- 'mutilate', AV.), *asnuhi, āṇuhi* (AV.), *inuhi, ūṛnuhi, kṛṇuhi, cinuhi, tṛṇuhi, dabhnuhi* (AV.), *dhūnuhi, dhṛṣṇuhi, śṛnuhi, śṛṇuhi, hinuhi; tanuhi, sanuhi*. — With ending -tāt: *kṛṇutāt, hinutāt*. — Without ending: *inu, ūṛnu, kṛnu, dhūnu* (AV.), *śṛnu, sunu, hinu; kuru, tanu*. — 3. *asnotu, āṇnotu* (AV.), *ūrṇnotu* (AV.), *kṛṇōtu, cinotu, minotu, śṛṇōtu, sunotu; karotu* (TS. VS.), *tanotu* (AV.), *sanotu*.

Du. 2. *asnutam, kṛṇutām, tṛṇnutām, śṛṇnutām, hinōtam⁹*. — 3. *asnutām* (AV. TS.), *kṛṇutām* (AV.).

¹ *skṛṇvanti* after *pari: pariṣkṛvānti* (IX. 14²), *pāri skṛṇvanti* (IX. 64²³).

² The form *arṇavat*, AV. v. 2⁸ (V/-), is a corruption of *avṛṇot* in RV.

³ The TS. has once *asnavatai* (WHITNEY 701).

⁴ Irregular for *kṛṇvāite*.

⁵ Omitted by AVERY 238.

⁶ The injunctive form *asnavam*, AV. XIX. 55⁶, is a conjecture; see WHITNEY's note on the passage.

⁷ *ūrṇvīta* occurs in TS. VI. 1.3³ and *ūrṇvīta* in K. (WHITNEY 713).

⁸ Cp. WHITNEY 704.

⁹ With strong stem.

Pl. 2. *ūrṇuta*, *kṛṇutā* and *kṛṇōta*¹, *trṇṇuta*, *dhūnuta*, *śṛṇutā* and *śṛṇōta*¹, *sunutā* and *sunōta*¹, *hinuta* (AV.) and *hinōta*¹; *tanota*¹ (AV. TS.). — With ending *-tana*: *kṛṇōtana*², *śṛṇōtana*², *sunōtana*², *hinotana*² (x. 30¹). — 3. *aśṇuvantu*, *ūrṇuvantu*, *kṛṇvāntu*, *cinvantu* (TS.V.2.11²), *śṛṇvāntu*, *hinvantu*; *vanvāntu*, *sanvantu*.

Middle. Sing. 2. *ūrṇuṣva*, *kṛṇuṣvā*, *cinuṣva* (AV.), *dhūnuṣva* (AV.), *śṛṇuṣvā*; *tanuṣva*, *vanuṣva*. — 3. *aśṇutām* (AV.), *kṛṇutām*; *tanutām* (TS. I. 6. 3³), *manutām*, *vanutām* (AV.).

Du. 2. *kṛṇvāthām* (AV.). — Pl. 2. *kṛṇudhvām*, *sunudhvām*; *tanudhvām*, *vanudhvām* (AV.). — 3. *ṛṇvatām* (AV.); *kurvatām* (AV.), *tanvātām* (AV.), *vanvatām* (AV.).

Present Participle.

473. Active. *ūrṇvānt-* and *ūrṇvānt-*, f. *-vatī-*, *ṛṇvānt-*, *kṛṇvānt-*³, f. *-vatī-*, *cinvānt-*, f. *-vatī-*, *dhūvānt-* (AV.), *pinvānt-* (AV.), *minvānt-*, *vṛṇvānt-*, *śṛṇvānt-*, f. *-vatī-*, *sunvānt-*, *hinvānt-*, f. *-vatī-*; *kurvānt-* (AV.), f. *-vatī-* (AV.), *tanvānt-*, f. *-vatī-* (AV.), *vanvānt-*.

Middle. *ūrṇvānd-*, *kṛṇvānd-*, *cinvānd-* (TS.IV.2.10²), *dhūnvānd-*, *pinvānd-*, *sunvānd-*, *hinvānd-*; *kurvānd-* (AV.), *tanvānd-*, *manvānd-*, *vanvānd-*.

Imperfect Indicative.

474. Active. Sing. 1. *aśṛṇavam*; *kṛṇavam*. — 2. *ākṛṇos*, *durṇos*, *āsṛṇos*, *āsagṇos*, *ainos*, *durṇos*; *akaros* (AV.), *āvanos*, *āsanos*. — 3. *ākṛṇot*, *ādḥṇot*, *avṛṇot*, *āpṇot* (AV. TS.), *ārdḥnot* (AV.), *ainot*, *durṇot*; *akarot* (VS. AV.), *atanot*, *asanot*. — Du. 2. *akṛṇutam*, *adhūnutam*.

Pl. 2. *akṛṇuta* and *akṛṇota*; *akṛṇotana*. — 3. *ākṛṇvan*, *acinvan* (AV.), *aśākṇvan*, *aśṛṇvan* (AV.); *ṛṇvan*, *minvan*; *akurvan* (AV.), *avanvan*, *āsanvan*.

Middle. Sing. 2. *adhūnuthās*; *kuruthās* (AV.). — 3. *akṛṇuta*, *ādḥṇuta*; *kṛṇuta*; *akuruta* (AV.), *atanuta* (AV.), *āmanuta*.

Pl. 2. *ākṛṇudhvam*. — 3. *ākṛṇvata*⁴, *avṛṇvata*; *akurvata* (AV.; Kh. II 135⁵), *ātanvata*, *amanvata*, *avanvata* (AV.).

β. 3. The *nā*- class.

DELERÜCK, Verbum p. 151–153. — AVERY, Verb-Inflection 232 ff. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar p. 260–263; Roots 214. — v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 49–57. — Cp. J. SCHMIDT, Festgruss an Roth 179 ff.; BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 7, 50–81; BRUGMANN, IF. 16, 509 ff.

475. Nearly forty verbs belong to this class in the Samhitās. The stem is formed by adding to the root, in the strong forms, the accented syllable *-nā*⁵, which in the weak forms is reduced to *-nī* before consonants and *-n* before vowels.

a. There are some irregularities with regard to the root, the suffix, and the endings. 1. The root shows a tendency to be reduced in various ways. The roots *jī-* 'overpower', *jū-* 'hasten', *pū-* 'purify', are shortened; e.g. *jīnāmi*, *junāsi*, *punāti*. The root *grah-* 'seize' and its later form *grah-* take

¹ With strong stem instead of weak. Thus in four out of seven verbs there is an alternative strong form; and in one other (*tanota*) the strong is the only form occurring.

² Thus all the forms occurring with *-tana* have a strong stem. WHITNEY 704 also mentions *karōta* besides the 2. du. *kṛṇotam*, but I do not know whether these forms occur in mantra passages.

³ *skṛṇvānt-* in *pari-skṛṇvān* (IX. 39²).

⁴ In X. 134 *akṛṇvata* has the appearance of being used for the 3. sing. (= *akṛṇuta*).

⁵ The suffix may originally have been *-nai* of which *-nī* would be the weak grade (27); but BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 597, note, disagrees with this view. He thinks *-nī* has displaced earlier *-ni*, KG. p. 512.

Samprasāraṇa; e. g. *grbhñāmi* and *grhñāmi* (AV.). Four roots which, in forms outside the present system appear with a nasal¹, drop the nasal here; thus *bandh-* 'bind': *badhnāmi* (AV.); *manth-* 'shake': *mathnāmi* (AV.); *skambh-* 'make firm': *skabhñāti*; *stambh-* 'prop': *stabhnāti* (AV.). The root *jñā-* 'know', also loses its nasal; e. g. *jā-nā-mi*². — 2. The strong form of the suffix, -*nā*, appears in certain 2. persons impv. act., which should have the weak form -*nī*; e. g. 2. pl. *punā-ta* for *punī-tā*. On the other hand -*nī* appears once instead of -*nā* in 3. sing. injv. *minīt*³ (AV.). — 3. A few roots ending in consonants take the peculiar ending -*ānā* in the 2. sing. impv. act.; e. g. *grh-ānā*⁴. — 4. Transfers to the *a-* conjugation are made from five roots. These are rare in the case of *gr-* 'sing': *grñā-ta* 2. pl. ind., *grñā-nta* 3. pl. impf.; *mi-* 'damage': *minā-t* 3. sing. injv., *amina-nta* 3. pl. impf.; *śr-* 'crush' only *śrñā* (AV.) 2. sing. impv. But *pr-* 'fill' and *mṛ-* 'crush' form the regular *ā-* stems *prñā-* and *mṛñā-* (beside *prñā-* and *mṛñā-*), ten forms being made from the former, and five from the latter in the RV.⁵

Present Indicative.

476. The forms actually occurring, if made from *grabh-* 'seize', would be the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *grbhñāmi*. 2. *grbhñāsi*. 3. *grbhñāti*. — Du. 2. *grbhñthas*. 3. *grbhñtās*. — Pl. 1. *grbhñmāsi* and *grbhñimās*. 2. *grbhñitha* and *grbhñithāna*. 3. *grbhñānti*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *grbhñē*. 2. *grbhñīṣē*. 3. *grbhñītē*. — Pl. 1. *grbhñīmāhe*. 3. *grbhñāte*.

The forms which actually occur are the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *asñāmi* ('eat', AV. VS.), *iṣṇāmi* (AV.), *ksīṇāmi* (AV.), *grñāmi* (*gr-* 'sing'), *grñāmi* (AV. VI. 71³, *gr-* 'swallow'), *grbhñāmi*, *grhñāmi* (AV. TS.), *jānāmi*, *jīnāmi*, *punāmi*, *prñāmi* (AV.), *badhnāmi*⁶ (*bandh-* 'bind', AV. TS.), *mathnāmi* (AV.), *mināmi*, *riṇāmi* (AV.), *śrñāmi* (AV.), *sināmi* (AV.), *stabhnāmi*, *strñāmi* (AV.). — 2. *asñāsi* (AV.), *iṣṇāsi*, *junāsi*, *prñāsi*, *riṇāsi*, *śrñāsi*. — 3. *asñāti*, *krñāti*, *ksīṇāti* (*ksi-* 'destroy'), *grñāti*, *grbhñāti*, *grhñāti* (AV.), *jānāti*, *jīnāti*, *junāti*, *punāti*, *prñāti*, *mināti*, *muṣṇāti* (AV.), *riṇāti*, *śrñāti*, *sināti*, *skabhñāti*, *stabhnāti* (AV.), *hrunāti*.

Du. 2. *riṇithas*. — 3. *grñtās*, *prñtās*.

Pl. 1. *grñmāsi*, *junmāsi*, *minmāsi*, *śrñmāsi* (AV.); *jānīmās*. — 2. *jānitha*; *strñithāna* (AV.). — 3. *asñānti* (AV.), *ksīṇānti*, *grñānti*, *grbhñānti*, *grhñānti* (AV. TS.), *jānānti*, *jīnānti*, *junānti*, *punānti*, *prñānti*, *prñānti*, *badhnānti* (AV.), *bhrñānti*⁷, *minānti*, *riṇānti*, *śrñānti*, *strñānti*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *grñē*, *grbhñē*, *grhñē* (AV.), *vrñē*. — 2. *grñīṣē*⁸, *vrñīṣē* (AV.), *śrñīṣē*, *hrñīṣē*. — 3. *krñīte* (AV.), *ksīṇīte* (AV.), *grñītē*, *punītē*, *prñītē*, *riṇītē*, *vrñītē*, *śrātñītē*, *strñītē*, *hrñītē*. — With -*e* for -*te*: *grñe*.

Pl. 1. *grhñīmāhe* (TS. v. 7. 9¹), *punīmāhe* (Kh. III. 10⁴), *vrñīmāhe*⁹. —

¹ Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 627.

² Originally **janā-* with nasal sonant, **jñ-* *nā-*; see BRUGMANN, KG. 666 (p. 511).

³ On this form see v. NEGELEIN 56, note 1.

⁴ On the origin of this ending see BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 975.

⁵ Beside seven present stems of this class there appear denominative stems in -*āya* from the same roots. Cp. v. NEGELEIN 50—52.

⁶ Given, along with a number of cognate forms, as from the root *bādḥ-*, by v. NEGELEIN 57.

⁷ The only form occurring of the root *bhrī-* 'consume'.

⁸ The form *grñīṣē* also occurs in the RV. as a 1. sing. ind., 'I praise', being formed from an anomalous aorist stem *grñī-*.

⁹ According to WHITNEY 719, once *vrñīmāhe*, with reference doubtless to RV. v. 20³, where, however, *vrñīmāhe* 'gne is only the Sandhi accentuation for *vrñīmāhe* *agne* (see above 108 and p. 319, note 13).

3. *āsnate*¹, *gr̥bh̥nate*, *gr̥h̥nate* (AV.), *jānate*, *punāte* (AV.) and *punāte*, *badhnāte*, *rināte*, *vr̥nāte*.

Present Subjunctive.

477. In the 2. 3. sing., subjunctive forms are indistinguishable from the indicative present, if formed with primary endings, and from the injunctive, if formed with secondary endings, as the modal sign *a* is merged in the strong stem; thus *gr̥bh̥nāti* may be 3. sing. indicative or subjunctive; *gr̥bh̥nās* may be 2. sing. injunctive or subjunctive. In such forms therefore the sense or construction of the sentence can alone decide their value. These as well as unmistakable subjunctives are rare in this class.

Active. Sing. 2. *gr̥bh̥nās*, *junās*. — 3. *pr̥nāti* (x. 2⁴, cp. 25), *pr̥nāt* (AV.). — Pl. I. *junāma*, *mināma*.

Middle Du. I. *kr̥nāvahai* (TS. I. 8. 4¹). — Pl. I. *jānāmahai* (AV.).

Present Injunctive.

Active. Sing. I. *ḷṣinām*. — 2. *rinās* (AV. XX. 135¹²). — 3. *jānāt*², *minīt*³ (AV. VI. 110³). — Pl. 3. *minan*, *rinān* (VIII. 7²⁸), *ṣcamnan*.

Middle. Sing. 2. *hr̥n̥thās*. — 3. *gr̥n̥ta*, *gr̥bh̥n̥ta*, *vr̥n̥ta*. — Pl. I. *str̥n̥māhi*⁴.

Present Optative.

In the middle some forms of the optative cannot be distinguished from unaugmented forms of the imperfect, as the modal sign *-i* is merged in the suffix *-n̥t*. The forms actually occurring are very few, being found in the 2. 3. sing. only.

Active. 3. *āsnīyāt* (AV.), *gr̥h̥nīyāt* (AV.), *jīnīyāt* (AV.), *pr̥nīyāt*.

Middle. 2. *jānīthās* (Kh. IV. 5³⁰). — 3. *vr̥n̥ta* (TS. I. 1. 2¹ = *vur̥ta*, VS. IV. 8).

Present Imperative.

478. The regular ending of the 2. sing. act. is *-hi*, while *-dhi* never occurs. Three verbs take *-tāt* as well. One of these, *grah-*, and three others ending in a consonant, *as-*, *bandh-*, *stambh-*, take the peculiar ending *-ān̥d*.

Active. Sing. 2. *gr̥nāhi*⁵ (TS. IV. 4. 12⁵), *gr̥n̥hi*, *gr̥bh̥n̥hi* (AV.), *gr̥h̥n̥hi*⁵ (AV.), *jān̥hi*, *pun̥hi*⁶ (SV.), *pun̥hi*, *pr̥n̥hi* (AV.), *mr̥n̥hi*, *sr̥n̥hi*⁶ (SV.), *sr̥n̥hi*⁷, *str̥n̥hi*⁸ (AV.). — With *-tāt*: *gr̥h̥n̥tāt* (AV.), *jān̥tāt*⁹ (TS. AV.), *pun̥tāt*. — With *-āna*: *asāna*¹⁰, *gr̥h̥āna*¹⁰ (x. 103¹²), *badhāna* (AV.), *stabhānā* (AV.). — 3. *gr̥nātu*, *gr̥h̥nātu*, *jānātu* (AV.), *punātu*, *pr̥nātu* (AV.), *badhnātu* (AV.), *sr̥nātu* (AV.), *sinātu* (AV.).

Du. 2. *āsnītām*, *gr̥nītām* (TS. IV. 1. 8²), *gr̥h̥nītām* (AV.), *pr̥nītām*, *sr̥nītām*, *str̥nītām*. — 3. *gr̥nītām*, *punītām* (AV.).

¹ *gr̥nāti* (AV. IV. 21²), given by v. NEGELEIN as a finite form *gr̥nate* (unaccented), is the dat. sing. of the participle.

² This form is accented *jānāt* in the Khila (III. 21) after RV. x. 103 (AUFRECHT's R̥igveda 2, 682), but it is correct in the corresponding passage of the AV. (III. 26).

³ For *mināt*.

⁴ There seems to be no certain example of a 3. pl. AVERY 240 gives *gr̥bh̥nata*, but this form (IX. 14⁷) appears to have an imperf. sense; he adds *vr̥nata* with a query, but I cannot trace the form.

⁵ With strong base instead of *gr̥n̥hi*, *gr̥h̥n̥hi*.

⁶ With strong base and irregular accent.

⁷ Also the transfer form *sr̥na* (AV. XIX. 45¹).

⁸ WHITNEY 723 quotes *str̥n̥hi* from the TS. [VI. 3. 12].

⁹ v. NEGELEIN 57, line 6, seems to regard *jānāt* (AV. XIX. 15⁶), given as *jānāt* (unaccented), as an anomalous imperative; but it is the ablative of the past participle.

¹⁰ Both forms are omitted by AVERY 243; the latter is regarded by GRASSMANN as a participle.

Pl. 2. *grñtā*¹, *grbhñtā*, *jññtā*, *pññtā* and *pññtā*². *prññtā*, *mathññtā* (AV.), *mññtā* (AV.), *stññtā* (AV.). — With *-tana*: *pññtāna*, *prññtāna*, *srññtāna*. — 3. *āññantu* (AV.), *grññantu* (AV. TS.), *grbhññantu* (AV.), *jññantu* (AV.), *pññantu*, *mathññantu* (AV.), *badhññantu* (AV.), *srññantu*, *srññantu* (AV.), *sinñantu* (AV.).

Middle. Sing. 2. *grbhññsva* (Kh. IV. 5²⁶), *prññsva* (Kh. II. 8¹), *vrññsva*. — 3. *stñññām*, *hñññām*.

Pl. 2. *jññdhvām* (AV.), *vrññdhvām*. — 3. *jñññām*³, *vrñññām* (AV.).

Present Participle.

479. Active. *āññant-*, f. *-atī-* (AV.), *iññant-*, *uññant-*, *grññant-*, *grbhññant-*, *jññant-*, f. *-atī-*, *jññant-* (AV.), *pññant-*, f. *-atī-*, *prññant-*⁴, *prññant-*, *mathññant-*, *minñant-*, f. *-atī-*, *muññant-*, *mññant-*, *riññant-*, *srññant-*, *skabhññant-*, *stññant-*, f. *-atī-* (AV.).

Middle. *āññāna-*, *iññāna-*, *grññāna-*, *grbhññāna-* (AV.), *jññāna-*, *drññāna-*, *pññāna-*, *prññāna-*, *minñāna-*, *riññāna-*, *vrññāna-*, *srññāna-*, *srathññāna-* (AV.), *srññāna-*, *stññāna-*, *hññāna-*.

Imperfect Indicative.

480. Active. Sing. 1. *ajññām*, *āññām*. — 2. *ākññās*, *agrbhññās*, *apññās*, *āminñās*, *amuññās*, *aramññās*, *ariññās*, *astabhññās*; *ubhññās*, *riññās*, *srathññās*. — 3. *agrbhññāt*, *agrbhññāt* (AV.), *ajññāt* (AV.), *āpññāt*, *apññāt*, *āmathññāt*, *āminñāt*, *amuññāt*, *āramññāt*, *āriññāt*, *āsrññāt*, *āstabhññāt*, *āstññāt*; *āññāt* (AV.), *aubhññāt*; *jññāt*, *badhññāt* (AV.).

Du. 2. *āmuñññām*, *ariñññām*, *avñññām*. — Pl. 2. *drñññā*. — 3. *akñññan* (AV.), *agrbhñññan*, *agrbhñññan* (AV. TS.), *ajñññan*⁵, *apñññan*, *ābadhñññan*, *āsrathñññan*, *āstñññan*; *āñññan*⁶ (AV.), *āñññan* (X. 176¹), *riñññan* (X. 138¹).

Middle. Sing. 1. *āvñññi*. — 3. *ābadhñññā* (TS. I. I. 10²), *āvñññā*, *āsrñññā*. — Pl. 1. *āvñññmahi*. — 3. *agrbhñññata*⁷, *ājñññata* (TS. II. I. 11³); *grbhñññata*.

II. The Perfect System.

BENFEY, Vollständige Grammatik p. 372—381. — DELBRÜCK, Verbum 112—134. — AVERY, Verb-Inflection 249—253. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar p. 279—296; Roots 219—221. — v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 70—78.

481. Like the present system, the perfect has, besides an indicative, the subjunctive, optative and imperative moods, as well as participles and an augmented tense, the pluperfect. It is of very frequent occurrence, being taken by nearly 300 verbs in the Samhitās. It is formed in essentially the same way from all roots, its characteristic feature being reduplication.

1. The Reduplicative Syllable⁸.

482. The reduplicative vowel is as a rule short. It is, however, long in more than thirty verbs. These are *kan-* 'be pleased': *cā-kan*; *kṣp-* 'be adapted': *cā-kṣp-*; *gr-* 'wake': *jā-gr-*; *grdh-* 'be greedy': *jā-grdh-*; *trp-* 'be pleased': *tā-trp-*; *trṣ-* 'be thirsty': *tā-trṣ-*; *dhr-* 'hold': *dā-dhr-*; *nam-* 'bend': *nā-nam-*;

¹ Also the transfer form according to the ā-class, *grññāta* (AV. v. 279).

² With strong instead of weak base.

³ In Khila II. 10⁶ wrongly *jñññām*.

⁴ With fem. *prñññāt*, a transfer to the ā-class.

⁵ v. NEGELEIN 57 also gives the unaugmented form *jāññan* (RV. AV.), which I cannot trace

(the participle nom. sing. m. *jāññan* is common).

⁶ In *prāññan* (AV. XI. 332) the Pada text reads *prā-āññan*.

⁷ Also the transfer forms *aminñanta* and *grññanta* (VIII. 37).

⁸ On the reduplicative syllable see v. NEGELEIN 70; cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 846.

māh- 'be liberal': *mā-māh-*; *mṛj-* 'wipe': *mā-mṛj-*; *mṛś-* 'touch': *mā-mṛś-*; *radh-* 'be subject': *rā-radh-*; *ran-* 'rejoice': *rā-ran-*; *rabh-* 'grasp': *rā-rabh-*; *vañc-* 'be crooked': *vā-vak-*; *van-* 'win': *vā-van-*; *vas-* 'desire': *vā-vas-*; *vas-* 'clothe': *vā-vas-*; *vās-* 'roar': *vā-vas-*; *vṛj-* 'twist': *vā-vṛj-*; *vṛt-* 'turn': *vā-vṛt-*; *vṛdh-* 'grow': *vā-vṛdh-*; *vṛṣ-* 'rain': *vā-vṛṣ-*; *śad-* 'prevail': *śā-śad-*; *sah-* 'prevail': *sā-sah-*; *skambh-* 'prop': *cā-skambh-*; *dī-* 'shine': *dī-dī-*; *dht-* 'think': *dī-dht-*; *pī-* 'swell': *pī-pī-*; *hīd-* 'be hostile': *jī-hīd-* (AV.); *jū-* 'be swift': *jū-jū-*; *tu-* 'be strong': *tū-tu-*; *sū-* 'swell': *sū-sū-*.

a. The reduplication of *r* (= *ar*) and *l* (= *al*) is always *ā*²; e. g. *kṛ-* 'make': *cakṛ-*; *gṛdh-* 'be greedy': *jā-gṛdh-*; *kṛp-* 'be adapted': *cā-kṛp-*.

b. The reduplication of *ā*, *ī*, *ū* is made with *ā*, *ī*, *ū* respectively; e. g. *kḥād-* 'chew': *ca-kḥād-*; *bhī-* 'fear': *bībhī-*; *budh-* 'know': *bū-budh-*.

There are, however, certain exceptions to this rule.

1. Roots containing *ya* or *va* and liable to Samprasāraṇa in other forms (such as the past passive participle), reduplicate with *i* and *u* respectively³. Those with *ya* are: *tyaj-* 'forsake': *ti-tyaj-*; *yaj-* 'sacrifice': *i-yaj-*; *vyac-* 'extend': *vi-zyac-*; *syand-* 'move on': *si-syand-* (AV.). Similarly *cru-* 'stir': *ci-cru-*⁴ (beside *cu-cru-*), and *dṛut-* 'shine': *di-dṛut-*⁴. Those with *va-* are: *vac-* 'speak': *u-vac-*; *vad-* 'speak': *u-vad-*; *vap-* 'strew': *u-vap-*; *vah-* 'carry': *u-vah-*; *svap-* 'sleep': *su-svap-*. The three roots *yam-* 'reach', *van-* 'win', *vas-* 'wear', however, have the full reduplication: *ya-yam-*, *va-van-*, *vā-vas-*; and *vac-* 'speak' has it optionally: *va-vac-* beside *u-vac-*⁵. — a. The roots *bhū-* 'be', *sū-* 'generate', and *śī-* 'lie', reduplicate with *a*: *ba-bhū-*; *sa-sū-* (beside *su-sū-*, AV.); *śa-śī-* (in the participle *śa-śay-ānā-j-*)⁶.

c. In roots beginning with vowels, the reduplication coalesces with the initial of the root to a long vowel; e. g. *an-* 'breathe': *ān-*; *av-* 'favour': *āv-*; *aś-* 'eat': *ās-*; *as-* 'be': *ās-*; *ah-* 'say': *āh-*; *r-* 'go': *ār-* (= *a-ar-*); *āp-* 'obtain': *āp-*; *īd-* 'praise': *īd-*; *ir-* 'set in motion': *īr-*; *ūh-* 'consider': *ūh-*. But if the root begins with *i* or *u*, the reduplicative syllable is separated, in the sing. act., from the strong radical syllable by its own semivowel: *i-* 'go': 3. pl. *īy-ūr*, but 2. sing. *i-y-ē-tha*; *uc-* 'be pleased': 2. sing. mid. *ūc-i-śē*, but 3. sing. act. *u-v-ōc-a*⁷.

a. Five roots beginning with prosodically long *a*, reduplicate not with *a*, but with the syllable *ān-*. Only two of these, both containing a nasal, viz. *amś-* 'attain' and *anīj-* 'anoint', make several forms; the former, 3. sing. *ān-amś-a* and *ān-ās-a*, pl. 1. *ān-as-ma*, 2. *ān-as-ā*, 3. *ān-as-ūr*; mid. sing. 1. 3. *ān-as-ē*; subj. pl. 1. *ān-ās-ā-mahai*; opt. sing. 1. *ān-as-yām*⁸; the latter, *ān-anīja* (VS. VII. 29; TS. III. 3. 10²); mid. sing. 1. *ān-aj-ē*, pl. 3. *ān-aj-re*; subj. sing. 1. *ān-aj-ā*; opt. 3. sing. *ān-aj-yāt*. The root *ṛdh-* (reduced from *ardh-*) 'thrive', which has a nasalized present stem⁹, makes the forms *ān-ṛdh-ūr* (AV.) and *ān-ṛdh-e*. Through the influence of these nasalized verbs, their method of reduplication spread to two others which show no trace of a nasal anywhere. Thus from *arc-* 'praise' occur the forms *ān-ṛc-ūr* and *ān-ṛc-ē*; and from *arh-* 'deserve', *ān-ṛh-ūr* (TS.) beside *arh-ire* (RV¹). There are besides two isolated forms of doubtful meaning, probably formed from

¹ The quantitative form of the stem is governed by the law that it may not contain (except in the 1. sing. act.) two prosodically short vowels; the only exceptions in the weak stem being the two irregular forms *tātane*, 1. sing. mid., and *jajanūr*, 3. pl. act. Thus *sah-* reduplicates *sāsah-* and once *sas-āh-* (weak). Cp. BENFEY's articles 'Die Quantitätsverschiebungen in den Samhita- und Pada-Texten', GGA. 19 ff.

² In most of the forms from *a-* and *r-* roots, the Pada text has *a*.

³ These verbs originally had the full reduplication *ya-* and *va-* as is shown by the evidence of the Avesta, which has this only; cp. BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 3, 38 (§ 59).

⁴ Due to the vocalic pronunciation of the *y*: *cīy-* and *dīyut-*.

⁵ This root thus shows the transition from the full to the Samprasāraṇa reduplication.

⁶ Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 846.

⁷ These are the only two examples to be met with in the Samhitās of this form of reduplication.

⁸ Beside *āsatur*, *āsāthe*, etc., from *as-*, the unnasalized form of the same root. Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 1211⁴.

⁹ Thus *ṛnādhat*, *ṛndhyām*, *ṛndhānt*, according to the infixing nasal class.

nasalized roots: *ān-ṛj-ūr* (AV¹), from *ṛj-* 'attain' (with present stem *ṛñj-*)¹, and *an-āh-a*², 2. pl. act., perhaps from *amh-* 'compress'³.

This form of reduplication evidently arose from a radical nasal having originally been repeated along with the initial vowel, which is lengthened as in many other stems (*cā-kan*, etc.), while the root itself is shortened by dropping the nasal⁴. In the modal forms *ānāj-ā*, *ānāj-yāt*, *ān-ās-āmahai* the reduplicative vowel seems to have been shortened because *ān-* came to be regarded as containing an augment (like *ānāṭ*, aorist of *nas-* 'attain')⁵.

d. A few irregularities in regard to consonants also appear in the formation of the reduplicative stem. 1. The root *bhṛ-* 'bear' reduplicates with *j* (as if from *√hṛ-*), making the stem *ja-bhṛ-*, forms from which occur nearly thirty times in the RV., beside only two forms from the regular stem *ba-bhṛ-*. — 2. In forming their stem, the five roots *ci-* 'gather', *ci-* 'observe', *cit-* 'perceive', *ji-* 'conquer', *han-* 'smite', revert to the original guttural (as in other reduplicated forms) in the radical syllable: *ci-ki*, *ci-kit*, *ji-gi*, *ja-ghan*.

e. The root *vid-* 'know' loses its reduplication along with the perfect sense⁶. Thus *véd-a* 'I know'; *vid-vāms-* 'knowing'. Some half dozen other roots show isolated finite forms without reduplication; and four or five more have unreduplicated participial forms. Thus *takṣ-* 'fashion' makes *takṣ-athur* and *takṣ-ur*; *yam-* 'guide': *yam-ātur*; *skambh-* 'prop': *skambh-āthur*, *skambh-ur*⁷; *nind-* 'blame': *nind-ima*⁸; *arh-* 'be worthy': *arh-ir*; *cit-* 'perceive': *cit-atur* (AV. VS. SV.)⁹. Three unreduplicated participles are common: *dās-vāms-* and *dās-i-vāms-* (SV.) 'worshipping', beside the rare *dadās-vāms-*; *mīdh-vāms-* 'bountiful'; *sāh-vāms-* 'conquering', beside *sāsah-vāms-*. There also occurs once the unreduplicated *jāni-vāms-* (in the form *vi-jānīṣ-ah*) beside *jajñivāms-* 'knowing' (from *√jñā-*); and the isolated vocative *khid-vas* may be the equivalent of **cikhid-vas*, from *khid-* 'oppress'¹⁰.

2. The Root.

483. Like the present and imperfect, the perfect is strong in the sing. act. Here the root, as a rule, is strengthened, while it remains unchanged in the weak forms. But if it contains a medial *a* or a final *ā*, it remains unchanged in the strong forms (except that *a* is lengthened in the 3. sing.), while it is reduced in the weak.

In the strong stem, the radical vowel takes Guṇa, but in the 3. sing. a final vowel takes Vṛddhi instead of Guṇa¹¹. Thus *vi-* 'enter' makes *vivéd-*; *druh-* 'be hostile', *dudrūh-*; *kṛt-* 'cut', *cakṛt-*; but *bhī-* 'fear', 1. 2. *bībhé*, 3. *bībhāi*; *śru-* 'hear', 1. 2. *śuśrū-*, 3. *śuśrāu*; *kṛ-* 'make', 1. 2. *cakār-*, 3. *cakār*¹². In the weak stem, on the other hand, the root remains unchanged; thus *viviṣ-*, *dudruh-*, *cakṛt-*, *bībhī-*, *śuśru-*, *cakr-*.

a. Some irregularities occur in the treatment of the radical vowel. 1. The verb

¹ According to both the infixing nasal class, 3. pl. *ṛñjate*, and the *ā*-class, 3. sing. *ṛñjāti*.

² Probably for **ānaha*; cp. the weak stem *asāh-* beside *sāsah-*.

³ Cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum 145, and WHITNEY, Roots, under *amh* 'be narrow or distressing'.

⁴ Except in the form *ān-āmśa* (cp. *ἄνεγκται*) beside *ān-āśa* (= *ἀνέσκει*).

⁵ Cp. the Greek aor. inf. *ἐν-εγκ-ειν* and the perfect *ἐν-ἔνεγκται*.

⁶ Cp. BEZZENBERGER, GGA. 1879, p. 818; J. SCHMIDT, KZ. 25, 3; BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 848.

⁷ With the strong (nasalized) form of the

root beside *cakabh-ānā* (AV.), and *ninid-ūr*.

⁸ With strong radical syllable.

⁹ DELBRÜCK, Verbum 148, adds *dabhūr*, but this is rather aorist (beside perf. *debhūr*).

¹⁰ On the origin of this distinction between the 1. sing. and the 3. sing. cp. J. SCHMIDT, KZ. 25, 8ff. and STREITBERG, IF. 3, 383—386.

¹¹ This distinction is invariable in the RV., and the rule seems to be the same in the AV. WHITNEY 793 d mentions *cakāra* as an exception, but this form is 3. sing. in all the passages given in his AV. Index; and *jagrāha* (AV. III. 183) is evidently a corruption; see WHITNEY's note and cp. p. 356, note 9.

mij- 'wipe' takes *ṽddhi* instead of *Guna* throughout the strong stem: *mamārj-*¹. — 2. Two instances of the strong stem being used in weak forms occur in the RV.: pl. 1. *yuyojimā* and 3. *vīśvāsur*² beside the regular *vīśvāsur*. — 3. The radical vowel of *bhū-* remains unchanged in the strong as well as the weak forms, interposing *v* before vowels; thus sing. 2. *bābhū-tha*, pl. 3. *bābhū-v-ir*. — 4. The weak stem of *tī-* 'cross' appears in the RV. as *tītir-* and *tutur-*; thus sing. 3. *tatīr-a*, but pl. 3. *tītir-ur*, part. *tītir-vāṃs-*, opt. sing. 3. *tutur-yāt*³.

a. Roots containing medial *a* leave the radical syllable unchanged in sing. 1. 2., lengthening the vowel in sing. 3.; they reduce it in the weak stem by contraction, syncopation, or loss of nasal.

i. The roots with initial *ya-* and *va-*, which reduplicate with the vowels *i* and *u*⁴ respectively, take *Samprasāraṇa*, the result being contraction to *ī* and *ū*. Thus from *yaj-* 'sacrifice': strong stem *i-yāj-*, weak *īj-* (= *i-ij-*)⁵; *vac-* 'speak': *u-vāc-* and *ūc-* (= *u-uc-*); *vad-* 'speak': *u-vād-* and *ūd-*; *vap-* 'strew': *u-vap-* and *ūp-*; *vas-* 'dwell': *u-vās-* and *ūs-*; *vah-* 'carry': *u-vāh-* and *ūh-*. The root *vā-* 'weave' is similarly treated in the form pl. 3. *ū-v-ur* (= *u-u-v-ur*). *Samprasāraṇa* of the root also appears in the weak stem of *svap-* 'sleep' and of *grabh-* and *grah-* 'seize': *su-śvāp-* and *su-śup-*; *ja-grābh-*, *ja-grāh-* and *ja-grbh-*, *ja-grh-*. The roots *yam-*⁶, *van-*, *vas-* 'wear' have the full reduplication throughout; *yam-* taking *Samprasāraṇa* and contracting in the weak stem, *van-* syncopating its *a*, and *vas-* retaining it throughout: *ya-yam-* and *yem-* (= *ya-im*); *va-vān-* and *va-im-*; *vā-vas-* (both strong and weak).

2. More than a dozen roots containing *a* between single consonants and reduplicating their initial without change, contract the reduplication and root to a single syllable with medial *e*. The type followed by these verbs was doubtless furnished by *sad-* 'sit', which forms the weak stem *sed-* (= **sazd-*), beside the strong *sa-sād-*, and supported by *yam-*, with its weak stem *yem-* (= *ya-im*) beside the strong *yayam-*⁷. The other stems showing this contraction are formed from *tap-* 'heat', *dabh-* 'harm', *nam-* 'bend', *pac-* 'cook', *pat-* 'fall', *yat-* 'stretch', *yam-* 'guide', *rabh-* 'seize', *labh-* 'take', *sak-* 'be able', *śap-* 'curse', *sap-* 'serve'. The roots *tan-* 'stretch' and *sac-* 'follow' also belong to this class in the AV., but not in the RV. The root *bhāj-* 'divide' though not reduplicating with an identical consonant in its strong stem *ba-bhāj-*, follows the analogy of this group in forming the weak stem *bhej-*.

3. Four roots of this form, however, simply syncopate the radical *a* without contracting. These are *jan-* 'beget': *jajñ-*, strong *jājñ-*; *pan-* 'admire': *pāpn-*, strong *pāpan-*; *man-* 'think': *mamn-*⁸; *van-* 'win': *varn-*, strong *vāvan-*. Three others have this syncopated as well as the contracted form: *tan-* 'stretch': *tatn-* and *ten-* (AV.); *pat-* 'fall': *papt-* and *pet-*; *sac-* 'follow': *śasc-* and *sec-* (AV.). Syncopation of medial *a* also takes place in four roots with initial guttural: *khan-* 'dig': *cakhn-* (AV.), strong *cakhān-*; *gam-* 'go': *jagm-*, strong *jagám-*; *ghas-* 'eat': *jaks-*, strong *jaghás-*; *han-* 'smite': *jaghn-*, strong *jaghān-*.

4. In a few roots with medial *a* and a penultimate nasal, the latter is lost in the weak stem⁹. Thus *kṛand-* 'cry out': *cakrad-*; *tams-* 'shake': *tatas-*; *skambh-* 'prop': *caskabh-* (AV.), strong *cāskāmbh-*; *stambh-* 'prop':

¹ The same irregularity appears in the present stem.

² Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 1223¹.

³ Cp. v. NEGELEIN 74¹.

⁴ But they had the full reduplication in the Ilr. period; cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 1220³.

⁵ In the one form *yejé* (beside *ījé*), *yaj-* follows the analogy of *yam-*, preserving a trace of the old reduplication *ya-*.

⁶ The analogy of *yam-* is followed by *yaj-* in the one form *yejé* (beside *ījé*); cp. note 5.

⁷ See BARTHOLOMAE, Die ai. *ē*-Formen im schwachen Perfect, KZ. 27, 337—366; BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 1222; cp. v. NEGELEIN 71³.

⁸ The strong stem does not occur.

⁹ Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 1217⁴.

tastabh-, strong *tastimbh-*. Similarly, from *dambh-*, the nasalized form of *dabh-*¹ 'harm', is formed *dadabh-*, strong *dadāmbh-* (AV.); and from *rambh-*, the nasalized form of *rabh-*² 'seize', *rārabh-*. From *daps-* 'bite', only the participle *dadaśvāms-* occurs. The root *bandh-* 'bind', both loses its nasal and contracts, forming the weak stem *bedh-* (AV.) beside the strong *babūndh-* (AV.).

b. Roots with final *ā* retain that vowel in the strong stem, but in the weak reduce it to *i*³ before consonants and drop it before vowels. Thus *dhā-* 'put' employs *dadhā-* in the strong forms, *dadhi-* and *dadh-* in the weak.

3. Endings.

484. The endings in the indicative active are all peculiar (excepting the secondary *-va*⁴ and *-ma*), while in the middle they are identical (excepting the 3. sing. *-e* and 3. pl. *-re*)⁵ with the primary middle endings of the present. They are the following:

Active			Middle		
sing.	du.	pl.	sing.	du.	pl.
1. <i>-a</i>	[<i>-vā</i>]	<i>-mā</i>	1. <i>-ē</i>	[<i>-vāhu</i>]	<i>-māhe</i>
2. <i>-tha</i>	<i>-āthur</i> ⁶	<i>-i</i>	2. <i>-sé</i>	<i>-āthe</i>	<i>-dhvē</i>
3. <i>-a</i>	<i>-ātur</i> ⁶	<i>-īr</i> ⁷	3. <i>-ē</i>	<i>-āte</i>	<i>-rē</i>

Roots ending in *-ā* take the anomalous ending *-au*⁸ in the 1. and 3. sing. act.; e. g. *dhā-* 'put': *da-dhīu*. The only exception is the root *prā-* 'fill', which once forms the 3. sing. *pa-prā* (I. 69¹) beside the usual *pa-prāu*.

a. Consonant endings. These are, as a rule, added directly to the stem. No forms with *-vā* or *-vāhe* occur in the Sāmhitās; *-māhe* is always added direct, as is also *-dhvē* in the only form in which it occurs, *dadhi-dhvē*. The remaining consonant endings, *-tha*, *-ma*, *-se*, *-re*, are nearly always added direct to stems ending in vowels, but frequently with the connecting vowel *-i-* to stems ending in consonants.

1. Roots with final *ā* always add the endings directly to the stem, which reduces the radical vowel to *i*⁹ in the weak forms; e. g. *dadā-tha*; *dadhi-mā*, *dadhi-sē*, *dadhi-rē*¹⁰.

2. Roots with final *ī* and *ū* also always add these endings direct to the stem; e. g. *jī-* 'conquer': *jige-tha*; *nī-* 'lead': *ninē-tha*; *su-* 'press': *suśu-mā*; *cīu-* 'move': *cicyu-sē*; *hu-* 'sacrifice': *juhu-rē*; *hū-* 'call': *juhū-rē*. The only exception is *bhū-*, which (doubtless owing to the fondness of this verb for *-īv-*) forms *babhūv-i-tha* twice in the RV. beside the usual *babhū-tha*, and *babhūv-i-mā* once in the AV.

¹ From which is formed the weak stem *debh-*.

² From which is formed the weak stem *rebh-*.

³ See DELERÜCK, Verbum 147 (p. 120); BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 844 (p. 1206—8); cp. v. BRADKE, IF. 8, 123—137; 156—160; REICHEL, BB. 27, 94.

⁴ No perfect form with *-va* is, however, found in the Sāmhitās.

⁵ Both of these, however, occasionally appear in the present ind. mid.

⁶ The *a* is here probably not connecting vowel but identical with the *a* of the 2. pl.; *a-tur* getting its *r* from the 3. pl. *-īr*, and *-a-thur* being then formed like *-thas* beside *-tas*; cp. BRUGMANN, KG. p. 597.

⁷ That *r* (and not *s*) is here original is

shown by the evidence of the Avesta; cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 797 (p. 597).

⁸ This has not been satisfactorily explained; cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 1223³.

⁹ This *i* as the reduced form of *ā* (cp. *hi-tā* etc., from *dhā-*), occurring in such very common verbs as *dā-* 'give' and *dhā-* 'put', was probably the starting point for the use of *i* as a connecting vowel in other verbs; but cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 1208¹; cp. also IF. 8, 123—160.

¹⁰ The vowel is dropped before *-rē* in *dadh-re*, which occurs once beside the very common *dadhi-rē*. Similarly the stem of *dā-* 'give', is shortened before the ending *-rīre* in *dad-rīre*, which occurs once (with passive sense).

3. Roots with final *-r* add the endings *-tha*, *-ma*, and *-se* direct (excepting two or three forms), but *-re* always with connecting *-i-*; thus *kṛ-* 'do': *cakār-tha*, *caṣṛ-ma*, *caṣṛ-se*, but *caṣṛ-i-ré*. Connecting *-i-* before the other endings appears in *ār-i-tha*, *ār-i-má* (*r*- 'go'); and in *jabhri-i-se* (*bhṛ-* 'bear').

4. Roots with final consonant add *-tha*, *-ma*; *se*, *-re* direct if the last syllable of the stem is prosodically short, but with the connecting vowel *-i-* if that syllable is long¹. Thus *tatān-tha*; *jagan-ma*, *jaṣṛbh-má*, *yuyuj-ma*; *dadṛk-se*, *vivit-se*; *cāklp-ré*, *taṣa-ré*, *duduh-ré*, *paṣṛdh-ré*, *yuyuj-re*, *vivid-ré* and others; but *ās-i-tha*, *uvāc-i-tha*, *vivéd-i-tha*; *ūc-i-má*, *papt-i-má*, *sed-i-ma*; *tatn-i-se*; *ij-i-ré*, *jagm-i-re*, *tataṣ-i-ré*², *yet-i-ré*. The only exception is *vét-tha*, which as an old form inherited from the IE. period (Greek *οἶσ-θα*) without reduplication, remained unaffected by the influence of reduplicated forms.

a. Six roots ending in consonants add *-vire*³ instead of *-re*: *cikit-vire* (beside the more usual *cikit-ré*), *jaṣṛbh-vire* (once beside the usual *jaṣṛbh-ré*), *bubhuj-viré* (once), *vivid-vire* (once beside *vivid-ré*), *saṣṛj-vire* (once), and *duduh-vire* (once in the SV. for the common *duduh-ré* of the RV.)⁴.

b. Vowel endings. Before terminations beginning with vowels final radical vowels are variously treated. 1. *ī*, if preceded by one consonant, becomes *y*, if preceded by more than one, *iy*: e. g. from *bhī-* 'fear', *bibhy-atur*, *bibhy-ur*; but from *śrī-* 'resort', *śisṛiy-e*. — 2. Final *ū* ordinarily becomes *uv*; e. g. *ju-* 'join': *yuyuv-é*; *śru-* 'hear': *śuśruv-e*; *śū-* 'swell': *śūśuve*. But *ū* becomes *v* in *hū-* 'call', e. g. *ju-hv-é*; and *ūv* in *bhū-* 'be' and *sū-* 'bring forth', even in strong forms⁵; e. g. 3. sing. *ba-bhūv-a*, *saśūv-a*⁶. — 3. Final *-r* becomes *r*; e. g. from *kṛ-* 'make', *caṣṛ-á*, *caṣṛ-é*. But *-r* becomes *ir* in *tistir-ur* from *tī-* 'cross', and in 3. sing. *tistir-e*, part. *tistir-ān-d*, from *stī-* 'strew' (the only root with a *r* vowel preceded by two consonants that occurs in the perfect).

Perfect Indicative.

485. The forms actually occurring, if made from *kṛ-* 'make', would be the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *caṣṛa*⁷. 2. *caṣārtha*. 3. *caṣāra*. — Du. 2. *caṣaráthur*.

3. *caṣaritur*. — Pl. 1. *caṣṛmá*. 2. *caṣrá*. 3. *caṣrūr*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *caṣré*. 2. *caṣṛsé*. 3. *caṣré*. — Du. 2. *caṣaráthe*.

3. *caṣráte*. — Pl. 1. *caṣṛmáhe*. 2. *caṣṛdhvé*. 3. *caṣriré*⁸.

The forms which actually occur are the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *āsa*, *uvāpa* (TS. I. 5. 3²), *caṣara*, *ciketa* (*cit-* 'observe'), *jagama*, *jaṣṛábhā*, *jaṣṛáṣa* (AV. 9), *jaṣṛhása* (AV. VI. 117³)¹⁰, *jihīṣa*¹¹, *tatāpa*, *dudṛśha*, *pāpāna*, *bubhūva*, *bibhāya*, *mimaya* (mṛ- 'diminish'), *raraṣa*, *rirēbha*, *viveśa*, *véda*¹², *śisṛaya*, *śuśrāva*. The TS. (III. 5. 5¹) has the Vṛddhi form *vavāra* (*vy-* 'cover').

¹ This is in accordance with the rhythmic rule that the stem may not have two prosodically short vowels in successive syllables.

² The strength of this rhythmic rule is well illustrated by the same root *vac-* having the two collateral forms *varak-se* and *ūc-i-se*; cp. also the unique lengthening, in a weak form, of the radical *a* in *sa-sāh-i-se* (beside the usual *sāsa-*) and the Guna in *yuyop-i-má*.

³ The additional *r* may have come into use under the influence of forms from roots in *r*, like *dadhr-vire* from *√dhr-*.

⁴ The ending *-vire* is once also added to a root ending in a vowel: *dad-vire*, from *√dā-*.

⁵ Instead of the normal *āv*.

⁶ This is the only perfect form of *√sū-* occurring.

⁷ The 1. and 3. of *dhā-* 'put' would both be *dadhāu*; of *vid-* 'find', both *vivéda*.

⁸ The 3. pl. of *vid-* 'find' would be *vividré*.

⁹ AV. III. 18³ reads *jaṣṛáha*, but this must be emended to *jaṣṛáha*; see WHITNEY's note.

¹⁰ *jaṣṛhása* here is a misprint for *jaṣṛhása*; see WHITNEY's note on the passage.

¹¹ Also in AV. IV. 32⁵, but written *jihīṣa* in the Samhitā text, but *ji-* in Pada. See WHITNEY's note.

¹² Unreduplicated form.

2. *iyatha*¹ and *iyetha*, *cakārtha*, *jagāntha* (gam- 'go'), *jaghāntha*, *jabhārtha*, *jigetha* (ji- 'conquer'), *taṭāntha*, *dadāntha*, *dadhārtha* (dhṛ- 'hold'), *dadhāntha*, *ninītha*, *papātha* (pā- 'drink'), *paprātha*², *babhūtha*, *yayantha* (yam- 'guide'), *yayātha*, *vāvāntha*, *vavārtha* (vr- 'cover'), *viyāktha* (vyac- 'extend'), *vētiha*¹⁰, *sasātha* (sad- 'sit'). — With connecting -i-: *āpitha* (AV.), *āritha* (ṛ- 'go'), *āvitha* (av- 'favour'), *āsitha* (as- 'be'), *uvēciha* (uc- 'be pleased'), *cakartitha* (kṛt- 'cut'), *tatārditha* (trd- 'split'), *dudohitha*, *dudr̥ṣitha* (AV.), *babhūvitha*, *rurōjitha*, *rurodhitha*, *rurōhitha* (AV.), *vavākṣitha*, *vivēditha* (vid- 'find'), *viveṣitha*.

3. *āna*, *ānāṁsa* and *ānāsa* (amś- 'attain'); *āpa*, *āra* (ṛ- 'go'), *āva*, *āsa* (as- 'eat'), *āsa* (as- 'be' and as- 'throw'), *āha* (ah- 'say'), *iṅya* (i- 'go'), *uvāca* (vac- 'speak'), *uvāsa* (vas- 'shine'), *uvāha*, *uvōca* (uc- 'be pleased'), *cakarta* (kṛt- 'cut'), *cakārśa* (kṛś- 'be lean', AV.), *cakāra*, *cakrāma*, *cakhāda*, *cakhāna* (VS.v.23), *cacākṣa*, *cācarta* (cṛt- 'bind', AV.), *cacāra* (AV.), *cacchanda*, *caskānda*, *cāskāmbha*, *cikāya* (ci- 'gather'), *cikāya* (ci- 'observe'), *ciklta*³ (cit- 'perceive'), *jagāma*, *jagrāha*, *jaghāna*, *jaghāsa*, *jajāna*, *jajāra* (AV.), *jabhāra*⁴, *jigāya* (ji- 'conquer'), *jufōsa*, *juhāva* (hū- 'call'), *tatākṣa*, *tatāra*, *tatarha* (AV.), *tātāna*, *tatāpa*, *tatāra*, *tatsāra* (isar- 'approach stealthily'), *tastāmbha*, *tātāna* (RV¹), *tityāja*, *tutāva* (tu- 'be strong'), *tutāda*, *dadāmbha* (dambh- 'harm', AV.), *dadārśa*, *dadābha* (dabh- 'harm'), *dadāra* (dr- 'split'), *dadāsa* (dās- 'worship'), *dadharśa*, *dādihāra*, *didēva* (dīv- 'play', AV.), *didēsa* (AV.), *dīdyōta* (AV.), *dīdāya* (VS. XII. 34), *nanāsa* (naś- 'be lost'), *nanāha*⁵ (AV.), *nānāma*, *ninīya*, *papāca* (AV.), *papāta* (AV.), *papāda*, *paprāḥ*⁶, *pīpēsa*, *pīpeṣa*, *pīpāya*, *pūpōsa*, *pūbānda* (VS. AV.), *babarha* (brh- 'make strong', AV.), *babhānija*⁷ (bhānj- 'break'), *babhōja*, *babhūva*, *bibhāya*, *bibhēda*, *mamanda* (mand- 'exhilarate'), *mamārśa*, *mamātha* (math- 'shake', AV.), *mamāda* (mad- 'exhilarate'), *mamāra* (mr- 'die'), *mamārja* (mrj- 'wipe', AV.), 1. *mimāya* (mā- 'bellow'), 2. *mimāya* (mi- 'fix'), 3. *mimāya* (mī- 'damage'), *mīmāya* (mī- 'damage', AV.), *mimetha* (mith- 'alternate'), *mimnyākṣa*, *mumōda*, *yayāma*, *yuyōja* (AV.), *yuyōdha*, *yuyōpa*, *rarākṣa*, *rarāda*, *rarādha*, *rirāca*, *ruroca*, *rurōja*, *ruroha* (AV.), *vavākṣa*, *vavānda*, *vavārta*, *vavārdha*, *vavarha*, *vavāca*⁸ (vac- 'speak'), *vavāra* (vr- 'cover'), *vavārja*, *vavārta*, *vāvāna*, *vivāya* (vī- 'be eager'), *vivēda*, *vivēsa*, *vivēsa*, *vivyāca*, *vēda*¹⁰, *śasāka* (AV.), *śasāpa* (AV.), *śisrāya* (śri- 'resort'), *śusoca*, *śusrāva*, *sasarja*, *sasāda*, *sasāna*, *sasāra*, *sasūva*, *sāsāha*, *siṣedha*, *siṣāya*, *suśāva* (su- 'press'). — With the ending -au: *tasthāu*, *daddāu*, *dadhāu*, *papāu* (pā- 'drink'), *paprāu*, *yayāu*.

Du. 2. *ārathur*, *āvāthur*, *āsathur*, *iyathur*, *iṣāthur*, *ūpāthur* (√vap-), *ūhāthur* (√vah-), *cakrāthur*, *cakhyathur* (khyā- 'see'), *jagr̥bhāthur*, *jagmāthur*, *jigyathur* (ji- 'conquer'), *jijivāthur*⁹, *takṣathur*¹⁰, *tasthāthur*, *dadāthur*, *dadhathur*, *ninyathur*, *papāthur* (pā- 'drink'), *paprathur*, *pīpinvāthur*¹¹, *pīpyathur* (pī- 'swell'), *petathur* (√pat-), *babhūvāthur*, *mimikṣāthur*, *yayathur*, *yemāthur* (√yam-), *riricāthur*, *vidāthur*¹⁰, *vividāthur*, *vivyāthur* (vyā- or vī- 'envelope'), *sedāthur* (√sad-), *skambhāthur*¹⁰.

¹ The irregularity of this form, which occurs once in the RV. and once in the AV. beside the regular *iyētha* is hard to explain.

² In VI. 17ⁱ this form stands for the 2. sing. of *prath-* 'extend'; see NEISSER, BB. 30, 302.

³ Occurs twice in the RV. also with the irregular accent *ciketa*.

⁴ It is very doubtful whether *jahā* VIII. 4537 is 3. sing. perfect of *hā-* 'leave' (cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 124), like *paprā*. PISCHEL, Vedische Studien I, 163 f., thinks this word with the following *kō* should be read *jāhāko* 'abandoning'. ROTH thinks (pw.) *jahā* is an interjection.

⁵ Overlooked by WHITNEY, Roots, under *Vnah-*: AV. VI. 133¹.

⁶ The only occurrence of *ā* for *au* unless *jahā* is a verbal form.

⁷ Omitted by AVERY 250.

⁸ RV¹, beside the ordinary *vōca*.

⁹ From *jiv-* 'quicken', a secondary root starting from the present stem *ji-nu-* of *ji-* 'quicken'; see 469, a, 7.

¹⁰ Unreduplicated form.

¹¹ From *pinv-* 'fatten', which started from a present stem of the -nu class; see 469, a, 7.

Du. 3. *āpatur*, *āvatur*, *āsatur* (*as*- 'attain'), *āsatur*, *īyātur*, *ūhātur* (*√vāh*-), *cakratur*, *cikyatur* (*ci*- 'observe'), *cetatur*¹, *jagmatur*, *jajñātur* (*jan*- 'beget'), *jahatur* (*hā*- 'leave'), *tataksātur*, *tasthātur*, *dadatur*, *papratū* (*prā*- 'fill'), *peḍātur*, *babhūvātur*, *manātur* (*mā*- 'measure'), *mimikṣātur* (*miks*- 'mix'), *yamātur*², *yematur* (*√yam*-), *vavaksātur*, *vārydhatur*, *sasratur*³ (*√sr*-, AV.), *siṣicatur*, *sedātur* (*√sad*-).

Pl. 1. *ānaśma* (*amś*- 'attain'); *cakrmā*, *jaganma*, *jagrbbhmā*, *tasthi-mā* (*√sthā*-), *dadhi-mā*, *yuyujma*, *varabhmā*, *rari-mā* (*rā*- 'give'), *vavanmā*, *vidmā*⁴, *śuśruma* (AV.), *śuśuma*. — With connecting -i-: *arimā*, *āsimā* (*as*- 'be', AV.), *ūcimā* (*√vac*-), *ūdimā* (*√vad*-), *ūsimā* (*vas*- 'dwell', AV.), *cerimā* (*√car*-, AV.), *jaghnimā* (*√han*-, AV.), *jihimsimā* (AV. TS.), *dadāsimā*, *nindimā*⁵, *nīnimā*⁶ (TS. III. 2. 8³), *paptima*, *babhūvima* (AV.), *yuyojimā*⁷, *yemimā*, *vavandima*, *vidmā*⁸, *śekimā* (*√śak*-, AV.), *śaścima*, *śuśūdima* (*√śūd*-), *sedimā*⁹ (*√sad*-).

2. *anāha*⁹ (RV¹), *ānaśā* (*amś*- 'attain'); *āsā* (*vas*- 'shine'), *cakrā*, *jagmā*¹⁰ (AV. TS. VS.), *dadā*, *babhūvā*, *yayā*, *vidā*⁸, *śaśāsā*, *seka* (*√śak*-), *sedā* (*√sad*-).

3. *ānaśūr* (*amś*- 'attain'), *ārycūr* (*√arc*-), *ānrđhūr* (AV.), *ānrhūr* (TS. III. 2. 8¹); *āpūr*, *ārūr*, *āsūr* (*as*- 'attain'), *āsūr* (*as*- 'be'), *āhūr*, *īyūr*, *īsur* (*is*- 'send'), *ūcūr*, *ūdūr* (*und*- 'wet', AV.), *ūvūr* (*vā*- 'weave'), *ūśūr* (*vas*- 'shine'), *ūhūr* (*√vāh*-), *cakramūr*, *cakrūr*, *cakhūr* (*khan*-, AV.), *cākēpur* (AV.), *cikūr*, *cikyūr* (*ci*- 'perceive'), *cerūr* (*√car*-, AV.), *jagrbbhūr*, *jagrhhūr* (AV.), *jagmūr*, *jaghnūr* (*√han*-, AV.), *jajanūr*¹¹ and *jajñūr* (*jan*- 'beget'), *jabhūr* (*√bhr*-), *jahūr* (*hā*- 'leave'), *jaharur*¹² (*√hr*-, AV.), *jāgrdhūr*, *jīgūr* (*ji*- 'conquer'), *jugupūr*¹³, *jujusūr*, *jūjucūr* (*√jū*-), *taksūr*¹⁴, *tataksūr*, *tastabhūr*, *tasthūr*, *tātṛpur* (AV.), *tātṛśūr*, *titūr* (*√tṛ*-), *tuśtūr*, *dadāśūr*, *dadūr*, *dadhūr*, *dādṛṣūr* (AV.), *didyutur* (TS. II. 2. 12⁶), *duduhur*, *dudrucūr* (AV.), *debhur* (*dabh*- 'harm'), *nanaksūr*, *ninidūr*, *papur* (*pā*- 'drink'), *paptūr* (*pat*- 'fall'), *paprur* (*prā*- 'fill'), *pīpīsūr*, *pīpyūr* (*√pī*-), *babhūvūr*, *bibhidūr*, *bibhyur* (*bhī*- 'fear'), *bedhūr* (*bandh*-), *pīpīsūr*, *mamur* (*mā*- 'measure'), *mamrur* (*my*- 'die'), *māmyśūr*, *māmyśūr*, *mimikṣūr* (*√myakṣ*-), *mimūr* (*mi*- 'fix'), *yamur*¹⁵, *yayur*, *yuyudhūr*, *yemūr*, *rāradhūr* (*√rādḥ*-), *riripur*, *rurucūr*, *ruruhūr*, *vavaksūr*, *vāryjur*, *vaurur* (*vā*- 'cover'), *vāvasūr* (*vas*- 'desire'), *vārytūr*, *vārydhūr*, *vidūr*⁸, *vividūr*, *viviśūr* and (once) *viveśūr*¹⁵, *viviśūr*, *śaśāsūr*, *śaśramur*, *śāśadhūr*, *śāśucūr*, *śekūr* (*√śak*-), *śaścūr*, *sasrūr*, *sisyadhūr* (*√syand*-, AV.), *sisicūr*, *śuśupūr* (*√śvap*-), *śuśucūr* (VS. XX. 63), *susruvūr* (AV.), *sedūr* (*√sad*-), *sepūr*, *śkambhūr*¹⁴.

Middle. Sing. 1. *ījē*, *īdhe* (*īdh*- 'kindle'), *īṣē* (*īs*- 'move'), *ūhē* (*ūh*- 'consider'), *cakē* (*kā* = *kan*- 'be pleased'), *cakre*, *jigye* (*ji*- 'conquer'), *tatane*¹⁰, *tasthe*, *titṛṣe*, *dade*, *mame* (*mā*- 'measure'), *māmahe*, *rard* (*√rā*-), *śepē* (*√śap*-), *śaśce*.

¹ AV. III. 21²; SV. I. 2. 2. 1¹⁰, explained by BENFEY, SV. Glossary, as 3 du. perf. without reduplication. WHITNEY, note on AV. III. 21², thinks it is a corruption for *catatu*, but quotes WEBER as taking it for 3. du. perf. from *cat*- 'frighten into submission'.

² Unreduplicated form with present meaning (VI. 67¹).

³ *sīsratur* (RV¹) is an anomalous 3. du. pres. ind. of *sr*-, according to the reduplicating class with perfect ending instead of **sīsr-tās*.

⁴ The form *viviṣma* which AVERY gives with a query is probably an error for *viviṣmas* 1. pl. pres. (VI. 23⁵, 6).

⁵ Cp. IF. 3. 9f.; ZDMG. 48. 519.

⁶ The metre requires *nīnima* (see BR. under *nī*- 'lead').

⁷ With strong radical syllable.

⁸ Unreduplicated form.

⁹ This form (VI. 48⁵) may be 2. pl. from a root *amh*- for **ānaha*.

¹⁰ Cp. WHITNEY's note on AV. VI. 97⁴.

¹¹ This form without syncope occurs once in the RV., *jajñūr* twice.

¹² WHITNEY on AV. III. 9⁶ would emend this irregular form, the reading of all the Mss., to *jabhūr*.

¹³ This is the only finite form of this secondary root, and it occurs in a late hymn (VII. 1039); the past participle *gupīd*- also occurs twice in the tenth book. This *√gup*- was doubtless evolved from the denominative *gopā-yā*- 'act as a cowherd'.

¹⁴ Unreduplicated form occurring once.

¹⁵ With irregular strong vowel.

¹⁶ With unsynepated vowel occurring once; 3. sing. *latne*.

2. *cakṛṣṣé*, *cicyuṣṣé*, *tasthi-se* (AV.), *dadṛḥṣṣé* (*dṛs-* 'see'), *dadhi-sé*, *papṛṣṣe* *yuyukṣé* (V *yuj-*, AV.), *rari-se*, *ririkṣé* (V *ric-*). *vavakṣé* (V *vac-*). *vavṛṣṣé* (*vṛ-* 'choose'), *vivitṣe* (*vid-* 'find'). — With connecting *-i-*: *ūciṣé* (V *uc-* and V *vac-*), *ūpiṣe* (V *vap-*), *ūhiṣe* (V *vah-*), *jajñiṣé* (V *jan-*), *jabhṛiṣe*, *tatniṣe*, *bedhiṣe* (AV.), *śepiṣé* (V *śap-*, AV.), *sasāhiṣe*¹.

3. *ānāṣé* (V *añj-*), *ānaṣé* (V *aṃs-*), *ānṛce*, *ānṛdhe*; *āse* (*as-* 'throw'), *īṣé* (V *yaj-*), *īṣé* (V *idh-*), *īḍṣé* (V *idh-*), *īṣ-* 'move'), *ūce* (*uc-* 'be pleased'), *ūpe* (V *vap-*), *ūhṣé*² (*ūh-* 'consider'), *cakṣé* (V *kā-*), *cakṛadé* (V *kṛand-*), *cakramé*, *cakṛé*, *cakṣadé* (*kṣad-* 'divide'), *cākṣipé* (AV.), *cikité* (V *cit-*), *cukṣubhṣé* (*kṣubh-* 'quake', AV.), *cucyuvé*, *jagrṛhe*³, *jagmṣé* (V *gam-*), *jajñṣé* (V *jan-*), *jabhṛe* (V *bhṛ-*), *ṛiṣye* (V *ji-*), *jihūṣe* (V *hū-*), *juhṣé*, *juhṛé* (*hū-* 'call'), *tataḥṣé*, *tate* (V *tā-* 'stretch' = V *tan-*), *tatne* (V *tan-*), *tatre* (*trā-* 'protect'), *tasthe* (V *sthā-*), *titviṣé*, *tistṛṣé*⁴ (*stṛ-* 'strew'), *dādṛṣe*, *dadé*, *dadhanṛé*, *dadhṣé*, *dadhṛé* (*dhr-* 'hold'), *dadhṛase* (*dhrvaṃs-* 'scatter'), *duduḥe*, *dudhuṣe* (V *dhu-*, AV.), *nanakṣṣé*⁵, *nunudé*, *neme* (V *nam-*), *papṛḥṣṣé*⁶, *pape*² (*pā-* 'drink'), *pāpratṛhe* (RV¹) and *papṛathé* (RV². AV¹), *papre*⁷ (V *pṛā-*, AV.), *paspaṣṣé* (*spaṣ-* 'see'), *pīpiṣé*, *pīpiṣe*, *pīpīṣe*, *pīpye* (*pī-* 'swell'), *pece* (V *pac-*), *babādhṣé*, *babhṛe* (V *bhṛ-*), *bedhṣé* (V *bandh-*, AV.), *bheṣé* (*bhaj-* 'divide'), *mamé* (*mā-* 'measure'), *māmaḥe*, *māmṛjé*, *mimikṣṣé*⁸, *yuyujé*, *yuyuvé* (*yu-* 'join'), *yeṣé*⁹ (V *yaj-*), *yeme* (V *yam-*), *rarapṣé*, *rārābhe* (V *rambh-*), *riricé*, *rurucé*, *rebhṣé* (V *rabh-*, AV.), *vavakṣé* (V *vaks-*), *vavande*, *vavṛṣṣé* (V *van-*), *vavṛé* (*vṛ-* 'cover'), *vāvāṣe* (*vaṣ-* 'desire'), *vāvāṣe* (VIII. 4⁸, *vas-* 'clothe')¹⁰, *vāvṛje*, *vāvṛtṣé*, *vāvṛdhṣé*, *vidṣé* (*vid-* 'know'), *vividṣé* (*vid-* 'find'), *vivṛyṣé* (*vyā-* 'envelope'), *vīṛye* (*vī-* 'be eager'), *śasamé* (VS. XXXIII. 87), *śasṛatṛhe*, *śasṛé* (*śṛ-* 'crush'), *śiśṛiyṣé* (*śṛi-* 'resort'), *śiśṛuṣe*, *śiśṛuṣe* (*śi-* 'swell'), *śepṣé* (V *śap-*, AV.), *sasāḥé*¹¹ and *sasāḥe*¹², *sasṛjé*, *sasṛé* (*sṛ-* 'flow'), *sasvājé*, *sisice*, *sisyade* (V *syand-*, AV.), *suṣuvé* (*sū-* 'bring forth').

Du. 2. *āsāthe* (V *as-* 'attain'), *yāthe* (AV.), *ñhyāthe*¹³ (IV. 56⁶), *cakramāthe*, *cakṛāthe*, *cikéthe*¹⁴ (*ci-* 'note'), *dadāthe*, *dadhāthe*, *mamṇāthe* (V *man-*), *rarāthe* (*rā-* 'give'), *riricāthe*, *sasṛāthe* (V *sṛ-*).

3. *āśāte*¹⁵, *cakṛāte*, *dadhāte*, *pasṛdhāte*, *bhejāte* (*bhaj-* 'divide'), *mamāte* (*mā-* 'measure'), *mamṇāte* (*man-* 'think'), *yuyudhāte*, *yemāte* (V *yam-*), *rebhāte* (V *rabh-*, AV.), *vāvṛdhāte*¹⁶, *sasvājāte*.

Pl. 1. *bubhujmāhe*, *mumucmāhe*, *vavṛmāhe* (*vṛ-* 'choose'), *śasādmahe* (*śad-* 'prevail'), *sasṛjmāhe*. — 2. *dadhidhṛé*.

3. *ānājre* (V *añj-*); *cākṣṛé*, *cikitṛé* (V *cit-*), *jagrṛbhṛé*¹⁷, *jahi-re* (V *hā-*, AV.), *juhṛé*, *juhūrṣé*, *tatasṛé* (V *taṃs-*), *tasthi-re*, *dādṛṣṛé*, *dadhi-ré*, *dadhṛe*, *duduhṛé*, *nunudṛé*, *pasṛdhṛé*, *pīpiṣṛe*, *mami-ré* (*mā-* 'measure'), *mumucṛé*, *yuyujṛé*, *riricṛé*,

¹ With strong radical vowel: cp. p. 356, note 2.

² With passive sense.

³ Omitted by AVERY 250.

⁴ From *dhanv-* a transfer root from *dhan-* 'run'. Cp. WHITNEY, Roots 81.

⁵ From *nakṣ-* 'attain', a secondary form of *naṣ-* 'attain'; cp. WHITNEY, Roots 87.

⁶ IV. 437. This form (which is perhaps rather to be taken as I. sing.) may be formed from *prākṣ-*, a secondary form of *prach-* 'ask'; cp. BENFEY, O. u. O. 3, 256; DELBRÜCK p. 126⁷; WHITNEY, Roots, and BR. s. v. *prach-*.

⁷ *paprṣṣé*, given by AVERY 250 with a query, does not seem to occur in the RV.

⁸ From *mikṣ-*, a desiderative formation from *miṣ-*; cp. WHITNEY, Roots.

⁹ *yeṣe* occurs three times in the RV. (only with *ā-* and *pra-*), *īṣé* occurs twice as 3. sing., once as 1. sing.

¹⁰ WHITNEY, Roots, under *vas-* 'clothe'. This form is placed by BR. and GRASSMANN under a root *vas-* 'aim'.

¹¹ X. 104¹⁰ (AVERY *sāsāhe*), Pada text *sasāḥé*.

¹² VIII. 96¹⁵, (AVERY *sāsāhe*), Pada text *sasāhe* cp. RPr. 580, 582, 587, 589.

¹³ This seems to be an anomalous form for *ūhāthe* (*ūh-* 'consider'; cp. GRASSMANN).

¹⁴ Irregular form (RV¹) for **cikyāthe*.

¹⁵ Thus irregularly accented v. 66². This form, *āsāte*, also occurs five times unaccented.

¹⁶ The AV. has also the transfer form *vāvṛdhṛé*.

¹⁷ See notes on AV. XVIII. 34⁶ in WHITNEY'S Translation.

rurudhre, *vāvakre* (*vañc-* 'move crookedly')¹, *vāvasre*² (*vāś-* 'bellow'), *vivijre*, *vidre*³, *vividre*, *vivipre*, *viviṣre*, *śāśadrē*. — With connecting *-i-*: *arhire*³, *āṣire* (Kh. I. 11¹), *īṣirē* (√*yaj-*), *īdhirē* (√*idh-*), *īrirē*⁴, *īṣirē*⁵ (*iṣ-* 'send', AV.), *ūcirē* (√*vac-*, AV.), *ūhirē* (√*vah-*), *cakrirē*, *cacakṣirē* (VS. XL. 10 : Up.), *jāgmire*, *jajñirē* (√*jan-*), *jabhvirē* (√*bhṛ-*), *jihīṣirē* (√*hīṣ-*), *tataksirē*, *tatnirē* (√*tan-*), *tastrirē*⁶ (√*stṛ-*, AV.), *tenirē* (√*tan-*, VS. TS. AV.), *dadhanvirē*⁷, *dadhire* (Kh. I. 4³), *dadhrirē* (√*dhr-*), *pāpīre* (*pā-* 'drink'), *bedhire* (√*bandh-*, AV.), *bhejirē* (√*bhaj-*), *mimikṣire* (√*mikṣ-* 'mix', and √*myakṣ-*), *yetirē* (√*yat-*), *yemire* (√*yam-*), *rurucire* (Kh. I. 12¹), *rebhirē* (√*rabh-*), *lebhirē* (√*labh-*), *vavakṣire*, *vavandirē*, *vāvāṣire*, *śāścirē* (√*sac-*), *secire* (√*sac-*, AV.), *sedire* (√*sad-*). — With ending *-rīre*: *cikitrirē* (√*cit-*), *jagr̥bhrirē*, *dadrirē* (√*dā-*), *bubhujirē*, *vividrīre*, *śasṛjirē*.

Moods of the Perfect.

486. Modal forms of the perfect are of rare occurrence in the Samhitās except the RV. They are made from the perfect stem in the same way as from the present stem. It is, however, not always possible to distinguish modal forms of the perfect from those of other reduplicated stems (present reduplicating class, reduplicated aorist, and intensive) either in form (because the reduplication is in many instances the same) or in meaning (because the perfect is often used in a present sense).

Perfect Subjunctive.

487. The normal method of forming the stem is to add *-a*⁸ to the strong perfect stem, accented on the radical syllable. In the active the secondary endings are more usual; e. g. *tuṣṭāv-a-t*. If the primary endings are added in the active, the reduplicative syllable is in several forms⁹ accented, as *jijīṣ-a-si*¹⁰. In about a dozen forms, nearly all with secondary endings, the weak stem¹¹ is employed, but whether the reduplicative syllable was then accented is uncertain, because the examples that occur are unaccented. Middle forms, numbering not many more than a dozen, occur only in the 3. sing., with the ending *-te*, and in the 3. pl. with the ending *-anta*.

Active. Sing. 1. *anajā*¹². — **2.** *jijīṣasi*, *dādāyasi*, *pāpṛcāsi*¹³; *cakradas*, *cākānas*, *cikītas* (√*cit-*), *jijīṣas*, *tatanas*, *dadāṣas*, *dādāyas*, *pāpṛthas*, *pīpṛayas*, *bubodhas*, *mamādas*, *māmāhas*, *mumucas*¹⁴, *rārānas*, *sāsāhas*, *śiṣūdas*.

3. *ciketati* (√*cit-*), *jijīṣati*, *dādāṣati*, *dadhārṣati*, *dīdeṣati*¹⁵, *dādāyati*, *bībodhāti*, *mumocati*, *vavārtati*; *cākānat*, *cākīpat* (AV.), *ciketāt* (√*cit-*), *jaghānat*, *jaghārat*, *jugurat* (*gur-* = *gr-* 'greet'), *jijīṣat*, *jūjuvat*¹⁴, *tātānat*, *tuṣṭāvat*, *dādāṣat*, *dadhānat*, *dadhārṣat*, *pāpṛthāt*, *pāpārṣat*, *pīpṛāyat*, *mamādat* (AV.), *mamandat*, *dādāyat*, *mumucat*¹⁴, *mumurat* (*mur-* = *mṛ-* 'crush'), *mumōcat*, *rārānat*, *vavārtat* and *vavṛtat*¹⁴, *vāvanat* (TS. II. 4. 5¹), *vividat*¹⁴, *śuśravat*, *śūśuvāt*¹⁴, *sāsāhat*, *śuśūdat*.

¹ With reversion to the original guttural.

² With shortening of the radical vowel.

³ Without reduplication.

⁴ In RV. regularly *erire*, Pp. *ā-irire* (but in I. 6⁴ for *erirē* the accentuation should be *ērīre* = *ā-irire*). The AV. has once *saṃ-īrīrē* (XIV. 146).

⁵ *īṣire* with irregular accent is probably to be regarded as a present (450, 2).

⁶ IF. 8, Anzeiger 13.

⁷ From the secondary root *dhanu-* = *dhan-* 'run'.

⁸ Two subjunctive forms with double modal sign *-ā-* occur: *pāpṛcāsi* and *vavṛdhāti*.

⁹ Cp. the accentuation of the reduplicating class.

¹⁰ Except the forms *dādāyasi*, *dādāyati*, *dadhārṣati* and *vavārtati*.

¹¹ The two roots *muc-* and *dhr̥ṣ-* make subjunctive forms from both the strong and weak stem.

¹² RV. v. 54¹: this form (Pp. *anaja*) is regarded by DELBRÜCK 126^b and AVERY 251 as a 2. pl. ind.

¹³ With double modal sign *-ā-*.

¹⁴ With weak radical syllable.

¹⁵ Always *ā-dīdeṣati* in relative clauses.

Du. 2. *ciketathas*, *jijōsathas*; *ninīthas*¹ (I. 181¹).

Pl. 1. *cākdānāma*, *tatānāma*, *śūśāvāma*. — 2. *jijōsatha*, *bubudhatha*. — 3. *jūjūṣan*², *jijōṣan*, *tatānan*, *pāprāthan*, *mamādan*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *śaśvacāi*³ (*√śvañc*-). — 3. *jijōṣate*⁴, *tatīpatē*, *dadharṣate*⁵, *yuyōjate*, *vāvrdhate*⁶, *śaśāmate* (*śam*- 'labour'). — Pl. 1. *anāśāmahai*.

Perfect Injunctive.

488. There are a few singular active and 3. pl. middle forms which must be classed as injunctives, being identical in form with the corresponding un-augmented persons of the pluperfect. These are: Sing. 2. *śaśās* (= **śaśās-s*). — 3. *dūdhot* (*dhū*- 'shake'), *śiṣet*⁵ (*śi*- 'bind'); *sasvār* (= **sasvar-i*, from *svar*- 'sound'); with connecting *-i*: *dadharṣīt*.

Pl. 3. *cākramanta*, *cākdānanta*, *tatānanta*, *dadabhanta*, *pāprathanta*, *māmahanta*, *rurucanta*², *vāvrdhānta*², *vivyacanta*.

Perfect Optative.

489. This mood is formed by adding the accented optative modal suffix combined with the endings (416a) to the weak perfect stem. The active forms are the commonest, occurring more than twice as often as those of the middle.

a. There are a few irregularities in the formation of this mood. 1. The radical vowels of *pā*- 'drink', *śru*- 'hear', and *kṛ*- 'make', being treated as before the *-ya* of the passive (444), the stems of these roots appear before the optative suffix as *pāpṛ*, *śuśrū*, and *cakri*-. — 2. The vowel of the reduplicative syllable *ān*- is shortened (as if it contained the augment) in *ānāyāt* (*√āñj*-). — 3. A connecting *-i* is interposed in *jaks-i-yāt*, while the radical *i* is combined with the ending in *śiśrūta*. — 4. A transfer according to the analogy of the *a*- conjugation is *ririṣes*; possibly also *śiṣet*⁶.

Active. Sing. 1. *ānāśyām*; *jagamyām*, *pāpṛcyām*, *riricyām*, *vavṛtyām*.

2. *cakriyās*¹, *juguryās* (*gur* = *gr*- 'greet'), *pupūsyās*, *pupūryās* (*pur* = *pr*-, 'fill'), *babhūyās*, *rurucyās*, *vavṛtyās*, *viviśyās*, *śuśrūyās*⁸.

3. *anāyāt*; *cacchadyāt*, *jaksīyāt*⁹ (*ghas*- 'eat'), *jagamyāt*, *jagāyāt* (*gā*- 'go'), *jagṛbhyāt*, *juguryāt*, *tutuyāt*, *tuturyāt* (*√tur* = *tṛ*-), *ninīyāt*¹⁰, *papatyāt* (AV.), *pāpīyāt*¹¹ (*pā*- 'drink'), *pāpṛcyāt*, *babhūyāt*, *mamadyāt*, *riricyāt*, *vavṛtyāt*, *sasadyāt* (AV.), *sasṛjyāt*, *sāsahyāt*.

Du. 2. *jagamyātam*, *śuśrūyātam*.

Pl. 1. *tuturyāma*, *vavṛtyāma*, *śuśuyāma*, *sāsahyāma*.

3. *jagamyur*, *tatanyur*, *dadhanyur*, *mamṛdyur*, *vavṛjyūr*, *vavṛtyur*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *vavṛtiya*. — 2. *cakṣamithās*, *vāvrdhithās*. — 3. *jagrasīta*, *dudhuvīta*, *māmṛjīta*, *vavṛtīta*, *śiśrītā* (*śri*- 'resort'), *śuśucīta*.

Pl. 1. *vavṛtimahi*.

There also occurs in the middle one precativ form: Sing. 2. *sāsah-i-s-ṭhās*.

Perfect Imperative.

490. The regular perfect imperative is formed like the present imperative of the reduplicating class, the 3. sing. active being strong. Hardly more

¹ Abnormal form without modal sign or strong radical vowel; cp. HIRT, IF. 12, 220.

² With weak radical syllable.

³ This form occurs only once (III. 33¹⁰) beside the *s*-aor. *namṣai*, and may therefore be an irregular redupl. aorist, to which it is doubtfully assigned by WHITNEY 863 a.

⁴ SV. *jūjōṣate*.

⁵ This form, however, might be a transfer present optative from *sā*- (the collateral form

of the root *śi*-) according to the reduplicating class; or a reduplicated aorist injunctive (GRASSMANN and WHITNEY 868 a).

⁶ See note 5 on this form.

⁷ Cp. v. NEGELEIN 66.

⁸ With lengthened radical vowel.

⁹ With interposed *-i*.

¹⁰ Cp. HIRT, IF. 12, 220.

¹¹ With change of the final radical vowel *ā* to *i*.

than twenty regular forms occur, nearly all of them being active. There are also some irregular imperatives, being transfer forms which follow the analogy of the *a*- conjugation, made from either the strong or the weak perfect stem.

Active. Sing. 2. *cākandhi*, *cikiddhi* (√*cit*-), *dididdhi*¹ (√*dis*-), *pīprihi*, *mumugdhi* (√*mu*-), *śaśādhi* (√*śās*- 'order'), *śuśugdhi* (√*śuc*-).

3. *cākantu*, *dīdeṣṭu*², *babhūtu*², *mamāntu*, *mumoktu*, *rārantu*.

Du. 2. *jajastām*³ (jas- 'be exhausted'), *mumuktam*, *vavṛktam*.

Pl. 2. *jujusṭana*, *didisṭana* (√*dis*-), *vavṛttana*⁴.

Middle. Sing. 2. *dadhiṣvā*, *mimikṣvā*⁵, *vavṛtsvā*⁶.

Pl. 2. *dadhidhvam*, *vavṛddhvam*⁷ (VIII. 20¹⁸). — 3. With the unique ending -*rām*: *dadyṣrām* (AV.¹)⁸ 'let be seen'.

a. The transfer forms are:

Active. Du. 2. *jujṣatam*, *mumṣatam*. — **Pl. 2.** *mumṣata*⁹, *rarāṇātā*¹⁰ (I. 17¹¹).

Middle. Sing. 2. *pīprīyasva*, *māmahasva*, *vāvṛdhasva*, *vāvṛṣasva*. — **Pl. 3.** *māmahantām*.

Perfect Participle.

WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 802—807. — DELBRÜCK, Verbum 229. — LINDNER 84 and 216.

491. There is an active and a middle participle, and both occur frequently. Both are formed from the weak stem of the perfect, being accented on the suffix. The strong form is made by adding the suffix -*vāms* to the unstrengthened perfect stem; e. g. *cakṛ-vāms*-, *jaghan-vāms*-. If the stem is reduced to a monosyllable, the suffix is nearly always added with the connecting vowel -i-¹¹, as *papt-i-vāms*- from *pat*- 'fall'. Unreduplicated stems, however, do not take the connecting vowel¹², as *vidi-vāms*-. The weak stem of the active participle is identical in form with the 3. pl. ind. act. if written with -*us* instead of -*ur*; e. g. *cakruṣ*-. The middle participle is formed by adding the suffix -*ṇā* to the weak perfect stem; thus from *cakṛ*- is made *cakṛ-ṇā*-.

Active.

492. *cakṛvāms*-¹³, *cakṛvāms*-¹⁴, *cikivāms*- (f. *cikit* 'ist'), *jaganvāms*- (f. *jagmīṣṭ*-), *jagṛbhvāms*-, *jagmivāms*- (TS. IV. 2. 1¹ for RV. x. 1¹ *jaganvāms*-), *jaghanvāms*- (f. *ā-jaghuṣṭ*-), *jānivāms*-¹⁵, *jigṛvāms*- (*ji*- 'conquer'), *jujurvāms*-

¹ WHITNEY, Roots 73, doubtfully assigns this and the cognate forms *dīdeṣati*, *didisṭa* to the reduplicating present class.

² With *ū* unchanged, as elsewhere in strong forms.

³ Beside ind. *jajāsa* (AV.). WHITNEY, Roots 53, assigns this form to the reduplicated aor. beside 3. sing. *ajjāsata* (SB.).

⁴ Given by AVERY 268 as a reduplicated aorist in the form of *vavṛtana* (sic).

⁵ For **mimikṣvā*. WHITNEY, Roots 120, assigns this form to the reduplicating present class.

⁶ WHITNEY, Roots 164, assigns this form to the reduplicating present class.

⁷ Written *vavṛddhvam*.

⁸ Cp. WHITNEY's note on AV. XII. 333.

⁹ Perhaps also *śuśūḍāta* (AV. I. 26⁴) placed by WHITNEY, Roots 188, under the perfect, but, Sanskrit Grammar 871, doubtfully under the reduplicated aorist.

¹⁰ Owing to the strong radical vowel this should perhaps be regarded rather as a 2. pl. subjunctive. (The final vowel is long in the Pada text also.) The accent of these transfer forms was perhaps, except when the radical syllable was strong, normally on the thematic -*a*-. Cp. WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 815.

¹¹ Not, however, in *dadivāms*-, nor in the problematic form *cakṛvāmsam* (II. 14¹), which seems to be formed from a root *kṛh*-.

¹² Except *vīvivāms*- (AV.).

¹³ With the weak stem in the acc. sing. *cakṛṣam* (X. 137¹).

¹⁴ Without connecting vowel.

¹⁵ Only the weak stem of this participle occurs in the form *vī-jānīṣ-ah*; cp. above 482 e.

(*jur* = *ji-* 'waste away'), *jujuṣvāms-*, *jūjuvāms-*, *tatanvāms-*, *tastabhvāms-*, *tasthi-vāms-* (f. *tasthīṣṭ-*), *titirvāms-*¹, *tuṣṭuvāms-* (√*stu-*), *dadasvāms-* (*dams-* 'bite'), *dadasvāms-*, *dadāsvāms-*² (AV.), *dadīṣṭ-*, *dadivāms-* (AV.), *dadyvāms-* (f. *dadrīṣṭ-*³, AV., *dy-* 'pierce'), *dadrīsvāms-* (f. *dadrīṣṭ-*), *dadvāms-* (*dā-* 'give'), *dadhanvāms-*, *dadrīsvāms-*, *didivāms-*, *pāpivāms-* (*pā-* 'drink'), *pāpyvāms-* (f. *pāprīṣṭ-*; *pr-* 'fill'), *pīpivāms-* (f. *pīpyīṣṭ-*; *pī-* 'swell'), *pupusvāms-*, *babhūvāms-* (f. *babhūvīṣṭ-*), *bibhīvāms-* (f. *bibhīṣṭ-*), *mamandīṣṭ-*, *manrvāms-* (f. *manrīṣṭ-*; *m-* 'die'), *yayī-vāms-* (√*yā-*), *rari-vāms-* (f. *rariṣṭ-*, AV.), *ririvāms-*⁴ (√*ric-*), *ririhvāms-*, *rukuvāms-*⁵ (√*ruc-*), *vāvanvāms-*, *vavarīṣṭ-*⁶, *vavrvāms-*⁶ (*vr-* 'cover'), *vavrvāms-*, *vāvrđhvāms-*⁷, *vivikvāms-*⁸ (*vic-* 'sift'), *vividvāms-*, *vividhvāms-* (√*yadh-*), *śuśukvāms-*⁹ (√*śuc-*), *śuśruvāms-*, *śūśuvāms-*, *sasavāms-*⁸, *sasrvāms-* (f. *sasrīṣṭ-*), *sāśahvāms-*, *śuśupvāms-* (√*śrap-*), *śuśucvāms-*, *sedīṣ-* (*śad-* 'sit').

a. With connecting *-i-*: *ārivāms-* presupposed by f. *ārīṣṭ-* (*r-* 'go'), *zyivāms-* (f. *zyīṣṭ-*), *āśivāms-* (*vas-* 'dwell'), *āśīṣṭ-* (TS. IV. 3. 115: *vas-* 'shine'), *ākivāms-*⁹ (weak stem *ūc-* 'is', √*uc-*), *jāksivāms-* (*ghas-* 'eat', VS. AV. TS.), *jajīvāms-*¹⁰ (√*jñā-*), *pāpivāms-*, *vīśivāms-* (TS. IV. 7. 151). Also the negative compound *ā-sāśivāms-* presupposed by the feminine *ā-sāśiṣṭ-*.

b. Without reduplication: *dāsvāms-*, *vidvāms-* (f. *vidīṣṭ-*), *sāhvāms-*; perhaps also *khidvāms-* in the voc. *khidvas*. Similarly formed is *mīdhvāms-* (f. *mīdhīṣṭ-*) 'bountiful', though the root is not found in independent use. With irregular connecting *-i-*: *dāśivāms-* (SV.), *vīśivāms-* (AV.), and the negative compound *ā-varjivāms-* presupposed by the f. *ā-varjīṣṭ-* (AV.).

Middle.

493. *ākṣāṇā-* (√*āks-*), *ānājāṇā-* (√*añj-*), *ānasāṇā-* (√*amṣ-*, AV.), *ārāṇā-*, *āpāṇā-*, *tjāṇā-* (√*yaj-*), *ūcāṇā-* (√*vac-*), *cakamāṇā-*¹¹ (AV.), *cakāṇā-* (√*kā-*), *cakramāṇā-*, *cakrāṇā-*, *caṣṣadāṇā-*, *caṣṣabhāṇā-* (AV.), *cikīṭāṇā-* (√*cit-*), *jagrasāṇā-*, *jagmāṇā-*, *jajīṇāṇā-* (√*jan-*), *jāhṛsāṇā-*, *jihīṭāṇā-*, *jujuṣāṇā-*, *jukurāṇā-*¹² (√*hur-*), *jūjuvāṇā-*, *tatṛdāṇā-*, *tastabhāṇā-*, *tasthāṇā-*, *tātṛpāṇā-*, *tātṛsāṇā-*, *tītvāṇā-*, *tīstīrāṇā-* (√*stī-*), *tuṣṭuvāṇā-*, *tātuvāṇā-*¹³, *tepāṇā-* (√*tap-*), *dadāṇā-*, *dadrāṇā-*, *dadrāṇā-* (*drā-* 'run'), *dādrhāṇā-*, *didyutāṇā-*, *duduhāṇā-*, *pāpāṇā-* (*pā-* 'drink'), *pāprathāṇā-*, *pāspasāṇā-*, *pāspṛdhāṇā-*, *pīpriyāṇā-*, *pīpyāṇā-*, *babṛhāṇā-*, *babhrāṇā-*, *bubudhāṇā-*, *bhejāṇā-*, *māmāhāṇā-*, *mumucāṇā-* (AV.), *yuyujāṇā-*, *yemāṇā-* (√*yam-*), *rārāṇā-*, *rārakṣāṇā-*, *rārāhāṇā-* (*raṁh-* 'hasten'), *rīricāṇā-*, *rukucāṇā-*, *rebhāṇā-* (AV.), *lebhāṇā-* (√*labh-*), 1. *vāvasāṇā-* (*vas-* 'desire'), 2. *vāvasāṇā-* (*vās-* 'bellow'), 1. *vāvasāṇā-* (*vas-* 'wear'), 2. *vāvasāṇā-* (*vas-* 'dwell'), 3. *vāvasāṇā-* (*vas-* 'aim'), *vāvrđhvāṇā-*, *vārīṣāṇā-*, *vīnyāṇā-* (√*vyā-*), *śaśamāṇā-*¹⁴, *śaśayāṇā-*¹⁴ (*ś-* 'lie'), *śaśāṇā-* (*śā-* 'sharpen', AV.), *śaśramāṇā-*,

¹ There also occurs the weak stem *tatarīṣ-*, from √*tṛ-*.

² With strong stem instead of weak.

³ Given under *drā-* 'run' in the AV. Index Verborum, but translated by WHITNEY, AV. v. 133, as from *dy-* 'pierce'.

⁴ With reversion to the original guttural.

⁵ With strong radical vowel.

⁶ The anomalous gen. sing. with an additional reduplicative syllable, *va-vavriṣ-as* appears once (I. 1735); cp. ZDMG. 22, 605.

⁷ There occurs once (IV. 217) the anomalous participle with pres. suffix *vavṛdhāntas* (GRASSMANN, Aorist).

⁸ From *san-* 'gain'. The metre seems almost invariably to require this participle

to be read *sasanvāms-* (cp. the f. *sasanīṣṭ-* in B.); see ARNOLD, Vedic metre p. 1442.

⁹ With strong radical vowel and reversion to the original guttural.

¹⁰ The *i* may here perhaps more correctly be regarded as a reduced form of the basic vowel, as in *dadi-*, *tasthi-* etc.

¹¹ The *a* is not syncopated in *kam-* or *śam-*.

¹² Doubtfully assigned by WHITNEY, Roots, to the reduplicating class.

¹³ More frequently with the intensive accent *tātuvāṇā-*.

¹⁴ With the double irregularity of strong radical syllable and reduplication with *a*.

*śāsādāna*¹ (*śad* 'prevail'), *śīśriyānā* (*śri* 'resort'), *śūsucānā*, *śūsujānā*², *śīśuvānā*³, *śasrjānā*, *śasrānā*⁴, *śasvajānā*, *śāsahānā*⁵, *śiṣmiyānā*, *śiṣvidānā*, *śuṣupānā* (*√svap*), *śuṣvānā* (*su* 'press'), *śehānā* (*√sah*)⁵.

Pluperfect.

BENFEY, Vollständige Grammatik p. 353. — Abhandlungen der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen 15, p. 151—154. — DELBRÜCK, Verbum 419. — AVERY, Verb-Inflection 253. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 817—820.

494. This tense, which is a pluperfect in form but not in meaning, is an augmented preterite made from the perfect stem. As in the perfect, the strong stem is used in the singular active, the weak elsewhere. The endings are the secondary ones; in the 3. pl. *-ur* always appears in the active and *-iran* in the middle. There is some difficulty in distinguishing this tense from the imperfect of the reduplicating class and from the reduplicating aorist⁶. Though its sense is the same as that of the imperfect, its forms may usually be distinguished (when the reduplication would be identical in both tenses) by the fact that the verb in question is not otherwise conjugated according to the reduplicating present class. On the other hand, the sense helps to distinguish the pluperfect from the aorist, when the reduplication would be identical in both tenses. With the aid of these criteria some sixty forms may be classed as belonging to the pluperfect. The augment is, as in other past tenses, dropped in several instances. The *-s* and *-t* of the 2. 3. sing. are in some forms preserved by an interposed *-ī-* (as in the aorist). Several transfer forms according to the *a*-conjugation are met with in this tense.

495. Active. Sing. 1. *acacakṣam*, *ajagrabham*, *atuṣṭavam*; *āpiprayam*⁷ (TS. v. 1. 113; VS. XXIX. 7); *cakaram*, *ciketam* (*√cit*), *jagrabham* (AV.).

2. *ājagan*⁸; *āyēs*⁹ (v. 2⁸); *cākān*, *nanāmas*. — With *-ī-*: *ābubhojīs*, *āviveṣīs*, *āviveṣīs*; *jīhīṣīs*¹⁰ (AV.).

3. *ājagan*¹¹, *aciket* (*√cit*); *rārān*¹². — With *-ī-*: *acucyavīt*¹³, *ājagrabhīt*, *arirecit*, *āvāvacit*, *āvāvarīt*¹⁴. — With thematic *-a*: *acakrat*, *acikitat* and *acikētat* (*√cit*), *adadhāvat*¹⁵ 'ran', *asūśravat*¹⁶ (MS.), *āsasvajat*; *cakradat*, *jagrabhat* (VS. XXXII. 2), *tastāmbhat* (I. 1213).

Du. 2. *ātataṁsatam*¹⁷, *amumuktam*; *mumuktam*. — 3. *avāvaṣṭām* (*vaś* 'desire').

Pl. 2. *ājaganta*; *ājagantana*, *ajabhartana*¹⁸. — With *-ī-*: *acucyavītana*¹³.

3. *acucyavur*, *āśīśrayur*, *asūśravur*¹⁹, *ābībhayur* (Kh. I. 75).

Middle. Sing. 1. *āsūśravi*. — 3. *didiṣṭa* (*√diś*).

Du. 2. *āpasprdhethām*²¹.

¹ With the intensive accent.

² With the intensive accent and regarded by WHITNEY, Roots 174, and by LINDNER, Nominalbildung p. 54, as an intensive.

³ With the intensive accent and assigned by LINDNER, l. c., to the intensive, but by WHITNEY, Roots 175, to the perfect.

⁴ Once also anomalously with *-māna*: *śasrāmānā*.

⁵ *śāsahānā* once in RV., *śehānā* thrice, from *√sah*.

⁶ On such doubtful forms see specially DELBRÜCK, Verbum 158 (p. 135 f.).

⁷ WHITNEY 866 also quotes *āpiprayan* from the TS.

⁸ For **ā-jagam-s*.

⁹ BENFEY (p. 152) and DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 123 and 128, regard this form as a plu-

perfect of *i*- 'go' (= *ā-iy-e-s*), WHITNEY, Roots, as pluperfect of *iṣ*- or *eṣ*- 'move' (= *ā-iy-eṣ*), ROTH and GRASSMANN as aorist of *√iṣ*.

¹⁰ With irregular accent.

¹¹ For **ā-jagam-t*.

¹² From *ran*- 'rejoice' (I. 12212).

¹³ Cp. WHITNEY 868 a.

¹⁴ From *vṣ*- 'cover'; cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 122⁴.

¹⁵ WHITNEY regards this form as an aorist, but the reduplicative vowel is that of the pluperfect, while the sense (IX. 877) does not seem decisive.

¹⁶ WHITNEY 866.

¹⁷ Transfer form.

¹⁸ With strong radical vowel.

¹⁹ These three are, however, classed by WHITNEY 861, and Roots, as aorists.

Pl. 3. *ācakṛīran, ajagmīran, āpecīran* (√*pac*, AV.); *avavytrān; dsasygram*¹. — **Transfer forms** according to the *a*- conjugation: *ātitrīṣanta, ādadṛhanta, ādadṛṃhanta* (TS. IV. 6. 2⁴), *dvāvaśanta* (vās- 'bellow'); *cakṛpānta, dādṛṣanta* (AV.), *vāvaśanta* (vās- 'bellow'). — **With ending -ranta:** *avavytranta*.

Periphrastic Perfect.

496. This formation made with the reduplicated perfect of *kr-* 'make' which governs the acc. of a fem. substantive in *-ā* derived from a secondary (causative) verbal stem, is found only once in the Mantra portion of the Vedas: *gamayāṃ cakāra* (AV. XVIII. 2²⁷) 'he caused to go' (lit. 'he made a causing to go'). In the Brāhmaṇa portions of the Samhitās (TS. MS. K.), such periphrastic forms (made even with an aorist) are occasionally met with.²

III. The Aorist System.

497. The aorist is of frequent occurrence in the Vedas, being made from about 450 roots. An augmented tense taking the secondary endings and forming moods and participles, it is distinguished from the imperfect by lack of a corresponding present³ (e. g. 3. sing. aor. *ā-kar*, 3. sing. imp. *ā-kṛnoḥ*, 3. sing. pres. *kṛnōti*) and by difference of meaning (*ākar* 'he has done', *ākṛnoḥ* 'he did').

There are three distinct types of aorist.

1. The **simple aorist** adds the endings to the root either directly or with the connecting vowel *-a-*. It thus resembles the imperfect of the root-class or of the accented *ā-* class. This type of aorist is formed by nearly 170 roots. Some nine or ten roots have, beside the regular forms of the simple aorist, a certain number of other forms which have the appearance of indicatives present. They seem to represent a transition to the formation of a new present stem. The most striking example is the aorist stem *voca-* from which the 3. sing. *vocati* occurs several times.

2. The **reduplicated aorist** resembles the imperfect of the reduplicating present class. It is, however, distinguishable from the latter not only in meaning, but by a certain peculiarity of reduplication and by being nearly always formed with a connecting *-a-*. This type of aorist is taken by about 85 roots.

3. The **sigmatic aorist** inserts *-s-*, with or without an added *-a-*, between the root and the endings. It is taken by rather more than 200 roots.

Thus each of the three types has one form following the analogy of the graded conjugation, and another following that of the *a-* conjugation. The sigmatic aorist has, however, further subdivisions.

Upwards of 50 roots take more than one form of the aorist. One verb, *budh-* 'wake', has even forms from five varieties of the aorist; from two of the first type, e. g. *ā-bodh-i* and *budhā-nta*; from one of the second, e. g. *a-būbudh-a-t*; and from two of the third, e. g. *ā-bhut-s-i* and *būdh-i-s-a-t*.

¹ With reversion to the original guttural.

² See WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 1073 a, b; JACOBI, KZ. 35, 578—587; BÖHTLINGK, ZDMG. 52, article 11; DELBRÜCK, Altindische Syntax 426^f.; LUDWIG, Sitzungsber. d. kgl. Böhm. Ges. d. W., phil.-hist. Kl. Nr. XIII.

³ There are, however, sometimes sporadic forms from the same stem as the aorist beside the normal ones; thus the 2. du. pres. *kṛ-thās* occurs besides the numerous regular forms of the *nu-* class.

1. Simple Aorist.

A. Root Aorist.

BENFEY, Vollständige Grammatik 840. — AVERY, Verb-Inflection 253–256. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar, 299–304: Roots 222 f.; AV. Index Verborum 380.

498. This form of the simple aorist is taken by about 100 roots (and by more than 80 of these in the RV.), the commonest being those with medial *a* (nearly 30 in number). It is inflected in both the active and the middle voice. The root is strong in the indicative active singular, but weak elsewhere. Roots ending in vowels, however, show a tendency to retain the strong vowel throughout the indicative active except the 3. plural.

a. Roots ending in *ā*, of which there are some eight, retain the *ā* throughout the indicative active except the 3. pl., where they drop it before the ending which in these verbs is invariably *-ur*. In the middle indicative, the radical vowel is weakened to *i*¹.

The forms which occur from these roots, if made from *sthā-* 'stand', would be the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *āsthām*. 2. *āsthās*. 3. *āsthāt*. — Du. 2. *āsthātam*. 3. *āsthātām*. — Pl. 1. *āsthāma*. 2. *āsthāta*. 3. *āsthur*.

Middle. Sing. 2. *āsthithās*. 3. *āsthita*. — Pl. 1. *āsthimahi*. 3. *āsthiran*.

b. Roots ending in *r*, of which there are some ten, take *Guṇa* throughout the indicative active except the 3. pl. Roots ending in *ṛ* and *ṝ* (of which, however, few dual and plural forms occur) show the same tendency. The root *bhū-* 'be' retains its *ū* throughout (as in the perfect), interposing *v* between it and a following *a*. The forms met with from *kṛ-* 'make' are the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *ākaram*. 2. *ākar*. 3. *ākar*. — Du. 2. *kartam* (AV.). 3. *ākartām*. — Pl. 1. *ākarma*. 2. *ākarta*. 3. *ākran*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *akri*. 2. *ākṛthās*. 3. *ākṛta*. — Pl. 3. *ākrata*.

The forms which actually occur are the following:

Indicative Active.

499. Sing. 1. *ākaram*, *āgamam*², *agām* (*gā-* 'go'), *āgrabham*, *adhām*, *āpām*³ (*pā-* 'drink'), *abhūvam*⁴, *abhedam*, *arodham* (*rudh-* 'hinder'), *āśravam*, *asthām* (AV.); *karam*, *gamam*, *gām* (AV.), *dām*⁵, *dhām* (AV.), *vam*⁶ (*vṛ-* 'cover').

2. *agās*, *adās*⁷, *āpās*, *aprās*, *ābhās*, *āsres*, *āsthās*; *gās*, *dās*, *dhās*, *bhās*, *sthās*. — With loss of ending: *akar*, *ākran* (*√kṛand-*), *āgan*⁸, *dghas*, *avar* (*vṛ-* 'cover'), *aspar*; *ānat*⁹, *āvar* (*vṛ-* 'cover'); *kar*, *kran*¹⁰ (*√kram-*), *bhet* (*√bhid-*), *vār*, *vārkh*¹¹.

3. *āgat*, *acet*¹² (*ci-* 'collect'), *ādāt*¹², *ādāt* (*dhā-* 'put'), *adhāt* (*dhā-* 'suck', AV.), *āpāt*, *aprāt* (AV.), *ābhāt*, *āsret* (*√śri-*), *āsrot*, *āsthāt*,

¹ As in the perfect before consonant endings and in the past passive participle, e. g. *ta-sthi-ṣe* (AV.), and *sthi-tā-* from *sthū-* 'stand'.

² This might also be the sing. 1. of the thematic aorist *āgama-t* etc.

³ No forms of *pā-* 'protect' are made according to this aorist, while *pā-* 'drink' (present stem *piba-*) has no forms from the root in the present system except *pānti* (RV.) and *pāthās* (AV.), but perhaps even these are rather to be taken as meant for aorist forms; cp. p. 369, note ¹ and p. 368, note ¹⁰.

⁴ With the usual absence of *Guṇa* in this root; later *abhūvam*.

⁵ There is also the transfer form *ādam*

(1. 126²), which though not analyzed in the Pada text, appears to stand for *ā-adam* as indicated by both sense and accent.

⁶ For *varam* formed by false analogy as a first person to 2. sing. *vah* (for **var-s*) appearing as if formed with the *-s* of 2. sing.

⁷ There is also the transfer form *ādas* (1. 121⁸), which though not analyzed in the Pada text, is shown by both sense and accent to stand for *ā-adas*.

⁸ For **ā-gam-s*.

⁹ For **ā-naś-s* from *naś-* 'attain', where **ānak* would have been phonetic (54, 6).

¹⁰ For **kram-s*.

¹¹ For **varj-s* from *√vṛj-*.

¹² There is also the transfer form *ādat*

*asrat*¹ (VS. VIII. 28); *gāt*, *dāt*, *dhāt*², *bhūt*, *sthīt*. — With loss of ending: *ākar*, *ākran*³ (√*kram*-), *ākrān* (√*krand*-), *agan*, *aghas*, *ācet* (cit- 'observe'), *atan*, *adar* (dṛ- 'pierce'), *abhet*, *ābhṛāt* (√*bhrāj*-), *amok* (√*muc*-, AV.), *āmyak* (√*nyaks*-), *āvarit*⁴, *avṛk*⁵ (AV.), *āstar*; *ānaṭ*, *āvar*; *kar*, *gan*, *naṭ* (√*nas*- 'attain', AV.), *bhēt*, *vār*, *vark*, *skan* (√*skand*-).

Du. 2. *agātām* (AV.), *ābhūtām*, *amuktām* (Kh. I. 12⁶); *kartām* (AV.), *gātām* (AV.), *dātām*, *dhātām*, *spartām*.

3. *ākartām*, *agātām* (AV.), *ādhātām* (VS. XX. 57), *ānaṣtām* ('reach'), *āpātām* (VS. XXXVIII. 13), *ābhūtām*; *gātām* (AV.), *dātām*.

Pl. I. *ākarma*, *āganma*, *āgāma*, *ādarśma* (TS. III. 2. 5⁴), *ādāma*⁶, *āpāma*, *ābhūma*⁷, *āsthāma* (AV.), *āhema* (√*hi*-); *dhīma*, *bhūma* (AV.).

2. *ākartā*, *agātā* (AV.), *ābhūtā*; *ābhūtana*, *āhetana*; *kartā* (AV.) and *krta*⁸ (AV.), *gātā* (AV.), *sthātā* (AV.).

3. *ākran* (√*kṛ*-), *āksan*⁹ (√*ghas*-), *āgman*, *ābhūvan*, *avṛjan*, *avṛtan*¹⁰ (AV.), *avran*, *āśriyan* (√*śri*-), *āśṛavan* (AV.), *āśṛitan*, *āhyan* (√*hi*-), *āsthan*¹¹ (AV.); *kran* (AV.), *kṣan* (√*ghas*-), *gman*, *vran*. — With ending -ur: *ākramur*, *āgur*, *ādur*, *ādhur*, *apur* (I. 164⁷), *āyamur*, *āsthur*; *gur*, *dabhūr*, *dūr*, *dhur*, *ṇtur*¹², *mandur*, *sthur*.

Indicative Middle.

500. Sing. I. *akri*, *ajani*, *ayuji*, *avri* (vṛ- 'choose'), *āhvi* (√*hū*-, AV.).

2. *ākrthās*, *agathās* (VS. III. 19), *adhithās*, *āyukthās*, *āsthithās*.

3. *ākṛta*, *āgata* (AV.), *ādiṣṭa*, *adhita*, *apṛkta* (√*pṛ*-), *āmata* (√*man*-), *amṛta* (AV.), *āyukta*, *āvṛkta* (√*vṛj*-), *avṛta* ('choose' and 'cover'), *āśṛṣṭa*, *askṛta* (X. 127³), *āsthita*, *āspaṣṭa* (√*spas*-), *āṣṭa* (śi- 'sharpen'); *āyukta*; *āṛta* (r- 'go'), *āṣṭa* (as- 'attain'); *āṛta* (r- 'go'), *krta*, *gūrta* (gur- 'greet'), *gḍha*¹³, *mṛta* (AV.).

Du. I. *gānvahi*. — 3. *ādhātām*¹⁴ (√*dhā*-).

Pl. I. *āganmahi*, *adimahi* (TS. I. 8. 6²) and *ādīmahi*¹⁴ (VS. III. 58)¹⁵, *adhīmahi*¹⁴ (√*dhā*-), *apadmahi* (VS. IV. 29), *āmanmahi*, *ayujmahi*, *āhūmahi*; *dhīmahi*¹⁴ (√*dhā*-).

2. *ācidhvam* (ci- 'note'), *āmugdhvam* (√*muc*-), *ayugdhvam*.

3. *akrata*¹⁶, *āgmata*, *atnata*; *ārata*, *āṣata* (as- 'attain'); *yujata*. — With the ending -ran: *ākṛpran*¹⁷, *agrbbhran*, *ajūśran*, *ādṛśran*, *āpadran*, *ābudhran*, *āyujran*, *avasran*¹⁸ (vas- 'shine'), *āviśran*, *avṛtran*, *āśṛgran*¹⁹, *āsthiran*, *āspṛdhran*. — With ending -ram: *ādṛśram*, *ābudhram*, *āśṛgram*¹⁹.

(I. 127⁶, II. 124, V. 32³) which, though not analyzed in the Pada text, appears to stand for *ā-adat*.

¹ For **asras-t*: see Sandhi p. 61³.

² Also the transfer form (*prāti*) *dhat* (IV. 27⁵).

³ For **akram-t*.

⁴ For **āvar-t* from *vṛt*- 'turn'.

⁵ Seemingly with anomalously weak root for **avṛk-t*. But the form really stands by haplology for the 3. sing. mid. *avṛkta*: *āpavṛk tāmah* (AV. XIII. 29) 'he has wasted away the darkness': see WACKERNAGEL, KZ. 40, 544—547.

⁶ That is, in *ādāma* (V. 30¹⁵), which though not analyzed in the Pada text, must stand for *ā-adāma*.

⁷ *arudhma* is quoted in WHITNEY'S Roots as occurring in the MS. [I. 6⁵: 94, 6].

⁸ Emendation for *krām* (AV. XIX. 44¹).

⁹ For *āgh(a)san*.

¹⁰ Misprinted as *acṛtan* in the text of AV. III. 31¹: see WHITNEY'S note.

¹¹ Transfer form probably for *asthur* from *sthā*- 'stand'; see AJP. 12, 439; IF. 5, 388; KZ. 22, 435; WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 847, and his note on AV. XIII. 15.

¹² This form might be regarded as an augmented perfect.

¹³ For *gh(a)-ta*, from *√ghas*-; cp. p. 56, 3.

¹⁴ With *i* for *i*; cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 896; V. NEGELEIN 6¹; OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 63, 297.

¹⁵ From *dā*- 'share'.

¹⁶ There is also the transfer form *krānta* (I. 141⁵).

¹⁷ Cp. BLOOMFIELD, Johns Hopkins University Circular, Dec. 1906, p. 10.

¹⁸ Cp. p. 327, note 7.

¹⁹ With reversion to the original guttural.

Passive Indicative of the Root Aorist.

DELBRÜCK, Verbum 181⁴. — AVERY, Verb-Inflection 275. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 842—845; Roots 240. — v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 4. — Cp. OSTHOFF, IF. 3, 390; HIRT, IF. 17, 64 f.

501. There is a peculiar middle form, made from about 45 roots in the Samhitās (40 of them occurring in the RV.), which is used with a predominantly passive meaning¹. When it is formed from verbs with a neuter signification, like *gam-* 'go', the sense remains unaltered (as in the past passive participle). It is a 3. sing. indicative, in which the augmented root takes the ending *-i*. This *-i*, otherwise the ending of the 1. sing. middle, appears to be used in the regular 3. sing. perfect middle (e. g. *dadhe*, 1. and 3. sing.), and sometimes in the 3. sing. present middle (e. g. *śāye*, 1. and 3. sing.). The characteristic feature of this passive form is the strengthening of the root as compared with other middle forms, e. g. *ākāri* beside *akri* (1. sing. mid.)².

a. A prosodically short medial *i*, *u* or *r* takes **Guṇa**, while *a* is normally lengthened; a final *i*, *u* or *r* takes **Vṛddhi**, while final *ā* interposes a *y* before the ending. The accent in unaugmented forms is always on the root. The forms actually occurring are: Sing. 3. *ākāri*, *agāmi*, *āceti*, *āchedi*, *ājani*³, *ājñāyi*, *ātāpi*, *ādarśi*, *ādhyāi*, *āpādi* (AV.), *āpāyi* ('drink'), *āprāyi* (AV. VS.), *ābodhi*, *ābhīrāji*, *amāyi* ('measure'), *āmōdi*, *āmyaksi*, *āyāmi*, *āyāvi*⁴ (VS. xxviii. 15), *āyoji*, *ārādhi*, *aroci*, *avahi* (Kh. v. 15⁵), *avāci*, *āvāri* ('cover'), *avedi* ('find'), *āsoci*, *āsrāyi* (Vśri-), *asarji*, *asādi*, *āsāvi* (Vsu-), *astāri*, *astāvi*, *dhāvi*; *ceti*, *jāni*, *jāni*, *tāri*, *darśi*, *dāyi* ('give'), *dāyi* ('bind'), *dhāyi*, *pādi*, *vēdi* ('find'), *sādi*⁵. — Used injunctively: *ghōsi*, *ceti*, *chedi*, *tāri*, *dhāyi*, *bhāri*, *bhēdi* (VS. xi. 64), *mūci* (AV.), *yoji*, *reci*, *roci*, *vandī*, *varhi*, *vāci*, *saṃsi*, *śāri*, *śeji* (śis- 'leave', AV.), *śrāvi*, *sarji*, *sādi*, *hāyi* (hā- 'leave', AV.); also the unique form *jārayāyi* 'let him be embraced', from the secondary stem *jāra-ya-* 'play the lover'.

Root Aorist Subjunctive.

502. Active. Sing. 1. *kārāni*, *gamāni*, *gāni*, *bhuvāni*. — 2. *kāraṣi*; *kāras*, *gamas*, *gās*⁶, *tārdas*, *dās*, *dhās*, *pārcas*, *pās* (iv. 20⁴ 'drink'), *prās*, *bhūvas*⁷, *yamas*, *vāras* ('choose'), *śāsas*, *sthās*.

3. *karati*, *jōsati*, *darśati* (AV.), *dāti*, *dhāti*, *padāti*⁸, *bhēdati*, *rādhati*, *varjati*, *sthāti*; *kārat*, *gāmat*, *garat* (gr- 'swallow', AV.), *gāt*, *jōsat*, *dāt*, *dhāt*, *padāt*⁸ (AV.), *māthāt*⁹ (AV. vii. 50⁵), *yamat*, *yodhāt*, *rādhat*, *vārat* ('choose'), *vārtat*, *śrāvāt*, *sāghat*, *sāt*, *sthāt*, *spārat*. — Without **Guṇa**: *ṛdhat*, *bhūvat*, *śrūvat* (RV¹).

Du. 2. *karathas*, *gamathas*, *darśathas*, *pāthās*¹⁰ (AV. vii. 29¹), *bhūthās*¹¹, *śravathas*. — 3. *karatas*, *gamatas*, *bhūtas*¹¹, *śravatas*, *sthātas*.

¹ In one or two passages this form seems to have a transitive meaning; cp. WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 845 (end).

² Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 1054, 3.

³ This augmented form always occurs in the RV. with short radical vowel, beside the unaugmented *jāni* as well as *jāni*.

⁴ From *yu-* 'separate'.

⁵ The form *svāni* (vi. 46¹⁴) may be the 3. sing. passive aorist (BR. and doubtfully WHITNEY, Roots 201), but GRASSMANN, s. v. *svāni*, regards it as a neut. substantive in *-i*. Cp. NEISSER, BB. 30, 305 ff.

⁶ The 2. 3. sing. with secondary endings

from roots ending in *ā* cannot be distinguished from injunctives.

⁷ Formed without **Guṇa** as in the ind. aor. and perfect.

⁸ With double modal sign *-ā*.

⁹ This form has a subjunctive sense ('might shake'); it might otherwise be an injunctive of the *a-* aorist.

¹⁰ Assigned by WHITNEY, Roots, to the present of the root class.

¹¹ Both *bhūthās* (vi. 67⁵) and *bhūtas* (x. 27⁷) seem to be meant for subjunctives formed anomalously without mood sign, instead of **bhūvathas* and **bhūvatas*.

Pl. 1. *kārāma*, *gamāma*, *gāma*, *dhāma*, *rādhamā*. — 3. *karanti*, *gāmantī*, *pāntī*¹ (II. 11¹⁴); *kāran*, *gāman*, *garan*, *dārśan*, *bhūvan*, *yaman*.

Middle. Sing. 2. *kārase*, *jośase* (AV.). — 3. *idhatē*² (RV¹), *kārate*, *bhājate*, *yojate*, *vārjate*, *stārate*. — Du. 2. *dhātē*³, *dhaithe*. — Pl. 1. *kārāmahe*, *gāmāmahe*, *dhāmahe*, *manāmahe* (VS. IV. 11), *stārāmahe*. — 3. *yavanta* (yu- 'separate').

Root Aorist Injunctive.

503. Active. Sing. 1. *karam* (AV.), *gām*, *dhām* (VS. I. 20), *bhuvam*, *bhojam*, *yojam*, *sthām*.

2. *jes*, *bhūs*, *bhēs* (√*bhū-*, VS. I. 23 etc.; TS. IV. 5. 10¹). — With loss of ending: *kar* (TS. I. 3. 7²), *dhak* (dagh- 'reach'), *bhet* (√*bhid-*), *rok* (√*ruj-*, VS.), *var* ('cover'), *vark* (√*vṛj-*), *star*, *spar*.

3. *bhūt*, *śret*, *ut-thāt* (√*sthā-*, Kh. II. 11³). — With loss of ending: *gan* (VS. XXVII. 31; TS. V. 6. 1⁴), *dhak* (√*dagh-*), *nak* and *naṭ* (naś- 'attain'), *vār*, *vark*, *skān* (√*skand-*), *stan*⁴.

Pl. 1. *gāma*, *chedma*⁵, *daghma*, *bhūma*, *bhema*⁵, *hōma*⁵ (hū- 'call'). — 3. *bhūvan*, *vrān*. — With ending -ur: *kramur*, *gur*, *dabhūr*, *dur*, *dhūr*, *sthur*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *nāṃsi* (naṃś- = naś- 'attain'). — 2. *dhṛthās* (AV.), *nūthās*, *bhitthās* (VS. XI. 68), *mṛthās* (mṛ- 'die'), *mṛśthās* (√*mṛś-*), *rikthās* (√*ric-*), *vikthās* (√*vij-*, VS. I. 23). — 3. *arta* (√*r-*), *aṣṭa* (aś- 'attain'), *vikta* (TS. IV. 3. 11⁴), *vikta* (√*vij-*), *vṛta* (vṛ- 'choose'). — Pl. 1. *dhīmahi*⁶ (√*dhī-*). — 3. *aśata* (SA. XII. 19).

Root Aorist Optative.

504. Active. Sing. 1. *aśyām* (aś- 'attain'), *ṛdhyām* (AV.), *deyām*⁷, *dheyām*⁷, *vṛjyām*, *sākyām*. — 2. *avyās*, *aśyās*, *ṛdhyās*, *gamyās*, *jñeyās*, *bhūyās*, *mṛdhyās*, *sāhyās*. — 3. *bhūyāt*⁸ (AV.).

Du. 1. *yuyjāva*. — 3. *yuyjātām*.

Pl. 1. *aśyāma*, *ṛdhyāma*, *kriyāma*, *bhūyāma*, *vṛjyāma*, *sākyāma*⁹, *stheyāma*⁷. — 3. *aśyur* (aś- 'attain'), *dheyur*, *sāhyur*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *aśiya*, *murīya* (mṛ- 'die', AV.). — 3. *arīta* (√*r-*) *uhīta*¹⁰ (√*vah-*), *vrīta* (vṛ- 'choose'). — Du. 2. *ṛdhātē*.

Pl. 1. *aśīmahi*, *idhīmahi*, *ṛdhīmahi*, *naśīmahi* ('reach'), *naśīmahi*, *prcīmahi*, *mudīmahi*, *yamīmahi*, *stīmahi*¹¹ (sā- 'bind').

a. Precative forms of the root aorist are common in the active, being made from about twenty roots in the Samhitās.

Active. Sing. 1. *āpyāsam*¹² (AA. V. 3. 2³) *ṛdhyāsam* (VS. VIII. 9), *jñvyāsam* (AV. VS.), *priyāsam*¹³ (AV.), *bhūyāsam*, *bhrājyāsam* (AV.), *bhriyāsam* (VS. II. 8), *ṛdhyāsam* (VS. XXXVII. 3), *vadyāsam* (VS. AV.), *śrūyāsam* (AV.). — 3. *avyās*, *aśyās* ('reach'), *ṛdhyās*, *gamyās*, *daghyās*, *peyās* ('drink'), *bhūyās*, *yamyās*, *yūyās*¹⁴ (yu- 'separate'), *vṛjyās*, *śrūyās*, *sāhyās*.

¹ Assigned by WHITNEY, Roots, to the present of the root class.

² With weak and unaccented root.

³ A transfer form for **dhātē*.

⁴ This form may, however, perhaps preferably be classed as an imperfect injunctive along with *stanīhi* as pres. impv., as in WHITNEY's Roots. These are the only forms of the simple verb beside the aor. *astānūt* (AV.).

⁵ With strong radical vowel.

⁶ Probably to be explained as the injunctive corresponding to the augmented indicative *adhīmahi* (see 500, note ¹⁴); it might, however, be the 1. pl. opt. mid. with loss of ā before the modal -i.

⁷ For *dā-iyām*, *dhā-iyīm*, *sthā-iyāma*.

⁸ The RV. has no forms of the 3. sing. in -yāt, but only the somewhat numerous precatives in -yās = *-yās-t.

⁹ With irregular strong radical vowel, Padapāṭha *sākyāma*; cp. RPr. IX. 30.

¹⁰ Aor. opt. in WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 837 b, but pres. opt. in 'Roots' 157.

¹¹ With loss of ā before the modal -i.

¹² Accented *āpyāsam* in the ed. (B. I.).

¹³ WHITNEY, in AV. III. 54, would emend this form to *bhriyāsam*: see his note on that passage.

¹⁴ According to AVERY 241, 3. sing. pres. opt.

Du. 2. *bhūyāstam* (VS. II. 7). — Pl. I. *ṛdhyāśma* (AV.), *kriyāśma*, *bhūyāśma* (AV. VS.), *rādhyāśma* (AV.). — 2. *bhūyāsta*¹ (TS. III. 2. 5⁶).

Middle. Sing. 3. *padīṣṭā*, *mucīṣṭā*².

Root Aorist Imperative.

505. The active forms of this mood are fairly numerous, occurring in all the 2. and 3. persons; but middle forms occur in the 2. pers. only, ten in the sing. and two in the pl. In the 2. persons active of all numbers, several forms irregularly strengthen the root, which is then nearly always accented.

Active. Sing. 2. *ṛdhi*, *gadhi*, *bodhi*³, *yandhi* (√yam-), *yōdhi*⁴, *randhi* (= *rand-dhi*; √randh-), *viddhi* (√viś-, AV.), *ṛdhi* 'cover', *śagdhi* (√śak-), *śrudhi*, *spṛdhi*. — With ending -hi: *gahi*, *pāhi* (AV.), *māhi* 'measure', *sāhi* 'bind'.

3. *gantu*, *dātu*, *dhātu*, *pātu* (AV.), *bhūtu*, *śrūtu*, *sōtu* (su- 'press').

Du. 2. *kartam*⁵ (AV.) and *kṛtām*, *gatām* and *gantām*⁵, *jitām*, *dātām*, *dhaktām* (√dagh-), *dhātām*, *pātām* (AV.), *bhūtām*, *bhṛtām* (VS. XI. 30), *yantām*⁵, *riktām* (√ric-), *vartām*⁵ (√vṛj-), *vartām*⁵ (ṛṛ- 'cover'), *volhām*⁶, *śaktām*, *śrutām*, *sitām* (si- 'bind'), *sutām*, *sthātām*, *spṛtām*.

3. *gantām*⁵ (VS. IX. 19), *ghāstām* (VS. XXI. 43), *dātām*, *pātām*, *volhām*⁶.

Pl. 2. *kārtā*⁵ and *kṛtā*, *gātā* and *gāntā*⁷, *gātā*, *dātā*, *dhātā*⁸, *pātā* (AV.), *bhūtā*, *yāntā*⁵, *vartā*⁹ (√vrt-), *śastā* (√śams-), *śrūtā* and *śrūtā*¹⁰, *sōtā*⁵ (√su-), *sthātā*, *hetā*⁵ (√hi-). — With ending -tana: *kārtana*⁵, *gāntana*⁵, *gātana*, *dhātana*, *dhetana*¹¹, *pātana* (AV.), *bhūtana*, *yantana*⁵, *sōtana* (√su-).

3. *gāmantu*, *dāntu* (dā- 'cut', AV. XII. 3³), *dhāntu*, *pāntu* (AV.), *śruvantu*.

Middle. Sing. 2. *kṛṣvā*, *dhīṣvā* (√dhā-), *yukṣvā*; accented on the root: *mātsva*, *yāḥsva*, *rāsva*, *vāmsva* (van- 'win'), *sāḥsva*¹² (I. 42¹, √sac-); unaccented *dīṣva* (dā- 'give', VS. XXXVIII. 3), *māsva* 'measure'.

Pl. 2. *kṛdhvam*, *voḍhvam*¹³ (VS.).

Root Aorist Participle.

506. Of the active form of the participle of the root aorist few examples occur. But the middle form is common, nearly forty examples being met with in the RV. The accent here generally rests on the final syllable of the suffix -āna, but in several examples it is on the radical syllable.

Active. *ṛdhānt-*, *krānt-*, *gmānt-*, *citānt-*, *pānt-*, *bhidānt-*, *sthānt-*; also *dyutānt-*¹⁴ as first member of a compound.

Middle. *arānā-*, *idhānā-*, *urānā-* 'choosing', *ihāna-* (√vah-), *krānā-*¹⁵, *citāna-*, *cyāvāna-*, *juṣānā-*, *ṛṣānā-*, *ḍṛśānā-* and *ḍṛśāna-*, *dyutānā-* and *dyūtānā-*, *dhuvānā-* (TS. IV. 4. 12⁵), *nidānā-*, *piśānā-*, *prcānā-*, *prathānā-*, *budhānā-*, *bhiyānā-*, *manānā-*, *mandānā-*, (vi-)māna- (TS. IV. 6. 3³), *yatānā-* and *yātāna-*, *yujānā-*,

¹ AV. XVIII. 4⁸⁶ has the corrupt reading *bhūyāstha*; see WHITNEY's note on that passage.

² The form *grabhīṣṭa* is a 2. pl. injv. beside the 1. pl. ind. *agrabhīṣma* according to the iṣ- aorist.

³ From both *bhū-* 'be' for **bhū-dhi* and *budh-* 'awake' for **bōd-dhi* instead of **bud-dhi*.

⁴ For **yōd-dhi* instead of **yuddhi*.

⁵ With strong root.

⁶ For *vah-tam*, *vah-tām* through **vagh-tam*, **vagh-tām*.

⁷ Once (VI. 49¹¹) accented *gantā*.

⁸ With the accent of strong forms.

⁹ For *vart-ta* (like *varti* for *vart-ti*).

¹⁰ Always *śrutā* or *śrūtā*; also *sōtā* (cp. RPr. VII. 14 f.).

¹¹ With *e* for *ā*.

¹² *sāḥsva* (III. 37⁷) is from √sah-, being an s- aor. form, for **sah-s-sva* beside 1. sing. mid. *asāḥṣi* and *sāḥṣi*.

¹³ For *vah-dhvam* through **vagh-dhvam*.

¹⁴ In *dyutānā-yāman-* 'having a shining track'.

¹⁵ Cp. BB. 20, 89.

rucānā-, *rihāṇa-*, *vāsāna-* 'dwelling', *vipānā-*, *vṛāṇā-* 'covering'. *śubhānā-* and *śumbhāna-*, *śvitānā-*, *sacānā-*, *svānā-*¹ and *svānā-* (SV.) (*su-* 'press'), *syjānā-*, *syrdhānā-*, *hiyānā-*². As members of compounds only, *-cetāna-* and *-hrayāṇa-*³ occur.

B. *a-* Aorist.

EVERY, Verb-Inflection 256 f. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar p. 305—308; Roots 224; AV. Index Verborum 380. — v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 32—34.

507. This form of the simple aorist is taken by nearly 60 roots, chiefly by such as contain a medial vowel. In the RV. less than half as many verbs form the *a-* aorist as form the root-aorist; and it is more frequent in the AV. than in the RV. The root generally appears in the weak form, the stem being made with an added *-a-*, which in unaugmented forms is normally accented. This form of the aorist therefore resembles an imperfect of the *ā-* class. Middle forms are of rare occurrence in this aorist.

a. A certain number of irregularities occur in the formation of the stem. 1. The radical vowel of *śās-* 'order' is reduced to *i*⁴, e. g. *śijāt*⁵ (IV. 27). — 2. Some half dozen roots containing a medial *a* followed by a nasal, drop the nasal; these are *kṛand-* 'cry out', *tams-* 'shake', *dhvamṣ-* 'scatter', *bhramṣ-* 'fall', *randh-* 'make subject', *sramṣ-* 'fall'. — 3. On the other hand *ṛ-* 'go' and *ṣṛ-* 'flow' take *Guṇa* and accent the radical syllable, as *āraṇta* (unaugmented 3, pl.) and *sārat*. — 4. Several roots form transfer stems from the root aorist. Some half dozen do this by reducing a final radical *ā* to *a*. This is regularly the case in *khyā-* 'see', *vyā-* 'envelope', *hū-* 'call'; e. g. *ākhyat*, *āvryat*, *āhvat*; but from *dā-* 'give', *dhā-* 'put', and *sthā-* 'stand', only occasional transfer forms occur; thus *ādāt*; *adhat* (SV.) and *dhat*; *āsthat* (AV.). On the other hand, occasional transfer forms are made from *kṛ-* 'make', and *gam-* 'go', in which the radical syllable remains strong; e. g. *ākarat* (AV.) and *āgamat*.

Indicative.

508. The forms of the indicative actually occurring, if made from *vid-* 'find', would be as follows:

Active. Sing. 1. *āvidam*. 2. *dvidas*. 3. *dvidat*. — Pl. 1. *āvidāma*. 2. *āvidata*. 3. *āvidan*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *dvide*. 3. *dvidata*. — Pl. 1. *vidāmahi*. 3. *dvidanta*.

The forms which actually occur are the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *ākhyam*, *agr̥bham* (Kh. III. 15⁵), *ātr̥pam* (AV. TS.), *atr̥ham* (AV.), *anijam* (AV.), *āmucam* (AV.), *āruham* (TS. VS. AV.), *āvidam*, *āvrydham* (Kh. IV. 8⁵), *āsakam* (VS. II. 28), *āsanam*, *āsaram*, *ahyam*⁶ (*√hi-* AV.), *ahvam* (AV.), *āpam* (AV.); *aram*, *vidam*.

2. *ākaras* (AV.), *ākṛtas* (*kṛt-* 'cut'), *ākhyas* (TS. AV.), *āruhas*, *dvidas*, *asadas* (TS. VS. AV.), *āsaras*; *āpas*; *kāras*, *guhas*, *druhas*, *bhūvas*⁷, *mucas* (AV.), *vidās*.

3. *ākarat*⁸ (AV.), *ākramat* (AV.), *ākhyat*, *āgamat*⁸ (AV.), *āgr̥dhat*, *acchidat* (AV.), *ātanat*, *ātasat* (VS. AV.), *adr̥pat*⁹ (AV.), *adhat*¹⁰ (*√dhā-*, SV.), *āmucat*,

¹ Always written thus in the RV., but to be pronounced *svānā*.

² Hardly any of these participles occur in any of the other *Saṃhitās*: *rucānā-* (VS. XII. 1), *rihāṇa-* (TS. IV. I. 2⁴), *svānā-* (SV.).

³ In *ā-cetāna-* 'thoughtless', and *ā-hrayāṇa-* 'bold'.

⁴ As in the weak forms of the present stem.

⁵ At the same time accenting the radical syllable.

⁶ Though the other forms from *√hi-*

follow the root-aorist (*āhema*, *ahyan*, etc.), this is probably to be regarded as a transfer form, since the regular form according to the root aorist ought to be **āhayaṃ*.

⁷ A transfer form, *bhūva-s*, following *bhūv-am* as if from a stem *bhūva-*.

⁸ Transfers from the root aorist, following the 1. sing. *ākar-am*, *āgam-am*.

⁹ Emendation in AV. xx. 136⁵.

¹⁰ Transfer from the root aorist for *a-dhāt*.

drudat (AV.), *arudhat*, *āruhat*, *āvidat*, *avṛtat* (AV.), *avṛdhat*, *avyat*¹ (√vyā-), *āsakat* (AV.), *āśucat*, *āsramat* (AV.), *āsadat*, *āsanat*, *āsarat*, *āsicat* (TS. III. 2. 8⁴), *āsṛpat* (AV.), *āhvāt*¹; *ādat*² (√dā-), *āpat*, *ārat*, *āsthat*³ (AV.¹); *tr̥ṣat* (AV.), *dhat*⁴ (√dhā-), *bhūvat*¹, *vidāt*, *sadat* (AV.), *sānat*, *sārat*.

Pl. I. *aruhāma* (VS. VIII. 52), *āvidāma*, *āsanāma*, *āhvāma*; *vṛdhāma*⁵ (AV. v. 19). — 2. *avyata*¹; *ārata*.

3. *akhyan*, *akraman* (AV.), *agaman* (AV.), *acchidan* (AV.), *ādṛśan* (TS. IV. 5. 13), *arudhan* (AV.), *druhan*, *āvidan*, *avṛjan*, *avṛdhan* (VS. XXXIII. 60), *āsakan* (AV.), *āsadan*, *asanan*, *asaran*, *asican*; *āpan*, *āran*, *āsthan*⁶ (AV. XIII. 15); *khyān*, *dhvasān*⁷, *vidān*, *sadan*.

Middle. Sing. I. *dhve*; *hve* (AV.). — 3. *akhyata*, *avyata*¹; *ārata*; *vyata*¹. — Pl. I. *śiṣāmahi* (√śās-). — 3. *avidanta* (AV.), *ahvanta*; *āranta*, *krānta*¹.

a- Aorist Subjunctive.

509. The forms of this mood are rare and almost restricted to the active.

Active. Sing. 2. *vidāsi*; *vidās*. — 3. *mucāti*; *vidāt*.

Du. I. *ruhāva*. — 2. *vidāthas*. — 3. *gamātas* (AV. x. 7¹²).

Pl. I. *arāma*; *radhāma*, *riṣāma*, *sadāma*. — 2. *gamātha* (AV.), *riṣātha*, *vidātha*; *riṣāthana*.

Middle. Sing. 3. *mucāte*, *śiṣātai*⁸ (*śiṣ-* 'leave', AV. II. 31³).

Pl. I. *śiṣāmahe*⁹ (AV. SV.).

a- Aorist Injunctive.

510. Active. Sing. I. *aram*, *khyam*, *dārśam*, *radham*, *riṣam*, *ruhām*, *vidam*, *sanam*.

2. *kradas*, *krudhas* (AV.), *khyās*, *guhas*, *gr̥dhas* (AV. VS.), *druhas* (AV.), *mucās*, *vidas*, *riṣas* (VS. XI. 68; TS. IV. I. 9¹), *śiṣas* ('leave'), *sadas*, *sṛpas* (AV.).

3. *kṣudhat* (AV.), *khyat*, *gr̥dhat* (AV.), *tanat*, *amat*, *tr̥ṣat* (AV.), *dasat*, *dhṛṣāt* (Kh. IV. I), *bhraśat*, *mucat*, *riṣat*, *rudhat*, *ruhāt*¹⁰, *vidāt*, *śiṣāt*¹¹, *śramat*, *śriṣāt*, *śrīvat*¹², *sadat*, *sānat*¹⁰, *sṛpat* (AV.), *sridhat*.

Pl. 3. *aran*, *khyan*, *gāman* (VS. XVII. 78), *tr̥pān*, *tr̥ṣan* (VS. VI. 31), *dṛśan*, *druhan*, *riṣan*, *vidan*, *śakan* (AV.).

Middle. Sing. 3. *vidata* (AV. XIII. 23¹).

Pl. I. *arāmahi* (AV.); *gr̥hāmahi*. — 3. *aranta*, *budhānta*, *mṛṣanta*, *vidānta*.

a- Aorist Optative.

511. This mood is rare and confined to the active in the RV., though three or four middle forms occur in the later Samhitās.

Active. Sing. I. *āpeyam*¹³ (AV.), *gameyam*, *dṛśeyam*, *bhīdeyam* (AV.),

¹ Transfer form.

² A transfer form: see p. 366, note 12.

³ See p. 327, note 5.

⁴ *prāti dhat* (IV. 27⁵).

⁵ WHITNEY, note on AV. v. 19, would instead of *āvim vṛdhāma* read (with Paipṛ.) *āvivṛdhāma*.

⁶ A transfer form from √śihā-; cp. WHITNEY's note on AV. XIII. 15.

⁷ With loss of medial nasal, from √dhvas-.

⁸ This form is probably a corrupt reading for the passive *śiṣyātai*: see WHITNEY's note on AV. II. 31³.

⁹ For *śiṣāmahi* of RV. VIII. 24¹.

¹⁰ With accent on the radical syllable.

¹¹ From *śāṣ-* 'order', with accent on the root.

¹² It is hard to decide whether this form, which occurs only once (I. 127³) beside the regular *śrīvāt*, should be classed here as an injunctive of the *a-* aorist, or as an irregular subjunctive of the root-class following the analogy of *bhūvat* (cp. 502).

¹³ In *prāpeyam* (AV. III. 20⁹), analyzed in the Pada text as *prā āpeyam*; cp. WHITNEY's note on the passage.

*vidēyam*¹ (AV.), *śākeyam* (Kh. iv. 8⁺), *sanēyam*. — 2. *games* (VS.). — 3. *rdhet* (AV.), *gamēt*, *yamet*² (AV.), *videt*, *sanet*, *set*³ (VS. ix. 5, 6).

Pl. I. *aśema* ('attain'), *rdhema* (AV.), *gamēma*, *dṛśema* (AV.), *puṣema*, *bhujema*, *ruhema*, *videma* (AV.), *śakēma*, *sadema*, *sanāma* and *sānema*, *srasema*⁴.

Middle. Sing. I. *vidēya* (VS. iv. 23). — Pl. I. *gamemahi*. There is also one precative form: 3. sing. *videṣṭa* (AV.) 'may she find'.

a- Aorist Imperative.

512. This mood is also of rare occurrence and is restricted to the active, excepting two middle plural forms.

Active. Sing. 2. *kara*⁵ (RV¹), *bhuja* (TS. iv. 5. 1⁺), *muca*, *ruha* (AV.), *sada*, *sāna*⁶, *sāra*. — 3. *sadatu*.

Du. 2. *aratam*, *karatam*⁷ (RV¹), *khyatam*, *ruhātām*, *vidatam*, *sadatām*. 3. *aratām*, *karatām*⁸, *sadatām*.

Pl. 2. *khyāta*, *sadata*; *sadatana*. — 3. *sadantu*.

Middle. Pl. 2. *mucadhvam*. — 3. *sadantām* (AV.).

a- Aorist Participle.

a. There are hardly more than a dozen certain examples of the participle of this aorist.

Active. *trpānt-*, *dhr̥ṣānt-*, *riṣant-* or *riṣant-*⁹, *vr̥dhānt-*, *śiṣānt-* (*śās-* 'order'), *śucānt-*, *sādant-*¹⁰, *sānant-*¹⁰; and as first member of compounds: *kṛtānt-*, *guhānt-*, *vidānt-*¹¹.

Middle. *guhāmāna-*, *dhr̥ṣāmāna-*, *ṛtāmāna-*, *śucāmāna-*; possibly also *dāsāmāna-*¹². Probably three participles in *-āna* are to be regarded as belonging to this aorist: *dhr̥ṣānā-* (AV.), *vr̥dhānā-*, *sridhānā-*.

2. Reduplicated Aorist.

DELBRÜCK, *Verbum* 143 f. — AVERY, *Verb-Inflection* 266—268. — WHITNEY, *Sanskrit Grammar* 856—873; *Roots* 224; *Atharvaveda*, *Index Verborum* 380. — v. NEGELEIN, *Zur Sprachgeschichte* 68 f.

513. This type of aorist is formed from nearly 90 verbs in the *Samhitās*. Though it has come to be associated with the secondary conjugation in *-āya* (causative), it is not in form (with a few slight exceptions) connected with that stem, being made directly from the root. It is, however, in sense connected with the causative, inasmuch as it has a causative meaning when the corresponding verb in *-aya* has that meaning. As an augmented reduplicated form, it has affinities with the imperfect of the reduplicating present class and with the pluperfect. It may, however, be distinguished from the imperfect by the long reduplicative vowel, by the thematic *-a-* which nearly always appears in the stem, and often by the meaning; and from the

¹ Emendation in AV. XIX. 4² for *vide yām*; see WHITNEY's note.

² A probable conjecture for *yame* in AV. XVIII. 2³.

³ From *sā-* 'gain', as if *sa-* (*sa-ñl*). Cp. v. NEGELEIN 34.

⁴ With loss of the radical nasal, from *Vsrams-*.

⁵ A transfer from the root aorist (otherwise *kṛdhī*). AVERY 243 adds *gama*(?).

⁶ With accent on the root instead of the second syllable; always *sānā*: cp. RPr. VII. 14, 19, 33.

⁷ A transfer form from the root aorist (otherwise *kṛtām*).

⁸ A transfer form from the root aorist.

⁹ Once with the short, six times with the long vowel in the *Samhitā* text (Pp. always 5): see APr. 583, 584, 588.

¹⁰ With accent on the root as also *riṣant-* and *riṣant-*.

¹¹ In *kṛdā-vasu-* 'disclosing wealth', *guhād-avadya-* 'concealing faults', *vidād-vasu-* 'winning wealth'.

¹² As occurring beside the *a-* aorist in-junctive form *dasat* (510).

pluperfect by difference of reduplication when the root contains *a* or *r*, and often by meaning.

a. The characteristic feature of this aorist is the almost invariable quantitative sequence of a long reduplicative and a short radical vowel (—*u*). The vowels *ā*, *ī*, *ī*¹, as well as *ī*, are reduplicated with *i*², which (unless it becomes long by position) is lengthened if the radical vowel is (or is made) prosodically short; e.g. *ā-jījan-a-t* from *jan-* 'beget'; *ā-vīvīdh-a-t* from *vīdh-* 'grow', but *cikṣip-a-s* from *kṣip-* 'throw'.

In order to bring about this trochaic rhythm, the radical vowel has to be shortened or the nasal dropped in the roots *vās-* 'bellow', *sādh-* 'succeed', *hāt-* 'be hostile', *kṛand-* 'cry out', *jambh-* 'crush', *randh-* 'subject', *syand-* 'flow', *sraṇs-* 'fall'; e.g. *avīvaśat*, *acikradat*. In *jīhvaratam* (TS.) the reduplicative vowel, being already long by position, is unnecessarily lengthened.

1. In a few forms the reduplicative vowel is, contrary to the prevailing rhythmic rule, left short: *jigṛtām* and *jigṛtā* (beside *ājīgar*); *didhṛtam* and *rīriṣas* (beside *rīriṣas*). On the other hand, in the isolated injunctive form *didīpas*³, the radical vowel remains long, and in *āmīmet* both the reduplicative and the radical syllable are long (beside *mīmayat* with the regular rhythm).

2. The *p* of the causative stems *jñā-paya-*, *sthā-paya-*, *hī-paya-*, *aw-paya-* (*r-* 'go'), is retained in the aorist, the radical vowel being at the same time reduced to *i* in the first three: *ājīhīpat* (TS.), *āstīhīpat*, *jīhīpas*; the *s* of the causative stem *bhīṣaya-* is also retained: *bīhīṣas* (TS.).

3. The root *dyut-* 'shine', reduplicates with *i*: *adidyutat*⁴. In the aorist formed from the causative stem *ar-paya-*, the reduplicative *i* appears after, instead of before, the radical vowel, doubtless owing to the difficulty caused by the initial *a* and the augment: *ar-pi-p-am* (AV.). The initial *a* also led to the anomaly of reduplicating the whole of the root *am* 'injure', and then prefixing the augment: *ām-am-at*.

4. There are three anomalous aorists formed from *naś-* 'be lost', *pat-* 'fall', and *vac-* 'speak', in which besides an irregular reduplicative vowel, the radical *a* is syncopated (*a-pāp-t-at*, *d-ne-ś-an*) or contracted (*d-voc-at*). As beside the former two the regular reduplicated aorists *apīpatat* and *anīnaśat* occur, and as all three have the regular reduplicative vowel *a* of the perfect⁵, they appear to have been originally pluperfects which before being shortened had the form of **ā-pāp-at*⁶, **ā-nanāś-at*, **ā-vavac-at*⁷. But they all came to be regarded as aorists. This is undoubted in the case of *avocat* owing to its numerous mood forms; *āpāp-t*, moreover, has an imperative form beside it; and *āneśan* (TS VS.) has a distinctly aoristic meaning.

b. The reduplicated aorist in the great majority of forms makes its stems with a thematic *-a-*. Before this, a final *r* regularly, and *ī* and *u* in two or three forms, take Guṇa; e.g. *adīdhar-a-t* (*√dhr-*), *bībhay-a-t* (*√bhī-*), *cucyav-a-t* (*√cyu-*), *dudrāv-a-t* (*√dru-*). The inflexion of this aorist stem is like that of an imperfect of the *a-* conjugation.

c. About a dozen roots, however, have occasional forms from stems made without thematic *-a-*, the inflexion then being like that of an imperfect of the reduplicating class. These roots are *mā-* 'bellow'; *śri-* 'resort'; *tu-* 'be strong', *dru-* 'run', *dhū-* 'shake', *nu-* 'praise', *pū-* 'cleanse', *yu-* 'separate',

¹ In *√kṣp-*, the only root in which it occurs.

² In the reduplicating present class *ī* is almost invariably, and *ā* predominantly, reduplicated with *i* (457).

³ In form this might be a pluperfect. A similar reversal of the ordinary rhythm appears in the three forms *ātataṃsatam* (I. 120⁷), *adadhāvat* (IX. 877), *vavāḥṣat* (SV. I. 1, 2, 3 var. lect. for *vavāḥṣa* of RV. x. 115¹) each occurring once, but owing to the reduplicative vowel they should rather be accounted pluperfects. Cp. p. 364, note 15.

⁴ See 514, note 1.

⁵ That is, *neś-* for *nanāś-*, on the analogy of *sed-* for **sazd-* in the perfect: this form of contraction would be unique in an original aorist.

⁶ Like *a-savaj-at*; becoming *a-pāp-t-at* like *a-cakr-at* beside *cakar-am*.

⁷ The cause of the anomalous contraction may be due to the awkwardness of combining the augment with the reduced reduplicative syllable *u-* of the perfect (**a-uvac-at*). The accentuation of the augment would also favour the second syllable taking Samprasāraṇa: *d-va-uc-at*.

sru- 'generate', *sru-* 'flow'; *gr-* 'waken', *dhy-* 'hold'; *srap-* 'sleep'; e. g. *āśīśret* (TS.), *ādudrot*, *ājigar*, *śiśvap*. Beside forms made thus, occur others made from several of these roots with the thematic *-a-*; and those made from the roots ending in *ṣ* (the majority), cannot be distinguished in form from pluperfects. The number of forms of this type which can with certainty be classed as aorists is therefore very small.

d. Besides the indicative all the moods are represented in this aorist, but no participial form has been found.

Reduplicated Aorist Indicative.

514. The forms actually occurring would, if made from *jan-* 'beget' with thematic *-a-*, be the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *ājījanam*. 2. *ājījanas*. 3. *ājījanat*. — Du. 2. *ājījanatam*. —

Pl. 1. *ājījanāma*. 2. *ājījanata*. 3. *ājījanan*.

Middle. Sing. 3. *ājījanata*. — Pl. 2. *ājījanadhvam*. 3. *ājījananta*.

The forms actually occurring (including those made without thematic *-a-*) are:

Active. Sing. 1. *acikṣam*, *ajīgamam* (TS. VS. AV.), *ajījabham* (AV.), *atiṣṭhipam* (AV.), *adūduṣam* (AV.), *anīnaśam*, *apīparam* (*pr-* 'pass', AV.), *āmīmadam* (AV.), *avocam*, *āśīśamam* (*śam-* 'be quiet', AV.); *arpiṣam* (AV.), 2. *acikṛadas*, *ājījanas*, *atiṣṭhipas*, *ātitaras* (AV.), *atitṛpas* (AV.), *anīnaśas* ('be lost', AV.), *apīparas* (AV.), *abūbhuvas* (AV.), *āmīmadas* (AV.), *arūrupas* (AV.), *dvīvrāhas* (AV.), *āśīśamas* (AV.); *jihvaras* (AV.), *didyutas*¹, *rūrupas* (AV.), *śūśucas* (TS. IV. I. 4³), *śiśvapas*. — Without thematic *-a-*: *tūtos*², *susros*; *ājigar*³ (*gr-* 'swallow'), *ājigar* (*gr-* 'waken'); *dīdhar*, *śiśvap*.

3. *acikṛadat*, *acikṣpat* (AV.), *acīcarat* (AV.), *ācukrudhat*, *acucyavat*⁴ (K.), *ajijñipat* (TS. II. I. I. 1³), *ājījanat*, *ājīhiṣat* (AV.), *atiṣṭhipat*, *ādīdyutat*¹, *adīdharat*, *adūduṣat*, *anīnaśat*, *āpīpat* and *āpīpatat*, *abūbudhat*, *āmīmuhat* (AV.), *āvrīramat*, *ārūrucat*, *avīvaśat* ('has bellowed', *√vāś-*), *avīvipat*, *avīvyat*, *dvīvrādhāt*, *āvocat*, *āśīśriyat*⁵ (AV.), *āśīśvitat*, *āśīśamat* (AV.), *asiṣyadat* (*√syand-*); *āmamat* (*√am-*); *jījanat*, *didyutat* (VS. XXXVIII. 22), *dīdharat*, *dudrāvat*, *nīśat*⁶, *bībhayāt*, *vavyat*, *vocat*, *śiśnāthāt*. — Without thematic *-a-*: *ādudrot*, *ānūnot*, *āpupot*, *āmīmet*⁷ (*mā-* 'bellow'), *āśīśret*⁸, *asuṣot* (*√sū-*, MS.), *āśusrot* (VS. XVIII. 58; TS. V. 7. 7¹); *tūtōt*, *dūdhot* (*dhū-* 'shake'); *ājigar* (*gr-* 'waken'), *āśīśnat* (*√śnath-*); *dīdhar*. — Du. 2. *ārūrujatam* (Kh. I. 5¹⁰).

Pl. 1. *ātītrpāma* (VS. VII. 29), *ātītrṣāma*, *apaptāma* (Kh. III. 19), *apīpadāma* (AV.), *dvīvṛtāma* (AV.), *āvocatāma*.

2. *ājījapata*⁹ (VS. IX. 12), *ārūrucata* (VS. XXXVII. 15).

3. *ācīkṛadan*, *ājījanan*, *ātītrasan* (AV.), *adīdharan* (AV.), *anīnaśan* (AV.), *āneśan* (VS. XVI. 10; TS. IV. 5. 1⁴), *apaptan*, *apīparan* (*pr-* 'cross'), *āmīmrnan* (AV.), *dvīvatan*, *avīvaran* (AV.), *avīvaśan* (*vāś-* 'bellow'), *avīvipan*, *dvīvrāhan*, *āvocan*, *āśīśaman* (AV.), *āśīśubhan*, *asiṣrasan* (*√sraṣ-*, AV.), *asīśadan* (*√sad-*, VS. XII. 54; TS. IV. 2. 4⁴); *jījanan*, *paptan*.

¹ Reduplicated with *i* owing to the vocalic pronunciation of the *y* (*ājūt-*) as in the perfect: see 482 a 1.

² Classed by WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 868 a, as an aorist, but Roots 63, as pluperfect; similarly *tūtōt* below.

³ Occurring only in RV. I. 163⁷ = VS. XXIX. 18 = TS. IV. 6. 7³.

⁴ WHITNEY 866 (Mantra?).

⁵ This form occurs only once (AV. VI. 31³), as a variant for *dītyate* in RV. X. 189³

(= SV.) and for *śībriye* in TS. I. 5. 3¹. See WHITNEY's note on AV. VI. 31³.

⁶ This form occurs once in the RV. (VI. 117) as a past tense (along with three other un-augmented forms: *vīcata*, *arta*, *tiṣṭhat*) and twice as an injunctive. BARTHOLOMAE, KZ. 27, 360, note 1, regards it as a pluperfect.

⁷ WHITNEY 868 a; v. NEGELEIN 69¹.

⁸ Occurs TS. I. 8. 10² with other aorists.

⁹ From the causative stem *jāpaya-* of *ji-* 'conquer'.

Middle. Sing. 3. *dvīvarata* (*vr-* 'cover', AV.; TS. v. 6. 1³). — With ending *-i* for *-ta*: *atitape*.

Pl. 2. *dvīrṛdhadhvam*. — 3. *ātīrṇanta* (VS. XIX. 36), *ābībhayanta*, *āmīmadanta*, *dvīvaśanta* (*√vāś-*), *dvīrṛdhanta*, *dvocanta*, *āsiṣyadanta* (*√syand-*), *āsīṣudanta* (TS. I. 8. 10²); *jījananta*.

Reduplicated Aorist Subjunctive.

515. This mood is of rare occurrence, only about a dozen forms having been noted. The active is represented in all the persons of the sing. and the 1. pl. only; the middle by a single dual form.

Active. Sing. 1. *rāradhā*, *vocā*. — 2. *titapāsi* (AV.), *vocāsi* (VS. XXIII. 51). — 3. *ciklṇāti*, *piṣṇāti*¹, *vocāti*², *vocāti*, *sīṣadhāti*³ (*√sādh-*).

Pl. 1. *cukrudhāma*, *rīramāma*, *vocāma*, *sīṣadhāma* (*√sādh-*).

Middle. Du. 1. *vocāvahai*.

Reduplicated Aorist Injunctive.

516. Forms of this mood are of common occurrence in the active, in which voice more than fifty have been found; but in the middle only five have been noted.

Active. Sing. 1. *cukrudham*, *jījanam*, *dīdharam*, *vocam*.

2. *cikradas*, *cikṣīpas*, *jihvaras*, *jīhīpas* (caus. *hā-paya-*), *tīrṇas* (TS. III. 2. 5³), *didīpas*, *didyutas*, *dīdharas*, *nīnamas*, *nīnaśas*, *paptas*, *piṣṇas*, *pīparas* (*pr-* 'cross'), *bībhīśas* (TS. III. 2. 5²), *mīmṇas*, *rīradhas*, *rīriśas*, *vīvijas*, *vocas*, *sīśnathas*, *sīśrāthas*, *sūśucas* (AV.), *sīṣadhas* (*√sādh-*).

3. *cucyavat*, *tiṣṇīpat*, *dīdharat*, *dudravat*, *dūduṣat*, *neśat*, *paptat* (AV.), *pīparat* (*pr-* 'cross', RV¹), and *pīpārat* (*pr-* 'cross', RV¹ = TS. I. 6. 12³), *pīparat* (*pr-* 'fill'), *mīmayat*⁴, *rīradhat* (*√randh-*), *rīriṣat*, *vocat*, *sīśrathat*, *sīṣvadat* (*√svād-*). — Without thematic *-a-*: *nūnot* (*nu-* 'praise'), *yūyot* (*yu-* 'separate'), *susrot*.

Du. 2. *jihvaratam*⁵ (VS. v. 17) and *jihvaratam*⁵ (TS. I. 2. 13²), *rīradhatam*⁵.

Pl. 2. *rīradhata*⁵, *rīriṣata*⁵ (I. 89⁹ = VS. XXV. 22).

3. *cikṣīpan* (AV.), *paptan*, *rīraman*, *vocan*, *sūśucan* (VS. XXXV. 8).

Middle. Sing. 1. *vīce*. — 2. *bībhīṣathās*⁶.

Pl. 3. *jījananta*, *vōcanta*, *sīṣapanta* (*sap-* 'serve').

Reduplicated Aorist Optative.

517. The forms of this mood are rare, numbering altogether (including a precativ) not more than a dozen. The majority of these come from *vac-* 'speak', and the rest from two other roots, *cru-* 'stir' and *riṣ-* 'hurt'.

Active. Sing. 1. *vocēyam*. — 2. *rīriṣes*, *vocēs*. — 3. *vocet* (AV.).

Du. 2. *vocetam*. — Pl. 1. *vocēma*⁷. — 3. *vocēyur*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *vocēya*. — Pl. 1. *cucyuvīmāhi*⁸, *vocemāhi*. — 3. *cucyavītrata*⁸, There is also the precativ sing. 3. *rīriṣ-ī-s-ṭa*⁹ (VI. 51⁷) or *rīriṣ-ī-s-ṭa* (VIII. 18¹³).

¹ As if from an indicative 3. sing. **apiṣṇrk*.

² Like an indicative present in form.

³ These forms refute the statement of HIRT, IF. 12, 214 f., that the reduplicated, as well as the root and *a-* aorist, has no subjunctive, but only injunctive forms. Cp. 502, 509.

⁴ This form seems to have an injunctive sense in RV. x. 27²², its only occurrence.

⁵ Reckoned here an injunctive form (not imperative) because accompanied by *mā*: cp. DELBRÜCK, Altindische Syntax p. 361¹.

⁶ Formed from the causative stem *bhīṣāya-* of *bhī-* 'fear'.

⁷ This form occurs six times in the RV., three times unaccented and three times accented *vocēma*. AVERY 268 wrongly states *vocēma* to occur five times and *vōcēma* (sic) once.

⁸ Without thematic *-a-*.

⁹ In the Pada text *rīriṣīṣṭa*.

Reduplicated Aorist Imperative.

518. Forms of this mood are rare, numbering hardly more than a dozen. They occur in the active only.

Active. Sing. 2. *vocatāt*. — **3.** *vocatu*. — **Du. 2.** *jigrtīm* (*gr-* 'waken'), *didhrtām*, *vocatām*. — **Pl. 2.** *jigrtīh*, *didhrtīh*, *paptata*¹ (I. 88¹), *vocata*, *susūdāta* (AV. I. 264)². — **3.** *pūpurantu* (*pī-* 'fill'), *śiśrathantu*.

3. Sigmatic Aorist.

519. The general tense sign of this aorist is an *s* added to the root. This *s* in the vast majority of verbs (more than 200) comes immediately before the endings. When such is the case, the stem may be formed in three different ways: the *s* being added 1. direct to the root, e. g. *a-jai-ṣ-am* (*ji-* 'conquer'); 2. with a connecting *-i-*, e. g. *a-kram-i-ṣ-am* (*kram-* 'stride'); 3. with an additional *s*-prefixed to the connecting *-i-*, e. g. *a-yā-s-i-ṣ-am* (*yā-* 'go'). The inflexion of these three varieties (A) follows that of the graded conjugation. In a small number of verbs the stem is formed by adding *-s* extended with a thematic *a*; e. g. *ā-ruk-ṣa-t* (*ruh-* 'mount'). The inflexion of this fourth form (B) of the sigmatic aorist is like that of an imperfect of the *a-* conjugation.

Of the four varieties of the sigmatic aorist, the first two, the *s-* aorist and the *iṣ-* aorist, are very common, each being formed by nearly 100 roots. The other two are rare, the *siṣ-* aorist being made from only six, and the *sa-* aorist from only nine roots.

A. 1. The *s-* aorist.

DELBRÜCK, Verbum 177—179. — AVERY, Verb-Inflection 257—259. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 878—897; Roots 225—226; Atharvaveda, Index Verborum 380. — v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 83—84.

520. In this form of the sigmatic aorist, the radical vowel as a rule takes *Ṛddhi* (*a* being lengthened) in the active. In the middle, on the other hand, excepting final *ī* and *u* (which take *Guṇa*), the radical vowel remains unchanged. Thus in the active there occur the forms 1. sing. *a-jai-ṣam* (*Ṛji-*), *a-bhār-ṣam* (*Ṛbhr-*), 3. sing. *ā-raik* (*Ṛric-*), 3. pl. *ā-cchānt-sur* (*Ṛchand-*); while in the middle we find 1. sing. *a-vit-si* (*Ṛvid-*), *ā-bhūt-si* (*Ṛbudh-*), *a-ṣṛk-si* (*Ṛṣṛj-*), *a-nū-si* (*nū-* 'praise'), beside forms with *Guṇa* from roots ending in *ī* or *u* such as 3. pl. *a-he-ṣ-ata* (*Ṛhi-*), *a-ne-ṣ-ata* (*Ṛnī-*), 1. sing. *a-sto-si* (*Ṛstu-*).

a. There are, however, some irregularities. 1. In a few active injunctive forms *Guṇa* appears instead of *Ṛddhi*, e. g. sing. 2. *je-s* (*Ṛji-*), pl. 1. *je-ṣma*. — 2. In two or three middle forms of *sah-* 'overcome', the *a* is lengthened, e. g. sing. 1. *sāk-si*³. — 3. The root is shortened in a few middle forms; thus the *ā* of *dā-* 'cut', is reduced to *i* in sing. 1. opt. *dī-s-īya*, and the nasal of *gam-* 'go' and *man-* 'think' is dropped in the forms *a-ga-smahi* and *ma-sīya*. — 4. After a consonant other than *n m r*, the tense sign *s* is dropped before *t*, *dh*, and *dh*; thus *ā-bhak-ta* beside *ā-bhak-si* (*Ṛbhaj-*); *pat-thās* (AV.) beside *pat-si* (*Ṛpad-*, AV.); *ā-sto-dhvam*⁴ (*Ṛstu-*), where the *s* on becoming *ṣ* cerebralized the following dental before disappearing (**ā-sto-ṣ-dhvam*).

In addition to the indicative, all the moods of this form of the aorist occur. There is also a participle, but it is rare.

¹ An imperative form like this justifies the classification of *āpaptat* etc. as an actual aorist, apart from its possible origin as a pluperfect.

² Pada text *susūdāta*. It is perhaps better to class this form here (cp. WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 871) than as a transfer form of the perfect imperative from *Ṛsūd-* (Roots

188), though the reduplicative vowel is short. Cp. p. 362, note 9.

³ Also in the active subjunctive form *sākṣāma*, where the *a* would normally remain short, as the radical vowel in this mood takes *Guṇa* only.

⁴ The only example in this aorist of the ending *-dhvam*.

Indicative.

521. The only point in which the inflexion differs from that of the imperfect of the graded conjugation is that the 3. pl. active invariably ends in *-ur*.

a. The following peculiarities and irregularities are moreover to be noted. 1. In the active: in the RV.¹ the endings *-s* and *-t* of the 2. 3. sing. disappear, and the tense sign also, unless the root ends in a vowel; e.g. *a-hār* (AV.), 3. sing. from *√hr-*, = **a-hār-s-t*, but *a-hā-s*, 3. sing. from *hā-* 'leave' = **a-hā-s-t*. The AV. and TS., however, less often than not, insert a connecting *-i-* before these endings, thus preserving both the latter and the *s* of the tense stem; e.g. *a-naik-s-i-t* (Vñij-, AV.), *a-tām-s-i-t* (Vtan-, TS.). In four forms in which the *-i-* is not inserted, the *-s* and *-t*, as distinctive of the 2. and 3. persons, abnormally take the place of the *s* of the stem or the final consonant of the root: *a-srai-t* (AV.) for **a-srai-s-t* (Vñri-); *ā-hai-t* (AV.) for **ā-hai-s-t* (Vhi-); *a-vā-t* (AV. VIII. 121) for **a-vās-t* (*vas-* 'shine'); 2. sing. *srā-s* (AV.) for **srāj-s-s*³ (Vsrj-). The RV. also has *a-yā-s* for **a-yāj-s-s* (*yaj-* 'sacrifice') beside the phonetically regular form in the 3. sing. *a-yāj* for **a-yāj-s-t*. — 2. In the middle nine first and one or two third persons singular appear in which the stem is made with the addition of *-s*, but which have both the ending and the meaning of the present; and the *-s* is added to a present stem and not to the aorist form of the root. Thus formed are from a present stem of 1. the *a-* class: *arā-s-e* 'I praise', *yajā-s-e* 'I worship' (VIII. 251); 2. the *ā-* class, nasalized: *ṛñja-s-e*⁴ 'I strive after'; 3. the *ya-* class: *gāy-i-se*⁵ 'I sing'; 4. the *nā-* class: *gṛñī-s-e*⁶ 'I praise'; *ṣunt-s-e* 'I purify'; 5. the root class: *kr-s-e* 'I make', *hi-s-e* 'I impel', *stu-s-e*⁷ 'I praise';⁸ 6. the intensive: *cārṣ-s-e* which (like *stuṣe*⁹ in I. 122⁷) is a 3. sing. with a passive sense: 'is praised'.

522. The forms of the indicative actually occurring would, if made from *bhr-* 'bear' in the active and *stu-* 'praise' in the middle, be as follows:

Active. Sing. 1. *ābhārsam*. 2. *ābhār*, *ābhārsīs* (AV.). 3. *ābhār*; *ābhārsīt* (AV. TS.). — Du. 2. *ābhārsjām*. 3. *ābhārsjām*. — Pl. 1. *ābhārsma*. 2. *ābhārsja*. 3. *ābhārsur*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *āstoṣi*. 2. *āstoṣhīs*. 3. *āstoṣja*. — Du. 3. *āstoṣātīm*. — Pl. 1. *āstoṣmahī*. 2. *āstoṣhvam*. 3. *āstoṣata*.

The forms which actually occur are the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *ākārsam* (AV.), *ajaisam* (Vji-), *āprāksam* (Vprach-, AV.), *ābhārsam*, *āyānsam* (Vyam-), *ayāsam*, *āspārsam* (sṣp- 'win'), *āhārsam* (Vhr-).

2. *ākrān* (Vkrand-), *aḡhās*¹⁰ (Vghas-, AV. XX. 129¹⁶), *āhās* (*hā-* 'leave', AV. II. 10⁷). — With irregular *-s*: *ayās* (Vyaj-), *srās* (Vsrj-, AV.). — With connecting *-i-*: *arātsīs* (*rādh-* 'succeed', AV.), *avātsīs*¹¹ (*vas-* 'dwell', AV.); *bhaiṣīs* (AV.).

3. With loss of the ending *-t*: *ajais*¹² (Vji-), *āprās* (Vprā-), *āhās* (*hā-* 'leave'). — With loss of both tense sign and ending: *ākrān*¹³ (Vkrand-), *āksār* (Vksar-), *acait* (Vcit-), *acchān* (Vchand-), *ātān* (Vtan-), *atsār* (Vtsar-), *ādyaut* (Vdyut-), *adhāk* (Vdah-), *āprāk* (prc- 'mix', AV.), *āprat* (Vprach-), *ābhār*, *ayāt* (Vyaj-), *āyān* (Vyam-), *araut*¹⁴ (Vrudh-, AV.), *āvāt* (Vvah-), *avāt*¹⁵ (*vas-* 'shine', AV.), *asvait* (Vsvit-), *asyān* (Vsyand-), *āsrāk* (Vsrj-), *āsvār* (Vsvar-), *āhār* (Vhr-, AV.); *āraiḥ* (Vric-); *āyaut*, *vāt* (Vvah-). —

¹ and the Kāthaka, WHITNEY 888.

² In *avāt* the *t* may, however, represent the final *s* of the root, the form possibly standing for **a-vāt-s-t*; see above 44 a 2, and WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 167.

³ The phonetically regular form would be **srāk*. Cp. p. 61 (middle).

⁴ Also the participle *ṛñjas-ānā-*.

⁵ From *gāya-*, with *-i-* for *-a-*.

⁶ From the weak stem.

⁷ These three forms seem to represent the transition of aorist stems to employment as present stems.

⁸ The form *stuṣe* is frequent as a 1. sing.;

in one passage (I. 122⁷), however, it appears to be a 3. sing. with a passive sense: 'is praised'.

⁹ On *stuṣe* in general, see OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 59, 355 ff., NEISSER, BB. 30, 315—325.

¹⁰ Cp. above 499, *aḡhas* sing. 2. 3.

¹¹ Cp. v. NEGELEIN 83, note 5; above 44, a 1.

¹² For **ajais-t*.

¹³ For **ākrān-d-s-t*.

¹⁴ For **araut-d-s-t*.

¹⁵ Cp. *avāt-s-t* (AV.) from *vas-* 'dwell'. Cp. note 2 and p. 36 (top).

With irregular *-t-*: *āśrait* (√*śri*-, AV.), *dhait* (√*hi*-, AV.). — With connecting *-ṛ-*: *atāṃsit* (√*tan*-, TS. IV. 7. 13⁵; VS. XV. 53), *anaikṣīt* (√*nij*-, AV.); *rautisīt* (√*rudh*-, Kh. IV. 7⁵).

Du. 2. *āsrāṣṭam*¹ (√*srj*-, AV.). — 3. *abhārṣṭām* (VS. XXVIII. 17), *asvārṣṭām* (√*svar*-).

Pl. 1. *ājaiṣma*, *dbhaiṣma*. — 2. *ācchānta*² (√*chand*-), *anaṣṭa* (TS. V. 7. 2⁴). — 3. *ācchāntsur*, *dbhaiṣur*, *amatsur* (√*mad*-), *ayāsūr*, *āvākṣūr* (√*vah*-, AV.)³.

Middle. Sing. 1. *ādīkṣi* (√*diś*-), *ādīṣi*⁴ (*dā*- 'give', AV.), *anūṣi* (√*nū*-), *dbhākṣi* (√*bhāj*-), *dbhutsi* (√*budh*-), *āmāsi* (*mā*- 'measure', AV.), *āmukṣi* (√*muc*-, AV.), *avitsi* (*vid*- 'find'), *asākṣi*⁵ (√*sah*-), *asṛkṣi*, *astoṣi*; *maṇṣi* (√*man*-), *vṛkṣi*⁶ (√*vṛj*-, AV.), *sākṣi*⁵.

2. *djñāsthās* (AV.), *ataphthās*⁷ (AV. IX. 5⁶), *apṛkthās* (√*prc*-, AV.), *āmukthās* (√*muc*-, AV.).

3. *apṛkta* (√*prc*-), *ābhakta* (√*bhāj*-), *āmāṣta* (VS. V. 40), *amatta* (√*mad*-), *ayaṣta* (√*yam*-), *ayaṣṭa* (√*yaj*-), *āraṣta* (√*ram*-), *drābḍha* (√*rabh*-), *asakta* (√*saj*-), *āsrṣta* (√*srj*-), *astoṣta*.

Du. 3. *anūṣātām*, *amanṣātām* (VS. XXXVIII. 13), *āyukṣātām* (√*yuj*-).

Pl. 1. *agasmahi*⁸ (√*gam*-), *apṛkṣmahi* (√*prc*-, AV.), *abhutsmahi* (√*budh*-), *āvīkṣmahi* (√*viś*-), *asṛkṣmahi* (√*srj*-, TS. I. 4. 45³; VS. XX. 22).

2. *āstodhvam* (for **ā-stos-dhvam* from *stu*- 'praise').

3. *akraṃsata* (AV.), *ādṛkṣata* (√*dṛś*-), *ādhuḥkṣata* (√*duh*-), *ādḥhūrṣata*⁹ (*dḥvṛ*- 'injure'), *adhūṣata*, *ānūṣata*, *aneṣata* (√*nū*-), *ābhutsata* (√*budh*-), *amanṣata* (√*man*-), *amāṣata* (√*mad*-), *ayaṣata* (√*yam*-), *ayukṣata* (√*yuj*-), *araṃsata* (AV.), *drāṣata*, *alīpsata*, *āvīkṣata* (√*viś*-), *āvṛtsata* (√*vṛt*-), *avṛṣata* (*vṛ*- 'choose', AV. III. 3⁵), *asakṣata* (*sac*- 'accompany'), *āsṛkṣata* (√*srj*-), *āstoṣata*, *ahāṣata*, *ahūṣata* (*hū*- 'call'), *ahrṣata* (√*hr*-), *aheṣata* (√*hi*-).

s- Aorist Subjunctive.

523. This mood is quite common in the RV., but decidedly less so in the other Saṃhitās. Its forms are, however, frequent only in the active, in which all persons are represented except the 1. du. The middle is much less common, about 20 forms occurring altogether; only one of these is found in the dual, and two in the plural. The root regularly takes Guṇa throughout before the tense sign¹⁰, in the middle as well as the active. The primary endings are frequent, being used almost exclusively¹¹ in the du. and the 2. pl.

In the middle 3. sing. and pl. the exceptional ending *-tai* occurs in two forms in later Saṃhitās (AV. TS.).

Active. Sing. 1. *stoṣāṇi*. — 2. *dārṣasi* (*dṛ*- 'split'); *jīṣas* (√*jī*-), *vākṣas* (√*vah*-). — 3. *neṣati* (√*nū*-), *parṣati* (*pr*- 'take across'), *pāṣati* ('protect'), *matsati* (√*mad*-), *yoṣati* (*yu*- 'separate'), *vakṣati* (√*vah*-), *sakṣati* (√*sah*-, AV.); *ākṣat* (*aś*- 'attain', X. II. 17), *kṣeṣat* (*kṣi*- 'dwell'), *chantṣat* (√*chand*-), *jēṣat* (√*jī*-), *dārṣat* (*dṛ*- 'split'), *dāṣat* (*dā*- 'give'), *drāṣat*

¹ Emendation for *āsrāṣṭam* of the Mss., AV. IV. 28⁴; see WHITNEY's note.

² For **acchānt-s-ta*.

³ AVERY 257 adds the form *aveṣan*, which occurs twice in the RV., regarding it doubtless as an *s*-aorist of √*vṛ*. It would as such have the double anomaly of absence of Vrddhi and the ending *-an*. It is probably 3. pl. impf. of √*viś*- in both passages (I. 170²; X. 114⁴). GRASSMANN in X. 114⁴ regards it as aorist of √*vṛ*.

⁴ Cp. v. NEGELEIN 83⁴.

⁵ With anomalous long vowel.

⁶ See WHITNEY's note on AV. VI. 30².

⁷ For **ā-tap-s-thās*.

⁸ With loss of the radical nasal (*a* taking the place of the sonant nasal).

⁹ With interchange of the radical vowel and semivowel: see 50, b.

¹⁰ The *a* of *sak* is lengthened in the forms *sākṣāma* and *sākṣate*.

¹¹ Excepting only the 3. du. act. *yakṣatām*.

(*drā-* 'run'), *nakṣat* (*naṣ-* 'reach'), *nṣat* (*√nī-*), *pākṣat* (*√pac-*), *pārṣat* ('take across'), *prṣat* (*√prī-*), *bhākṣat* (*√bhaj-*), *bharṣat* (*√bhṛ-*), *mātsat* (*√mad-*), *yāmsat* (*√yam-*), *yākṣat* (*√yaj-*), *yāsat*, *yōsat* (*yu-* 'separate'), *rāsat*, *vāmsat* (*√van-*), *vākṣat* (*√vah-*), *valṣat* (Kh. v. 15¹⁶), *vṣat*¹ (*√vī-*)², *sakṣat* (*sac-* 'accompany'³ and *sah-* 'overcome'⁴), *satsat* (*√sad-*), *sarṣat* (*√sr-*, AV.), *stoṣat*, *sraṣat* (*√srj-*, VS. XXI. 46).

Du. 2. *dāsathas*, *dhāsathas*, *pārṣathas* (*pr-* 'take across'), *vākṣathas* (*√vah-*, AV.), *varṣathas* (*vr-* 'cover').

3. *pāsatas* ('protect'), *yāmsatas* (*√yam-*), *yākṣatas* (*√yaj-*), *yōsatas* (*yu-* 'separate', AV.), *vākṣatas* (*√vah-*). — With *-tām*: *yakṣatām* (*√yaj-*).

Pl. 1. *jṣāma* (*√ji-*), *vāmsāma* (*√van-*), *sākṣāma*⁵ (*√sah-*), *stoṣāma*. — 2. *dhāsatha*, *neṣatha*, *pārṣatha* ('take across'), *mātsatha*. — 3. *pārṣan* ('take across'), *yāmsan* (*√yam-*), *rāsan*, *vākṣan*, *śṣan* (*ś-* 'lie').

Middle. Sing. 1. *nāmsai*, *māmsai* (*√man-*). — 2. *dṛkṣase*⁶, *prkṣase*⁶ (*√prc-*), *māmsase* (*√man-*). — 3. *kramṣate*, *trāsate*, *darṣate* (*dṛ-* 'split'), *māmsate* (*√man-*), *yāmsate* (*√yam-*), *yākṣate* (*√yaj-*), *rāmate*, *vāmsate* (*√van-*), *sākṣate*⁵ (*√sah-*)⁷. — With ending *-tai*: *māsatai* (AV.).

Du. 2. *trāsāthe* (for **trāsaithe*). — Pl. 3. *nāmsante* (*√nam-*), *māmsante* (*√man-*). — With ending *-tai*: *māmsatai*⁸ (TS. VII. 4. 15¹).

s- Aorist Injunctive.

524. Injunctive forms are of fairly common occurrence, especially after *mā*. Judged by the extremely few accented forms occurring, the accent was on the radical syllable. All the forms occurring in the 1. sing. act. are irregular in one way or another: nearly all of them take *Guṇa* instead of *Vṛddhi*, while *yūṣam* (AV.) only lengthens the radical vowel (*yu-* 'separate'). Three first persons from roots in *-ā* substitute *e*⁹ for that vowel, as *yeṣam* from *yā-* 'go'; the same substitution takes place in the 1. pl. *geṣma* (AV.), *deṣma* (VS.), and 3. pl. *stheṣur* (AV.).

Active. Sing. 1. *jeṣam*¹⁰ (*√ji-*, VS. IX. 13 etc.), *yūṣam* (*yu-* 'separate', AV.), *stoṣam*¹⁰; from roots ending in *-ā*: *geṣam* (*gā-* 'go', VS. v. 5), *yeṣam* (*yā-* 'go'), *stheṣam*⁹ (*sthā-* 'stand', VS. II. 8).

2. *jeṣ*¹¹; *bhāk* (*√bhaj-*), *yāt* (*√yaj-*), *yauṣ* (*yu-* 'separate'), *hvar* (*√hvar-*, VS. I. 2). — With connecting *-ī-*: *hāsīs* (Kh. IV. 85; AA. II. 7).

3. *dhāk* (*√dah-*), *bhāk* (*√bhaj-*), *bhār* (*√bhṛ-*), *mauk* (*√muc-*, VS. I. 25), *hās*¹¹ (*hā-* 'leave'). — With connecting *-ī-*: *tāpsīt* (VS. XIII. 30), *vākṣīt* (*√vah-*, AV.), *hāsīt* (TS. VII. 3. 13¹; AV.), *hvarṣīt* (*√hvar-*, VS. I. 2).

Du. 2. *tāptam* (*√tap-*, VS. v. 33), *yauṣtam* (*yu-* 'separate'), *srāṣtam* (*√srj-*, AV.).

¹ As appearing in immediate juxtaposition with *prṣat* (I. 180b), this form appears to be an aorist subjunctive of *vī-*, not a present injunctive of *viṣ-* (*vṣatī*).

² AVERY 258 gives *ṣīṣat*, among these forms, as occurring once. He doubtless means *ni-ṣīṣat* (IV. 2⁷) which occurs beside the subjunctives *bhādrāt* and *udīrat*. But it cannot be an *s-* aorist (which would be *ṣīṣat*). WHITNEY, *Roots*, takes it as an *a-* aorist of *ṣī-* 'leave', GRASSMANN, *Wörterbuch* 1392, as an aorist of *śā-*. Cp. above 510.

³ In I. 129¹⁰ ('accompany').

⁴ In v. 30⁶ ('conquer').

⁵ With lengthened radical vowel.

⁶ Weak radical vowel instead of *Guṇa*.

⁷ AVERY 258 adds *hāsate*, also WHITNEY, *Grammar* 893 a; but this form is doubtless a 3. sing. mid. pres. of *hās-* 'hasten', a secondary form of *hā-* 'leave' according to the *a-* class; also *hāsante* (AV. IV. 30⁵). Cp. p. 321, note 7.

⁸ See WEBER's ed. of the TS., p. 310, 15, note 12.

⁹ Made perhaps from an *i-* form of roots ending in *-ā*. Cp. WHITNEY, *Grammar* 894 c.

¹⁰ Formed perhaps under the influence of the subjunctives *jṣat* and *stoṣat*.

¹¹ Unnecessarily regarded by DELBRÜCK, *Verbum* p. 60 (80) as from *hr-* 'take'.

Pl. 1. *yauṣma* (yu- 'separate', VS. IV. 22). — With Guṇa only: *geṣma*¹ (gā- 'go', AV.), *jéṣma* (√ji-), *deṣma*¹ (dā- 'give', VS. II. 32). — 2. *naiṣṭa* (√nī-), *yauṣṭa* (√yu- 'separate', AV.), *śāpta*² (TS. III. 3. 9¹). — 3. *jaiṣur* (√ji-, AV.), *dhāsur*, *yauṣur* (yu- 'separate'), *stheṣur*¹ (AV. XVI. 4⁷), *hāsur*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *gāsi* (gā- 'sing'), *nikṣi* (√ni-, AV.), *pātsi* (√pad-, AV.), *bhākṣi* (√bhaj-, VII. 41²), *meṣi* (mī- 'diminish', AV.), *yaṁsi* (√yam-), *yakṣi* (√yaj-,), *vāṁsi* (√van-), *vrkṣi* (√vrj-).

2. *cyoṣthās* (√cyu-), *chitthās* (√chid-, AV.), *patthās* (√pad-, AV.), *bhitthās* (TS. IV. 1. 9²), *maṁsthās* (√man-, AV.; VS. XIII. 41), *meṣthās* (√mī-, AV.), *raṁsthās* (√ram-, AV.), *hāsthās* (hā- 'go forth', AV.).

3. *kṣeṣṭa* (kṣi- 'destroy', AV.), *neṣṭa* (√nī-, AV.), *pāṣṭa* (pā- 'drink', AV.), *maṁṣṭa* (√man-, AV.), *māṁṣṭa*⁶ (√man-, AV. XI. 2⁸), *meṣṭa* (mī- 'fail', AV.), *hāṣṭa* (hā- 'be left', AV.).

Du. 2. *srkṣāthām* (√srj-, VS. XIX. 7).

Pl. 1. *yutsmahi*³ (√yudh-, AV.), *hāsmahi* (hā- 'be deprived of').

3. *dhukṣata* (√duh-), *nūṣata*, *matsata* (√mad-), *mukṣata* (√muc-), *sakṣata* (√sac- 'accompany').

s- Aorist Optative.

525. This mood occurs in the middle only in this form of the sigmatic aorist. The 2. 3. sing. always appears with the precative *s* excepting the one form *bhākṣita* in the SV. (I. 1. 2. 4²).

Sing. 1. *diṣṭiā*⁴ (dā- 'cut'), *bhākṣiā* (√bhaj-), *maṣiā*⁵ (√man-), *mukṣiā*, *rāṣiā*, *sākṣiā*⁶ (√sah-, AV.), *strṣiā* (√str-, AV.).

2. *maṁṣiṣṭhās* (√man-). — 3. *darṣiṣṭa* (dṛ- 'tear'), *bhākṣiṭa* (SV.), *maṁṣiṣṭa* (√man-), *mṛkṣiṣṭa* (mṛc- 'injure').

Du. 2. *trāṣiṣṭhām* (for *trāṣiṣṭhām).

Pl. 1. *dhukṣimāhi* (√duh-, TS. I. 6. 4³), *bhākṣimāhi* (√bhaj-), *maṁṣimāhi* (√man-), *vaṁṣimāhi* and *vasimāhi*⁵ (√van-, IX. 72⁸), *sakṣimāhi* (√sac-). — 3. *maṁṣīrata*.

s- Aorist Imperative.

526. No certain regular forms of the imperative occur in the active. Two or three, such as *yauṣṭam*, *naiṣṭa*, might have been classed here, but as they occur with *mā* only, they have been placed among the injunctives. There are, however, the two transfer forms in the 2. sing. *neṣa* (√nī-, AV.) and *parṣā* (pṛ- 'take across')⁷. The only forms of the imperative occurring in the middle are three made from *rā*- 'give' and one from *sah*- 'conquer'.

Middle. Sing. 2. *sākṣva*. — 3. *rāsatām*. — Du. 2. *rāsatām*. — Pl. 3. *rāsatām*.

s- Aorist Participle.

527. Only two or three forms of the active participle are found. These are *dākṣant-* and *dhākṣant-* from *dah*- 'burn', and *sākṣant-* from *sah*- 'prevail'. In the middle there are no regular forms. There is one doubtful example in which the stem is extended with *-a-* and accordingly adds the suffix *-māna*, as in the *a-* conjugation: *dhī-s-a-māna-* (*dhī*- 'think').

There are, besides, a dozen stems irregularly formed by adding *s* to the root with an intermediate *-a-*, and taking the regular ending *-āna*. These forms

¹ See p. 380, note 9.

² For *śāp-s-ta*.

³ A somewhat doubtful reading: see WHITNEY's note on AV. VII. 52².

⁴ With the radical *ā* weakened to *i*.

⁵ Root weakened by loss of nasal (*a* taking the place of the sonant nasal).

⁶ With irregular lengthening of the radical vowel.

⁷ See WHITNEY, AV. Index Verborum 382.

may be accounted as belonging to the *s*-aorist. All but two of them occur in the RV. They are: *arśasānd-* 'injuring', *ōhasāna-* (√*āh-*) 'lying in wait', *ṛayasānd-* (√*jri-*) 'far-extending', *dhiyasānd-* (√*dhī-*) 'attending', *namasānd-* (√*nam-*) 'rendering homage' (AV.), *bhiyāsāna-* (√*bhī-*) 'fearing' (AV.), *mandasānd-* (√*mand-*) 'rejoicing', *yamasānd-* (√*yam-*) 'being driven' (with passive sense), *rabhasānd-* (√*rabh-*) 'agile', *vrāhasānd-* (√*vrādh-*) 'growing', *śavasānd-* (√*śū-*) 'strong', *sahasānd-* (√*śah-*) 'mighty'.

A. 2. The *ṣs*-Aorist.

DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 179—180. — AVERY, Verb-Inflection 259—261. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 898—910; Roots 226—227; AV. Index Verborum 380. — v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 85—86.

528. About 80 roots take this form of the sigmatic aorist in the RV. and about a dozen others in the AV.

The *-s* is here added to the root with the connecting vowel *-i-*. The radical vowel as a general rule takes **Guṇa** throughout; but in the active a final vowel takes *Ṛddhi* and a medial *-a* is sometimes lengthened. No roots with final *-ā* and few with final *-ī* take this aorist. The terminations are the same as those of the *s*-aorist, excepting that the 2. and 3. sing. act. end in *-īs* (= *iṣ-s*) and *-it* (= *iṣ-t*). Active and middle forms, though frequent, are rarely both made from the same root, occurring thus in about fifteen verbs only. This is the only aorist from which a few forms are made in the secondary conjugation¹.

Besides the indicative, all the moods are represented in this aorist, but no participial forms have been met with.

Indicative.

529. In the active all persons are represented except du. 1. 2. and pl. 2.; but in the middle only sing. 2. and 3. occur besides a single form of sing. 1 (Kh.), du. 3. and pl. 3. (VS.).

a. A few irregularities occur in the formation of this tense². 1. The forms *atūrima* (beside the normal *ātāriṣma*) and *avādiran*³ (AV.), are probably to be regarded as irregular forms with abnormal loss of the aoristic *-s*. — 2. The root *grabh-* 'seize' takes the connecting vowel *i*³ (as it does in other verbal forms) instead of *-i-*, as *agrabhīṣma*. — 3. In the sing. 1. act., the ending *-īm* appears instead of *-iṣam* in the three forms *ākramīm*, *vādhīm*, and *agrabhīm* (TS.), doubtless owing to the analogy of the 2. and 3. sing. *-īs* and *-it*⁴. — 4. The abnormal ending *-ait* appears in the 3. sing. in *dsarait*⁵ (AV.) beside *asarit* (AV.)⁶.

The normal forms occurring, if made from *kram-* 'stride', would be as follows:

Active. Sing. 1. *ākramiṣam*. 2. *ākramiṣ*. 3. *ākramit*. — Du. 3. *ākramiṣtām*. — Pl. 1. *ākramiṣma*. 3. *ākramiṣur*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *ākramiṣi* (Kh.). 2. *ākramiṣthās*. 3. *ākramiṣta*. — Du. 3. *ākramiṣātām*. — Pl. 3. *ākramiṣata* (VS.).

The forms which actually occur are the following:

¹ From causatives *dhvanayīt*, *ailayīt* (√*il-*, AV.), from a desiderative *irīṣis* (√*irāh-*, AV.).

² The weak form of the root appears in the injunctive *nudīṣthās* (AV.) and the optative *ruciṣiṣya* (AV.) and *gmiṣiṣya* (VS.), which syncopates the radical vowel as in the root aor. and the perfect of this verb.

³ Cp. WHITNEY 904 d.

⁴ Cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 188.

⁵ This abnormal ending also occurs in the secondary conjugation in the denominative aor. *dsaparyait* (AV.): see below 570.

⁶ Both these forms also show the irregularity of taking **Guṇa** instead of *Ṛddhi*.

Active. Sing. 1. *akāṇiṣam, akāriṣam, akramiṣam, acāyīṣam* (AV.), *acāriṣam, abhāriṣam* (√*bhr-*, AV.), *avadhiṣam* (AV.), *avādiṣam* (AV.), *āsaṇiṣam, asāniṣam; āṣiṣam* (aś- 'eat', AV.); *rāviṣam*. — With ending *-īm*: *akramīm, agrabhīm* (TS.); *vādhīm*.

2. *ākramīs, adṛmḥīs* (VS. VI. 2), *davadhīs, avarṣīs*¹, *astarīs* (√*stṛ-*, AV.); *āṣīs*² (aś- 'eat', AV.), *āukṣīs* (ukṣ- 'grow'); *kramīs, vādhīs*.

3. *ākārīt, ākramīt, āgrabhīt, āgrahīt* (AV.), *ātārīt, adṛmḥīt* (MS. IV. 13⁸), *anayīt*³ (√*nṛ-*, AV.), *āmandīt, ayāsīt, āyodhīt, arāvīt, āvadhīt, dvarṣīt* (√*vṛṣ-*, AV.), *āsaṇsīt, āsarīt*⁴ (AV.), *asāvīt, astānīt* (AV.), *āsvanīt; āvīt, āṣīt* (aś- 'eat', AV.); *jārvīt* (jārv- 'consume'), *tārīt, vādhīt*. — With ending *-ait*: *āsarait*⁴ (AV.).

Du. 3. *āmanthiṣtām; jāniṣtām*.

Pl. 1. *agrabhīṣma, ātāriṣma* and *atāriṣa*⁵, *davadhiṣma* (VS. IX. 38).

3. *ataksiṣur, ātāriṣur, adhanviṣur, ānartisiṣur, ānindiṣur, apāviṣur, āman-diṣur, amādiṣur, arājiṣur, arāṇiṣur* (ran- 'rejoice'), *ārāviṣur, avādiṣur, asāviṣur; āksiṣur*⁶ (I. 163¹⁰), *āniṣur* (√*an-*, AV., TS.), *āviṣur* (√*av-*). — With *-ran*: *avādiran* (AV.).

Middle. Sing. 1. *aikṣi* (Kh. I. 1¹: √*ikṣ-*). — **2.** *ājaniṣthās* (AV.), *asamiṣthās* (sam- 'labour'), *asayīṣthās, āsramiṣthās; jāniṣthās*.

3. *akrapīṣta* (√*kṛp-*), *ājaniṣta, adhāviṣta, anaviṣta, aprathiṣta, arociṣta* (VS. XXXVII. 15), *avasīṣta* (vas- 'wear'), *āsamiṣta, āsahiṣta; āuhiṣta* (āh- 'consider'); *krāmiṣta, jāniṣta, prāthiṣta, māndiṣta, yamiṣta*.

Du. 3. *āmandiṣātām*. — **Pl. 3.** *āgrbhīṣata* (VS. XXI. 60).

iṣ- Aorist Subjunctive.

530. Active forms of this mood are fairly common, but are almost exclusively limited to the 2. and 3. sing. Middle forms are very rare, occurring only in the pl., where not more than four examples have been noted.

Active. Sing. 1. *daviṣāni*¹. — **2.** *aviṣas, kāniṣas, tāriṣas, rakṣiṣas, vādhīṣas, vādiṣas* (AV.), *vēṣiṣas, śaṇsiṣas*.

3. *kāriṣat, jambhiṣat, jōṣiṣat, tāriṣat, nīndiṣat* (AV.), *pāriṣat* ('take across'), *bōdhiṣat, mārādhīṣat, yāciṣat, yodhiṣat, rakṣiṣat, vaniṣat* (AV.), *vyathiṣat* (VS. VI. 18), *śaṇsiṣat* (TS. V. 6. 8⁶), *saṇiṣat, sāviṣat*³ (sā- 'vivify').

Pl. 3. *saṇiṣan*⁹ (AV. V. 3⁵).

Middle. Pl. 1. *yāciṣāmahe, saṇiṣāmahe*. — **3.** *vaniṣanta*¹⁰ (TS. IV. 7. 14¹), *sāniṣanta*.

iṣ- Aorist Injunctive.

531. Forms of the injunctive are commoner than those of the subjunctive. In the active they are found almost exclusively in the 2. 3. sing., 2. du. and 2. 3. pl.; in the middle nearly a dozen forms occur, all but one in the sing.

The forms of this mood have the accent on the root (as in the un-augmented indicative).

Active. Sing. 1. *śaṇsiṣam, hīṃsiṣam* (VS. I. 25).

¹ AVERY 259 adds *āvarḥīs* as occurring once.

² See WHITNEY's note on AV. XI. 3²⁶.

³ With Guṇa instead of Vyddhi of final vowel; cp. BARTHOLOMAE, Studien 2, 165.

⁴ See WHITNEY's note on AV. VI. 66², where the reading *āsarīt* is better supported; cp. his note on AV. VI. 65¹.

⁵ With loss of the aoristic -s.

⁶ From *akṣ-* 'attain' (WHITNEY, Roots 1) a secondary form of √*as-*; otherwise a *siṣ-* aorist from aś- 'attain'.

⁷ Cp. v. SCHROEDER, WZKM. 13, 119—122.

⁸ This form occurs also in two passages of the AV.; in a third (AV. I. 18²) *sāviṣak* appears instead of it. Cp. WHITNEY's note on this passage, and his Grammar 151 a.

⁹ The corresponding passage of the RV. (x. 128³) has *vanuṣanta*, and of the TS. (IV. 7. 14¹) *vaniṣanta*.

¹⁰ See preceding note.

2. *avīts*, *kramīts* (AV.), *jīvīts* (AV.), *tarīts*, *barhīts*, *māthīts*, *mardhīts*, *moṣīts*, *yāvīts*, *yodhīts*, *rakṣīts* (AV.), *randhīts*, *lekḥīts* (VS.V.43), *vādhīts*, *soctīts* (VS.XI.45), *sāvīts*, *spharīts*, *hīmsīts* (VS. AV.). — With *-ais*: *śarais* (√śr-, AV.).

3. *aśīt* (aś- 'eat'), *gārīt* (gr- 'swallow'), *cārīt*, *jīvīt* (AV.), *tārīt*, *dāsīt* (das- 'waste'), *barhīt*, *māthīt*, *vadhīt* (TS.IV.2.9¹; VS.XIII.16), *veśīt*, *svānīt*, *hīmsīt*.
Du. 2. *tāriṣṭam*, *mardhiṣṭam*, *hīmsiṣṭam* (AV. VS.).

Pl. 1. *śramiṣma*. — 2. *grabhiṣṭa*, *vadhiṣṭa*, *hīmsiṣṭa* (AV. TS.); *mathiṣṭana* (AV.), *rāniṣṭana* (√ran-), *vadhiṣṭana*. — 3. *jāriṣur* (jr- 'waste away'), *jīviṣur* (AV.), *tāriṣur*¹ (AV.), *vadhiṣur* (AV.), *vādiṣur* (AV.), *hīmsiṣur* (AV.).

Middle. Sing. 1. *rādhiṣi* (AV.). — 2. *ḥṣaniṣṭhās*² (AV.), *nudiṣṭhās*³ (AV.), *marṣiṣṭhās* (√mrṣ-), *vadhiṣṭhās* (Kh. II.11³), *vyathiṣṭhās* (AV.). — 3. *paṇiṣṭa*, *paviṣṭa*, *bādhiṣṭa*. — Pl. 1. *vyathiṣmahi* (AV.).

īṣ- Aorist Optative.

532. This mood is rare, occurring in the middle only and being formed from hardly a dozen roots. Though the ending is accented, the root appears in a weak form in *gmiṣṭya*⁴ (VS.) and *ruciṣṭya* (AV.). The 2. and 3. sing. take the precativē *-s*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *edhiṣṭyā* (AV.), *gmiṣṭya*³ (VS. III.19), *jaṇiṣṭya* (AV.)⁵, *ruciṣṭya*³ (AV.). — 2. *modiṣṭhās* (AV.). — 3. *jaṇiṣṭṣa*, *vaniṣṭṣa*.

Du. 1. *sahiṣṭvahi* (AV.). — Pl. 1. *edhiṣṭmāhi* (AV.), *tāriṣmahi*, *mandiṣṭmahi* (VS.IV.14; TS.I.2.3¹ etc.), *vandiṣṭmāhi*, *vardiṣṭmāhi* (VS.II.14, XXXVIII.21), *sahiṣṭmahi* (AV.), *sāhiṣṭmāhi* (Pada text *sahiṣṭmāhi*).

īṣ- Aorist Imperative.

533. Forms of this mood are rare, occurring in the active only and being made from six or seven roots at the most. Among these forms, two only are distinctively imperative, *aviḍḍhi* and *aviṣṭu*; a few others can be distinguished by having the accent on the ending; the rest, being unaccented and used without *mā*, cannot be distinguished from injunctives.

Sing. 2. *aviḍḍhi*. — 3. *aviṣṭu*. — Du. 1. *aviṣṭām*, *kramiṣṭam*, *gamiṣṭam*, *caniṣṭam*, *cayīṣṭam* (ci- 'gather'), *yodhiṣṭam* (√yudh-), *vadhiṣṭam*, *śnathiṣṭam*. — 3. *aviṣṭām*. — Pl. 2. *avitā*⁶; *aviṣṭāna*, *śnathiṣṭāna*.

A. 3. The *īṣ*- Aorist.

DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 179. — AVERY, Verb-Inflection 261. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 911—916; Roots 227. — v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 86.

534. This aorist, which is inflected exactly like the *īṣ*- aorist, is formed by only six or seven roots in the Samhitās. Middle forms occur in the optative only.

Indicative.

Sing. 1. *ayāsiṣam*. — Du. 3. *ayāsiṣṭam* (VS. XXVIII.14). — Pl. 2. *dyāsiṣṭa*. — 3. *agāsiṣur* (gā- 'sing'), *ayāsiṣur*⁷.

Subjunctive.

Sing. 3. *gāsiṣat* (gā- 'sing'), *yāsiṣat*.

¹ With accent on the ending instead of the root.

² Cp. BRUGMANN, KZ. 24, 363 f.

³ With weak form of root.

⁴ Cp. ZIMMER, KZ. 30, 222.

⁵ The Kāṭhaka has the forms *jaṇiṣeyam* and *jaṇiṣeya* made from a secondary *-a*- stem (WHITNEY 907).

⁶ This may be regarded as a form irregularly lacking *ṣ* = *aviṣṭā*.

⁷ *āksiṣur* is formed from *aś*- 'attain', according to DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 179; according to WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 913, and Roots 1, from the secondary root *akṣ*-; see above p. 383, note 6.

Optative.

Middle. Sing. 1. *vaṃsiṣṭya*¹ (*van-* 'win', AV.). — 2. *yāsiṣṭṣhās*². — Pl. 1. *pyāsiṣṭmahī*³ (AV.; VS. II. 14; MS. IV. 9¹⁰ [p. 181, 9]).

Injunctive.

Sing. 1. *raṃsiṣam*⁴ (SV. I. 4. 1. 2⁵). — Du. 2. *hāsiṣam* (AV.). — 3. *hāsiṣām* (AV.). — Pl. 2. *hāsiṣta* (AV.). — 3. *hāsiṣur* (AV.).

Imperative.

Du. 2. *yāsiṣām*. — Pl. 2. *yāsiṣa*⁵ (I. 165¹⁵).

B. The *sa-* Aorist.

DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 179. — AVERY, Verb-Inflection 262. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 916—920; Roots 227. — v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 86.

535. In the Samhitās this form of the sigmatic aorist is taken by only nine roots, which end in *j ś ṣ* or *h* and contain the medial vowels *i u* or *ṛ*. The thematic *a* doubtless came to be employed in these few verbs to avoid a difficult agglomeration of consonants when the endings were added. The inflexion is like that of an imperfect of the *i-* class of the first conjugation, the *-sá-* being accented⁶ in unaugmented forms. Besides the indicative, only forms of the injunctive and imperative occur, altogether fewer than a dozen. No subjunctive, optative, or participial forms have been noted.

Indicative.

536. Neither forms of any person of the dual nor of the 2. pl. occur in the indicative of this type of the *s-* aorist. The active forms greatly predominate, the middle being represented in the 3. sing. and pl. by only three or four forms altogether.

Active. Sing. 1. *avṛkṣam* (√*vṛh-*). — 2. *adhukṣas* (√*duh-*, VS. I. 3), *aruṣas* (√*ruh-*, AV.); *rukṣas* (√*ruh-*, AV.). — 3. *ḍkruṣat* (√*krus-*), *aghukṣat* (√*guh-*), *aduṣat*⁷ and *ḍdhukṣat* (√*duh-*), *āmṛkṣat* (√*mṛś-*, AV.) *āruṣat* (√*ruh-*), *āsprkṣat* (√*sprś-*, AV.; VS. XXVIII. 18). — Pl. 1. *amṛkṣāma* (√*mṛj-* 'wipe'), *aruṣāma* (√*ruh-*, AV.). — 3. *ādhukṣan* (√*duh-*); *dukṣan*⁸ and *dhukṣan* (√*duh-*).

Middle. Sing. 3. *ādhukṣata*⁹; *dukṣata*⁸ and *dhukṣata*. — Pl. 3. *amṛkṣanta* (√*mṛj-*).

Injunctive.

Active. Sing. 2. *dukṣas*, *mṛkṣas* (√*mṛś-*). — 3. *dvikṣat* (√*dviṣ-*, AV.). — Pl. 2. *mṛkṣata* (√*mṛś-*).

Middle. Sing. 3. *dukṣata*⁸ and *dhukṣata* (√*duh-*), *dvikṣata* (√*dviṣ-*, AV.). — Pl. 3. *dhukṣanta* (√*duh-*).

Imperative.

Active. Du. 2. *mṛkṣatam* (√*mṛj-*). — 3. *yakṣatām* (√*yaj-*).

Middle. Sing. 2. *dhukṣāsva* (√*duh-*).

¹ In the Mss. *vaṃsiṣṭya*; see WHITNEY's note on AV. IX. 114.

² With precativ *s*.

³ In the Mss. *pyāsiṣṭmahī*; see WHITNEY's note on AV. VII. 81⁵.

⁴ Variant for *rāsiṣa* of the RV.

⁵ With *ī* for *i*. AVERY 261 gives the form as *yāsiṣṭā*.

⁶ Three forms occur accented thus; the root is, however, accented in *dhukṣata*.

⁷ See above 32 b.

⁸ See above 32 b.

⁹ In IX. 110⁸ the form *ādhukṣata* seems to be a 3. pl.

IV. The Future System.

DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 183—184. — AVERY, Verb-Inflection 262. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 931—941; Roots 228 f.; AV. Index Verborum 380. — v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 86—87.

537. The stem is formed by adding *-syá¹* or (rather less frequently with connecting *-i-*) *-isyá¹* to the root, which gunates a final or a prosodically short medial vowel. As the subjunctive frequently has a future sense, and even the present indicative may have it, the occasion for the use of actual future forms seldom arises in the RV., which forms a future stem from only fifteen roots, while the AV. does so from more than thirty (about eight of these occurring in the RV. also)². There is only one subjunctive and one conditional form, but some twenty participles occur.

a. In the following stems the suffix *-sya* is added direct: *kṣi-* 'abide': *kṣe-syá¹*³; *ji-* 'conquer': *je-syá¹*; *dah-* 'burn': *dhak-syá¹*; *yaj-* 'sacrifice': *yak-syá¹*; *vac-* 'speak': *vak-syá¹*; *sū-* 'bring forth': *sū-sya*⁴. In the AV. also occur: *i-* 'go': *c-syá¹*; *kṛt-* 'cut': *kart-sya*; *kram-* 'stride': *kram-syá¹*; *gop-* 'protect': *gop-sya*; *dā-* 'give': *dā-syá¹*; *nī-* 'lead': *ne-sya*; *mih-* 'mingere': *mek-syá¹*⁵; *yā-* 'go': *yā-syá¹*; *yuj-* 'join': *yok-sya*⁶; *rādh-* 'succeed': *rāt-sya*; *vah-* 'carry': *vak-syá¹*; *vṛt-* 'turn': *vart-syá¹*⁷; *śad-* 'fall': *śat-sya*; *sah-* 'prevail': *sāk-sya*⁸; *hā-* 'leave': *hā-sya*; *hu-* 'sacrifice': *ho-syá¹*. In the VS. *bandh-* 'bind': *bhant-syá¹*.

b. In the following stems the suffix is added with connecting *-i-*: *av-* 'favour': *av-isyá¹*⁹; *as-* 'shoot': *as-isyá¹*; *kr-* 'do': *kar-isyá¹*; *jan-* 'beget': *jan-isyá¹*; *bhū-* 'be': *bhav-isyá¹*; *man-* 'think': *man-isyá¹*; *vā-* 'weave': *vay-isyá¹*¹⁰; *san-* 'acquire': *san-isyá¹*; *śṛ-* 'hasten': *sar-isyá¹*; *stu-* 'praise': *stav-isyá¹*. From causative stems: *dhṛ-* 'support': *dhāray-isyá¹*; *vas-* 'clothe oneself': *vāsay-isyá¹*.

The AV. has the following additional stems: *gam-* 'go': *gam-isyá¹*; *dhṛ-* 'maintain': *dhār-isyá¹*; *naś-* 'disappear': *naś-isyá¹*; *pat-* 'fly': *pat-isyá¹*; *mṛ-* 'die': *mar-isyá¹*; *vad-* 'speak': *vad-isyá¹*; *vṛt-* 'turn': *vart-isyá¹*¹¹; *svap-* 'sleep': *svap-isyá¹*¹²; *han-* 'slay': *han-isyá¹*. From causative stems: *duṣ-* 'spoil': *dūṣay-isyá¹*; *vṛ-* 'cover': *vāray-isyá¹* 'shield'.

538. a. Subjunctive. The only subjunctive form occurring is *kar-isyá¹(-s)* in IV. 30^{23, 13}.

b. Conditional. The only example occurring is formed from *bhṛ-* 'bear': *ā-bhar-isyá¹* 'he was going to bear off' (II. 30²).

c. Participles. A good many participial forms occur. The following stems are met with:

Active. *av-isyánt*¹⁴, *as-isyánt*, *e-syánt* (AV.)¹⁵, *kar-isyánt*, *kṣe-syánt*, *khan-isyánt* (TS.), *je-syánt*¹⁶ (AV.), *dā-syánt* (AV.), *dhak-syánt*, *pat-isyánt* (AV.),

¹ On the origin of this suffix see BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 747 (p. 1092), who connects the *-isya* form with the *is-* aorist; and v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 86.

² According to WHITNEY 937 the future is formed from over 60 roots in the TS. but I am uncertain how many of these occur in independent Mantra passages.

³ This is the only stem in which *-syá¹* is to be read *-sia*: *kṣeśántas*.

⁴ This stem has the double irregularity of accenting the root and not taking Guṇa: cp. the perfect *sasīva*.

⁵ The Mss. read *mekṣāmi* in AV. VII. 102¹: cp. WHITNEY's note.

⁶ Doubtful reading see note³ p. 387 on *yokṣye*.

⁷ See WHITNEY's note on AV. xv. 67.

⁸ An emendation: see note on *sākṣye*.

⁹ Cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 184.

¹⁰ Op. cit. p. 183.

¹¹ In the form *ānvartisye* for *ānu-vartisye*; see p. 11, 18.

¹² See WHITNEY's note on AV. XIX. 479.

¹³ The form *karisyá¹* (I. 1659) is probably to be explained as the same subjunctive (= *karisyā¹*): cp. BR. sv. *karisyā¹*.

¹⁴ Cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 183.

¹⁵ In *praisyān* (AV. v. 22¹⁴), Pp. *pra-esyān*, but WHITNEY = *pra-isyān*.

¹⁶ In AV. xv. 20¹ nearly all the Mss. read *jyesyān* (as if from *jyā-*) for *jesyān*.

bhar-isyánt- (TS.), *bhav-isyánt-* (AV.VS.), *yā-syánt-* (AV.), *vac-* 'speak': *vak-syánt-*, *vay-isyánt-*, *san-isyánt-*, *sar-isyánt-*, *sa-syánt-*, *han-isyánt-*.

Middle. *kramśyā-māṇa-* (AV.), *janīsyā-māṇa-* (VS.XVIII.5), *yakśyā-māṇa-*, *staviśyā-māṇa-* (AV.).

Future Indicative.

539. The future is inflected, in both active and middle, like the present of the *a-* conjugation. The forms actually met with in the Samhitās would, if made from *kṛ-* 'do', be the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *karīsyāmi*. 2. *karīsyāsi*. 3. *karīsyāti*. — Du. 2. *karīsyathas* (TS.). 3. *karīsyatas* (AV.). — Pl. 1. *karīsyāmas* and *karīsyāmasi* (AV.). 2. *karīsyātha*. 3. *karīsyanti* (AV.).

Middle. Sing. 1. *karīsyā*. 2. *karīsyase*. 3. *karīsyate*.

The forms actually occurring are the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *esyāmi* (AV.), *karīsyāmi* (AV.), *kartsyāmi* (AV.), *carīsyāmi* (VS. I. 5), *jesyāmi*, *bhantiyāmi* (1 *bandh-*, VS. XXII. 4)¹, *meksyāmi*² (AV.), *vakśyāmi* (√*vac-*), *staviśyāmi*.

2. *karīsyāsi*, *jesyāsi* (VS. XXIII. 17), *bhaviśyāsi* (AV.), *marīśyāsi* (AV.), *rātsyāsi* (√*rādḥ-*, AV.), *vakśyāsi* (1 *vac-*, TS. II. 6. 125), *sanīśyāsi*, *hanīśyāsi* (AV.).

3. *karīsyāti*, *ganīśyāti* (AV.), *naśīśyāti* (AV.), *neśyāti* (AV.), *paśīśyāti* (AV.), *bhaviśyāti*, *marīśyāti* (AV.), *vadīśyāti* (AV.), *sanīśyāti*, *sthāśyāti* (VS. VI. 2), *hanīśyāti* (AV.).

Du. 2. *karīsyathas* (TS. IV. 1. 9²). — 3. *marīśyatas* (AV.), *vakśyatas* (1 *vac-*, AV.).

Pl. 1. *bharīśyāmas* (VS. XI. 16), *vakśyāmas* (1 *vac-*), *svapīśyāmasi* (AV.).

2. *karīsyātha*, *bhaviśyātha*, *sarīśyātha* (AV.).

3. *gopśyanti* (√*gup-*, AV.), *śatsyanti* (1 *śad-*, AV.), *hāśyanti* (1 *hā-*, AV.).

Middle. Sing. 1. *dharīśyē* (AV.), *manīśyē*, *yokśyē*³ (AV.), *vartīśyē*⁴ (AV.), *sākśyē*⁵ (√*sah-*, AV.). — 2. *staviśyase*. — 3. *janīśyate*, *staviśyate* (AV.).

Periphrastic Future.

540. Of this formation, common in the later language, there seems to be an incipient example in VS. XVIII. 59 = TS. V. 7. 7¹: *anvāgantī yajñāpatir vo dtra* 'the sacrificer is following after you here', a modification of AV. VI. 123¹: *anvāgantī yajamānaḥ svastī*, which WHITNEY translates 'the sacrificer follows after well-being'⁶.

V. Secondary Conjugation.

541. As opposed to the primary conjugation, there are four derivative formations in which the present stem is used throughout the inflexion of the verb and is everywhere accompanied by the specific sense connected with that stem. The forms which occur outside the present system are, however, rare. The four derivative formations are the desiderative, the intensive, the causative, and the denominative.

1. The Desiderative.

DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 184—186. — AVERY, Verb-Inflection 230, 268—270. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 1026—1040; Roots 233f. — v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 88—90.

542. Though the least frequent of the secondary conjugations, the desiderative is perhaps best dealt with first, as being akin in derivation and

¹ In AV. III. 95 ROTH and WHITNEY's edition reads *bhantiyāmi*; but WHITNEY, note on that passage, would emend this to *bhantiyāmi* (√*bandh-*), and SHANKAR PANDIT reads *bhantiyāmi*.

² WHITNEY's emendation for *mekśyāmi* of the Mss.; see his note on AV. VII. 102¹.

³ All the Mss. in AV. XIX. 13¹ read *yokśe* (but Paipp. *yokśye*).

⁴ In *ānvartīśyē* (AV. XIV. 15⁶) given under the root *art-* by WHITNEY, AV. Index Verborum; see p. 386, note 11.

⁵ The Mss. in AV. II. 275 read *sākśe*.

⁶ Cp. WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 946.

meaning to the future¹, the last of the primary verbal formations treated above (537—540). The desiderative is formed from the root with an accented reduplicative syllable and the suffix *-sa*, which expresses the desire for the action or condition denoted by the root; e. g. *pā-* 'drink': *pī-pā-sa-* 'desire to drink'. Desiderative stems from fewer than sixty roots are met with in the Samhitās.

The characteristic reduplicative vowel is *i*, which appears in all stems except those formed from roots containing *ā* (which reduplicate with *u*); and the root generally remains unchanged. Thus *jñā-* 'know': *jī-jñā-sa-* (AV.); *jyā-* 'overpower': *jī-jyā-sa-*; *dā-* 'give': *dī-dā-sa-*; *pā-* 'drink': *pī-pā-sa-*; *tij-* 'be sharp': *it-tik-sa-*; *nīd-* 'blame': *nī-nit-sa-*; *bhid-* 'split': *bi-bhit-sa-*; *miś-* 'mix': *mī-mik-sa-*; *riṣ-* 'hurt': *ri-rik-sa-*; *nī-* 'lead': *nī-nī-sa-*; *prī-* 'love': *pī-prī-sa-*; *guh-* 'hide': *jū-guk-sa-*²; *duh-* 'milk': *dū-duk-sa-*²; *muc-* 'release': *mū-muk-sa-*; *yudh-* 'fight': *yī-yut-sa-*; *ruh-* 'ascend': *rū-ruk-sa-*; *bhū-* 'be': *bū-bhū-sa-*; *ṛd-* 'pierce': *tī-ṛt-sa-*; *tṛp-* 'delight': *tī-tṛp-sa-*; *ḍṛś-* 'see': *dī-ḍṛk-sa-*; *vṛt-* 'turn': *vī-vṛt-sa-*; *śṛp-* 'creep': *sī-śṛp-sa-*.

a. A few desideratives reduplicate with a long vowel: *tur-* (= *tī-*) 'cross': *tū-tūr-sa-*; *bīdh-* 'oppress': *bī-bhat-sa-*; *man-* 'think': *mī-mām-sa-* (AV.) 'investigate'. On the other hand, two desideratives abbreviate the reduplicative syllable by dropping its consonant; thus *yaj-* 'sacrifice': *t-yak-sa-* for **yī-jak-sa-*³; *naś-* 'attain': *i-nak-sa-*, for **nī-nak-sa-*, perhaps through the influence of *hyak-sa-*; and the RV. has one desiderative form from *āp-* 'obtain' in which the reduplication is dropped altogether: *ap-santa*.

b. The radical vowel is lengthened when *i*, *u*, or *r* is final (the latter becoming *ṛ*); thus *ci-* 'see': *ci-kī-sa-*; *ji-* 'conquer': *jī-gī-sa-*; *yu-* 'unite': *yū-yū-sa-*; *śru-* 'hear': *śh-śrū-sa-*; *kṛ-* 'make': *ci-kīr-sa-* (AV.); *hṛ-* 'take': *jī-hīr-sa-* (AV.); *dhṛy-* 'injure': *dī dhūr-sa-* with *ū* because vowel and semi-vowel have interchanged⁴.

a. A few roots with medial *a* followed by *n* or *m* lengthen the vowel; thus *man-* 'think': *mī-mām-sa-* (AV.); *han-* 'smite': *jī-ghām-sa-*; *gam-* 'go': *jī-gām-sa-* (AV.); two others do so after dropping the nasal, viz. *van-* 'win': *vī-vā-sa-*; and *san-* 'gain': *sī-sā-sa-*⁵.

c. In nearly a dozen roots, on the other hand, the radical vowel is weakened.

1. In a few roots final *ā* is reduced to *i* and, in one instance, even *i*⁶; thus *gā-* 'go': *jī-gī-sa-* (SV.); *pā-* 'drink': *pī-pī-sa-* (RV.) beside *pī-pā-sa-*; *hā-* 'go forth': *jī-hī-sa-*⁷ (AV.); *dhā-* 'put': *dī-dhī-sa-* (RV.) beside *dhit-sa-*.

2. Half a dozen roots containing *ā* or *a* shorten the root by syncopation resulting in contraction with the reduplicative syllable; *dā-* 'give': *dīt-sa-*, for *dī-d[ā]-sa-*, beside *dī-dā-sa-*; *dhā-* 'put': *dhit-t-sa-*, for *dī-dh[ā]-sa-*, beside *dī-dhī-sa-*; *dabh-* 'harm': *dī-p-sa-*, for *dī-d[a]bh-sa-*; *labh-* 'take': *lī-p-sa-* (AV.), for *lī-l[a]bh-sa-*; *śak-* 'be able': *śī-k-sa-*, for *śī-ś[a]k-sa-*; *sah-* 'prevail': *śī-k-sa-*, for *śī-s[a]k-sa-*; similarly initial *ā* in *āp-* 'obtain': *īp-sa-*⁸ (AV.); and in *ṛdh-* 'thrive': *īrt-sa-* (AV.) the initial *r* is treated as if it were *ar*⁹.

a. In a few roots the consonants undergo exceptional changes; thus palatals revert to the original guttural in *ci-* 'note': *ci-kī-sa-*; *ci-* 'perceive': *ci-kī-sa-*; *ji-* 'conquer': *jī-gī-sa-*;

¹ Cp. v. NEGELEIN 86.

² See above 32 b.

³ Cp. v. NEGELEIN 68, note 2. The *i* being the reduplicative vowel, cannot be explained in the same way as that of the perfect *i-yā-* for **ya-yā-*, where *i-* has the nature of Samprasāraṇa.

⁴ Cp. *īdī-*: *dyū-īd-* etc., below 573 a.

⁵ As in the past participle 574, 2 a.

⁶ As in the past participle 574, 3.

⁷ In AV. xx. 127² the Mss. read *jihīṣate* probably for *jihīṣate*.

⁸ Cp. BRUGMANN 2, 854, 1027.

⁹ v. NEGELEIN (89, note 2) thinks *īrtā-* can only be explained from *īrdh-sa-*.

han- 'slay': *jī-ghām-sa-*. In *ghas* 'eat' the final *s* becomes *h* before the *h* of the suffix: *jī-ghat-sa-* (AV.).

β. The desiderative suffix *-sa* is never added in the RV. with the connecting vowel *-i-*; but there is one example of this formation in the AV., viz. *pat-ādy-*: *patādy-*.

Inflection.

543. The desiderative is inflected regularly like verbs of the *a-* conjugation in both voices, having the moods and participles of the present tense, as well as an imperfect. No forms outside the present system occur in the RV. with the exception of the perfect from *mī-*, *mī-mīkṣ-āns* etc. (in which, however, the desiderative stem is treated as a root) besides two aorist forms and one passive participle in the AV.¹

The forms of the present indicative, active and middle, which actually occur, would if made from *vā-sa-* 'desire to win', be as follows:

Active. Sing. 1. *vāśāmi*. 2. *vāśasi*. 3. *vāśati*. — Du. 2. *vāśathas*. 3. *vāśatas*. — Pl. 1. *vāśāmas*. 3. *vāśanti*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *vāśe*. 2. *vāśase*. 3. *vāśate*. — Pl. 1. *vāśāmahe*. *vāśante*.

544. Forms occurring elsewhere in the present system are the following:

a. Subjunctive. Active. Sing. 3. *jīghāmsāt* (TS.), *tīrpsāt*, *dīpsāt* (TS. AV.), *nīnīśāt*, *vāśāt*. — Pl. 3. *hyākṣān*, *tīrṣān*, *vāśān*.

b. Injunctive. Active. Sing. 3. *inākṣat*, *ekītsat*, *vāśat*. — Middle. Pl. 3. *apsanta*, *didhiṣanta*, *sīkṣanta*.

c. Optative. Active. Sing. 1. *dīśeyam*, *vāśeyam*. — 3. *vāśet*. — Pl. 1. *didhiṣema*, *vāśema*. — Middle. Sing. 1. *didhiṣeya*.

d. Imperative. Active. Sing. 2. *ekītsa*, *dīpsa* (AV.), *mīmīkṣa*, *vāśa*. — 3. *ekītsatu* (AV.). — Du. 2. *mīmīkṣatam*, *sīśāsatam*. — 3. *mīmīkṣatām*. — Pl. 2. *ekītsata* (TS.), *vāśata*. — 3. *didhiṣantu*.

e. Participles. Active. *inākṣant-*, *hyākṣant-*, *īpsant-* (AV.), *tīrṣant-* (AV.), *ekītsant-*, *jīghāmsant-*, *dītsant-*, *dīpsant-*, *dīduksant-*, *pīpsant-*, *bībhūṣant-*, *yūyutsant-*, *yūyūṣant-*, *rīrīkṣant-* (1st *rī-*), *rīrūṣant-* (1st *ruh-*), *vāśant-*, *sīśāsant-*, *sīrīpsant-*, *sīkṣant-*. — Middle. *hyākṣamāṇa-*, *tīrṣamāṇa-* (AV.), *jīghāmsamāṇa-*, *mīmīkṣamāṇa-*, *īpsamāṇa-* (AV.), *sīkṣamāṇa-* (TS.), *sīśrūṣamāṇa-*; and with *-āna-*: *didhiṣāna-*.

f. Imperfect. Active. Sing. 2. *śīśāsas*. — 3. *ajīghāmsat*, *asiśāsāt*. — Pl. 3. *āyuyutsan*, *śīśāsān*; *dūduksān*, *bībhītsān*.

g. Aorist. Sing. 2. *acīkītsis* (AV.), *tīrṣis* (AV.).

h. Passive. No finite form of the passive seems to occur in the Samhitās; of participles, no certain form of the present occurs, *mīmāṃsyādmāna-* (AV. IX. 6²¹)⁵ being a conjecture; and of the past only one form has been noted: *mīmāṃsītā-* (AV. IX. 6²⁴)⁶.

i. Gerundive. Two regular forms occur: *didrṣ-ḥya-* 'worthy to be seen' and *śrīrṣ-ḥya-* (TS.) 'worthy to be heard'. There are also one or two irregular formations: *didrṣ-ḥya-* 'worthy to be seen' and *papṛṣ-ḥya-* 'to be asked' (unless from aorist stem)⁷.

k. Verbal adjective. A considerable number (more than a dozen in the RV.) of verbal adjectives are formed from the desiderative stem with the

¹ See above 44 a, I.

² The desiderative of *jī-* 'live', *jījīu-i-ṣa-*, occurs in VS. XL. (Iṣa Up.).

³ According to GRASSMANN, perf. des. of *mī-* 'mingere'; cp. WHITNEY, Roots, s.v. *mīkṣ*.

⁴ In all these forms the stems have lost their distinct desiderative meaning: cp. WHITNEY 1033.

⁵ Cp. WHITNEY's note in his translation; in his grammar 1039 he quotes *rurutsyamāna* (Vradh-) from K. 37, 12 (*apa-*).

⁶ WHITNEY 1037 quotes the gerund *mīmāṃsivā* from K.

⁷ See below, Gerundive 580.

suffix *-u*. They have the value of a present participle governing a case; thus *iyakṣ-ī-* 'wishing to sacrifice'; *jigīṣ-ī-* 'wishing to conquer'; *didhīṣ-ī-* 'desiring to win'; *dīps-ī-* 'wishing to injure'; *vivakṣ-ī-* (AV.) from *vac-* 'speak'; *śiṣās-ī-* 'eager to win'¹.

2. Intensives.

DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 130—134. — AVERY, Verb-Inflection 230, 270—272. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 1000—1025; Roots 232 f. — v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 78—80. — LINDNER, Altindische Nominalbildung 10 (p. 48) and 21 c (participles). — BURCHARDI, Die Intensiva des Sanskrit und Avesta. Teil I. Halle 1892; Teil II. BB. 19, 169—225.

545. The intensive or, as it is also often called, the frequentative implies intensification or repetition of the sense expressed by the root². It is a common formation, being made from over 90 roots in the Samhitās. The stem is derived from the root by means of a **reduplicative syllable**, the characteristic feature of which is that it always has a **strong form**. The reduplicative syllable may be formed in three different ways: 1. radical *ī* *ū* are always reduplicated with a Guṇa vowel, and *ā* and *r* (ar) often with *ā*; 2. roots containing *r* or *a* followed by *r l n m* more usually reduplicate with *a* and liquid or nasal; 3. a considerable number of intensives interpose the vowel *ī* between the reduplicative syllable and the root.

1. a. Roots containing *ī* or *ū* reduplicate with *e* or *o*; thus *cit-* 'perceive': *cīkit-*; *tij-* 'be sharp': *tī-tij-*; *diś-* 'point': *dī-diś-*; *nij-* 'wash': *nī-nij-*; *nī-* 'lead': *ne-nī-*; *piś-* 'adorn': *pī-piś-*; *mī-* 'damage': *mī-mī-*; *rih-* 'lick': *re-rih-*; *vij-* 'tremble': *ve-vij-*; *vid-* 'find': *vī-vid-*; *viś-* 'be active': *ve-viś-*; *vī-* 'enjoy': *ve-vī-*; *sidh-* 'repel': *se-sidh-*; *gu-* 'sound': *jo-gu-*; *dhū-* 'shake': *do-dhu-*; *nu-* 'praise': *no-nu-*; *pruth-* 'snort': *po-pruth-*; *bhū-* 'be': *bo-bhū-*; *yu-* 'join': *yō-yu-*; *yu-* 'separate': *yō-yu-*; *ru-* 'cry': *ro-ru-*; *ru-* 'break': *ro-ru-*; *śuc-* 'gleam': *śō-śuc-*; *sū-* 'generate': *so-sū-*; *sku-* 'tear': *co-škū-*; *hū-* 'call': *jo-hū-*.

b. More than a dozen roots with medial *ā* (ending in mutes or sibilants, and one in *m*), as well as three with final *-r*, reduplicate with *ā*: *kāś-* 'appear': *cā-kaś-*; *gam-* 'go': *jā-gam-*; *nad-* 'sound': *nā-nad-*; *pat-* 'fall': *pā-pat-*; *bādh-* 'oppress': *bā-badh-*; *raj-* 'colour': *rā-raj-*; *randh-* 'make subject': *rār-andh-*; *rap-* 'chatter': *rā-rap-*; *lap-* 'prate': *lā-lap-*; *vac-* 'speak': *vā-vac-*; *vad-* 'speak': *vā-vad-*; *vaś-* 'be eager': *vā-vaś-*; *vās-* 'bellow': *vā-vās-*; *śvas-* 'blow': *śā-śvas-*; *gr-* 'wake': *jā-gr-*; *dr-* 'split': *dā-dr-*; *dhṛ-* 'hold': *dā-dhṛ-*; also *cal-* 'stir': *cā-cal-* (AV.).

2. All other roots containing *r* (and *dr-* and *dhṛ-* alternatively) and several with medial *a* followed by *r l*, or a nasal, reduplicate with *-ar*, *-al* or *-an*, *-am*. Thus:

a. *kṛ-* 'commemorate': *car-kṛ-* and *car-kir-*; *kṛṣ-* 'drag': *car-kṛṣ-*; *gṛ-* 'swallow': *jādr-gur-* and *jāl-gul-*; *tr-* 'cross': *tar-tr-* (RV.); *dr-* 'split': *dār-dr-* and *dar-dir-*; *dhṛ-* 'hold': *dār-dhṛ-*; *bṛh-* 'make strong': *bār-bṛh-*; *bhṛ-* 'bear': *jar-bhṛ-*; *mṛj-* 'wipe': *mar-mṛj-*; *mṛś-* 'touch': *mār-mṛś-*; *vṛt-* 'turn': *var-vṛt-*; *sr-* 'flow': *sar-sr-*; *hrṣ-* 'be excited': *jar-hṛṣ-*.

b. *car-* 'move': *car-car-* (AV.); *cal-* 'stir': *-cal-cal-* (MS.) beside *cā-cal-* (AV.); *phar-* 'scatter' (?): *par-phar-*; *kram-* 'stride': *cañ-kram-*; *gam-* 'go': *jaiñ-gam-*; *jambh-* 'chew up': *jaiñ-jabh-*; *taṃs-* 'shake': *tan-tas-*; *daṃś-* 'bite': *dan-daś-*; *nam-* 'bend': *nan-nam-*; *yam-* 'reach': *yañ-yam-*; *stan-* 'thunder': *tañ-stan-* (AV.).

¹ GRASSMANN, p. 1727, gives a list of the desiderative adjectives in *-su* occurring in the RV. (about 15); four occur in the AV.: *ckītsi-sū*, *jighatsi-sū*, *dīpsu-sū*, *bībhatsi-sū*; cp. WHITNEY 1038.

² The specific meaning of the formation is wanting in the intensives of *gr-* 'wake', *cit-* 'perceive', *nij-* 'wash', *viś-* 'work'.

³ The palatal *j* in the reduplication is like that of *bhṛ-* in the perfect form *ja-bhāra* (482 d).

α. A few intensives show irregularities in the reduplicative syllable; thus *ṛ- 'go'*: *al-ar-* (dissimilation); *gāh- 'plunge'*: *jāh-gāh-* (from a root which otherwise has no nasal in inflected forms); *bād-* 'oppress': *bād-bād-* (only example of a final mute being reduplicated); *gur-* 'greet' and *bhur-* 'quiver' reduplicate with *a*: *jar-gur-* and *ju-bhur-*².

β. In a few roots containing *ṛ* or *r* the radical syllable varies; thus *gṛ-* 'swallow': *jar-gur-* and *jal-gul-*; *car-* 'move': *car-cur-* beside *car-car-*; *ṛ-* 'cross': *tar-ar-* beside *tar-tar-*.

3. Over twenty roots with final or penultimate nasal, *ṛ*, or *ṝ*, interpose an *ī* (or *ī̄* if the vowel would be long by position) between the reduplicative syllable and the root:

a. *kṛand-* 'cry out': *kan-i-kṛand-* and *kan-i-kṛad-*; *gam-* 'go': *gan-ī-gam-* (but *gan-i-gm-at*); *pan-* 'admire': *pān-ī-pan-*; *phaṇ-* 'spring': *pān-ī-phaṇ-*; *ścand-* 'shine': *can-i-ścad-*; *san-* 'gain': *san-ī-san-*; *skand-* 'leap': *kan-i-skand-* and *can-i-skad-*; *syand-* 'flow': *sān-ī-syad-*; *śvan-* 'sound': *san-ī-śvan-*; *han-* 'slay': *ghan-ī-ghan-*.

b. *kṛ-* 'make': *kar-i-kṛ-* and *car-i-kṛ-* (AV.)³; *ṭṛ-* 'cross': *tar-ī-ṭṛ-*; *bhṛ-* 'bear': *bhar-ī-bhṛ-*; *vṛ-* 'cover': *var-ī-vṛ-*; *vṛj-* 'twist': *vāṛ-ī-vṛj-*; *vṛt-* 'turn': *var-ī-vṛt-*.

c. *tu-* 'be strong': *tāu-ī-tu-*; *dhū-* 'shake': *dāu-ī-dhu-*; *nu-* 'praise': *nāu-ī-nu-*; *dyut-* 'shine': *dāu-ī-dyut-*.

a. Primary Form. Present Indicative.

546. With the exception of eight or nine verbs, which take a secondary form (inflected in the middle only and identical in appearance with a passive), the intensive is inflected like the third conjugational class. The only difference is that *ī* may be inserted between the root and terminations beginning with consonants; it is common in the 1. and 3. sing. ind. act., and is also sometimes found to occur in the 2. 3. du. ind. and the 2. 3. sing. imperative and imperfect active⁴. The forms actually found, if made from the intensive of *nij-* 'wash', would be the following in the indicative:

Active. Sing. 1. *nñej-mi* and *n'ñej-ī-mi*. 2. *n'ñek-ṣi*. 3. *nñek-ti* and *nñej-ī-ti*. — Du. 2. *nenej-ī-thas*⁵. 3. *nenik-tās*. — Pl. 1. *nenij-mas* and *nenij-masi* (AV.). 3. *nénij-ati*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *nenij-ē*. 3. *nenik-tē*. — Du. 3. *nenij-āte*. — Pl. 3. *nñij-ate*. The forms actually met with are:

Active. Sing. 1. *cārkarmi*, *veveṣmi* (AV.); *cākaṣmi*, *jōhavṛmi*, *dardar-tmi*. — 2. *alarṣi*, *jāgarṣi* (Kh. II. 3), *dārdarṣi*, *dārdharṣi*. — 3. *dlarti*, *kāni-kranti*, *ganīganti*, *jaṅghanti*, *varivarti* and *vārvarti*⁶; *-calcaliti* (MS. III. 13⁷); *carcariti* (AV.), *cākaṣti*, *jarbhuriti*, *jalguliti* (TS.), *jōhaviti*, *tartariti*, *dardariti*, *dodhaviti*, *nānnamiti*⁸, *nōnaviti*, *pāpatiti*, *bobhariti*, *yaṇyamiti*, *rārajiti* (AV.), *rārāṇiti*, *rōraviti*, *lālapiti* (AV.), *vāvaditi*, *soṣaviti*.

Du. 2. *tartarithas*⁸. — 3. *jarbhṛtās*.

Pl. 1. *nonumas* and *nonumasi* (AV.). — 3. *jōgrati* (AV.), *dāvidyutati*, *nānadati*, *bharibhṛati*, *vārvṛtati*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *joguve*. — 3. *tētikte*, *dēdiṣte*, *nānnate*⁹, *neniktē*,

¹ Though it has in nominal derivatives; see WHITNEY, *Roots*, s. v. *gāh*; cp. BURCHARDI, BB. 19, 179; v. NEGELEIN 79.

² Cp. p. 390, note 3.

³ In the participle *kārikr-at* and *-cārikr-at* (AV.).

⁴ This *ī* never occurs if the reduplication contains *ī*: thus *no-nav-ī-ti* and *nav-ī-no-t*, but never **nav-ī-nav-ī-ti*. Cp. DELBRÜCK, *Verbum* p. 131; v. NEGELEIN 79.

⁵ For **nenik-thās*; the only 2. du. which occurs is *tartar-ī-thas* for **tartṛ-thās*.

⁶ For *vārvart-ti*, *varivart-ti*; cp. GRASSMANN, s. v. *vṛt*.

⁷ See note 9.

⁸ Cp. note 5.

⁹ With loss of nasal (*a* = sonant nasal) for **nānnan-te* (I. 140⁶). AUFRECHT, RV², and MAX MÜLLER, RV², write *nāmnā-te* (also *Padapāṭha*); but the participle *nānnamat* (VIII. 43⁸), AUFRECHT *nānn-*, MAX MÜLLER *nānn-*; the 3. sing. *nānnamūti* (v. 83⁵) AUFRECHT², *nānnamūti* MAX MÜLLER²; similarly *nānnamāne* (x. 82¹) AUFRECHT, *nānnamāne* MAX MÜLLER (also Pp.).

sarsr̥te; with -e for -ts: *ek̥kite*, *jāṅgahe*, *joguve*, *badbadhē*¹ and *bābadhe*, *yoyuve*, *sarsr̥t*. — Du. 3. *sarsr̥te*. — Pl. 3. *dēdis̥ate*.

547. a. Subjunctive. Active. Sing. 1. *jāṅghānāni*. — 2. *jāgarāsi*² (AV.); *jāṅghanas*, *jaṅgulas*. — 3. *caṇiṣkadat*, *cār̥kṣat*, *ek̥kitat*, *jāṅghanat*, *iṅgarat* (AV.), *dardīrat*, *dāridyutat*, *parpharat*, *bār̥bh̥rat*, *mārm̥jat*, *marm̥ṣat*, *san̥iṣvanat*. — Du. 1. *jāṅghanāva*. — Pl. 1. *carkirāma*, *vevidāma*. — 3. *carkiran*, ('commemorate'), *ek̥kaśān*³ (AV.), *pāpatan*, *śśūcan*.

Middle. Du. 3. *taniasaite*. — Pl. 3. *jāṅghananta*, *jar̥h̥ṣanta*, *nonuvanta*, *marm̥janta*, *śśūcanta*.

b. Optative. No certain form occurs in the RV.³, and only two or three in other Saṃhitās: Sing. 3. *veviṣyāt* (AV.). — Pl. 1. *jāgr̥yāma* (VS. TS. MS.), *jāgr̥iyāma* (TS. 1. 7. 10⁴).

c. Imperative. Examples of forms of all the 2. and 3. persons are found excepting the 3. pl. but no middle form has been met with.

Active. Sing. 2. *cark̥dhī* (AV.) 'remember', *jāgr̥hī*, *dard̥hī*, *dārd̥hī*, *neniḡdhī* (AV.), *bār̥bh̥hī*⁴, *jāṅghanīhī* (AV.), *cākaśīhī* (VS. TS.), *tan̥istanīhī* (AV.). — With -tāt: *cark̥tāt*, *jāgr̥tāt*⁵. — 3. *dardartu*, *marmartu*, *veveṣtu* (AV.); *vāvaditu* (AV.), *johav̥tu* (AV.). — Du. 2. *jāgr̥tam*. — 3. *jāgr̥tām* (AV.). — Pl. 2. *jāgr̥ta* (AV.), *caṇkramata*⁶.

548. Participle. Active. *kānikradat*, *kārikrat*, *ghānighnat*, *-cār̥ikrat* (AV.), *ek̥kaśat*, *ek̥kitat*, *jāṅghanat*, *jar̥bhurat*, *jāgrat*, *dāridrat* (TS. IV. 5. 10¹), *dārdrat*, *dāridyutat*, *nānamat*, *nānadat*, *pānīpnat*, *pānīphanat*, *pēpiśat*, *bābhucat* (AV.), *mārm̥jat*, *yuyucat* ('yu-ward off'), *rērihat*, *rōruvat*, *vāvaśat* ('vās-roar'), *ek̥iśat*, *śśūcat*, *śśūhat*.

Middle⁷. *ek̥kitāna*, *jāṅghāhāna* (AV.), *jar̥bhurāna*, *jar̥h̥ṣāna*, *dāndaśāna*, *nānamāna*, *p̥piśāna* (AV. TS.), *bābadhāna*, *māmyāna*, *yoyuvāna* ('yu-join'), *n̥rucāna*, *śśūcāna*, *śśr̥rāna*.

a. The participles *badbadhāna* and *marm̥jāna* (beside *mārm̥jāna*), though irregularly accented, unmistakably belong to the intensive. *kānikrat* once (IX. 63⁻⁹) appears as an abbreviated form of *kānikradat*. The participle *jāṅghanat* syncopates the radical vowel in the gen. sing.: *jāṅghn-at-as*; another form of the intensive participle from the same root syncopates the radical vowel throughout: *ghānighn-at*; also *pānīpn-at*. The obscure form *cākan* (x. 29¹) may be the nom. of an intensive participle with anomalous accent for *cākan-at*⁸.

549. Imperfect. Altogether (including unaugmented forms, some of which are used injunctively) about thirty forms of the imperfect occur, among them only four examples of the middle. In the active all persons are represented except the 1. du. and the 2. pl.; but in the middle only the 3. sing. and pl. are met with.

Active. Sing. 1. *acākaśam*; *dēdis̥am*. — 2. *ajāgar*, *adardar*; *dardar*. — 3. *adardar*, *adardhar*, *avar̥itar*; *kāniṣkan*, *dardar*, *dāridyot*, *nāv̥mot*; *d̥johav̥it*, *d̥joyav̥it*, *d̥rorav̥it*, *d̥r̥av̥acit*.

Du. 2. *adard̥yam*. — 3. *av̥av̥aśitām*. — Pl. 1. *marm̥jmd*. — 3. *acark̥ṣur* (AV.), *d̥johavur*, *adard̥irur*, *anonavur*.

¹ With irregular accent.

² With double modal sign.

³ Cp. WHITNEY 1009 a.

⁴ For *bār̥bh̥hī*, the final *h* being dropped after being cerebralized before -āhi: **bār̥bh̥hī* (58, 1 b, a; 62, 4 e).

⁵ This form occurs once in the AV. as a 1. person: cp. WHITNEY 1011 a.

⁶ With anomalous connecting -a- for **caikran-ta*.

⁷ The participles *rārah-āna*, *rārah̥-āna*, and *jāh̥ṣ-āna* (beside *jar̥h̥ṣ-āna*) are probably perfect participles, although no other perfect forms with ā in the reduplicative syllable occur from these roots (*rah*-, *rak̥ṣ*-, *h̥ṣ*-); cp. WHITNEY 1013.

⁸ I regard it as 3. sing. perf. inj. = **cākan-t* (488). Cp. BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 7, 111, GRASSMANN, under the root *kā*-; WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 1013 b; Roots 17.

Middle. Sing. 3. *ddediṣṭa*, *ānannata*¹. — Pl. 3. *marmṛjata*².

550. a. Perfect. A few perfect forms with intensive reduplication and present sense are met with:

Active. Sing. 1. *jāgara*. — 3. *jāgāra*, *dauidhāva* (*dhā-* 'shake'), *nānāva*³ (*nu-* 'praise').

The only perfect participle occurring is *jāgrvāms-*.

b. Aorist. The only trace of an aorist being formed from the intensive is *cārkr-ṣ-e* 'thinks of', 3. sing. mid, formed like *hi-ṣ-e* and *stu-ṣ-e*. It occurs three times in the RV., always with a present sense.

c. Causative. A causative formed from the intensive is once found in the participle *varīvarj-āyant-* (AV.) 'twisting about' (*ṽ'vij-*).

b. Secondary Form.

551. The rare secondary form of the intensive is identical in meaning with the primary. In form it is indistinguishable from a passive, the suffix *-yá* being added to the primary stem and the inflexion being the same as that of the passive. Altogether about a dozen forms have been met with from nine roots. The only persons represented are the 2. and 3. sing. and 3. pl. indicative; and there is also a present participle. The forms actually occurring are the following:

Present indicative. Sing. 2. *coṣkūyāse*. — 3. *dediṣyāte* (AV. VS.), *neniyāte* (VS.), *marmṛjyāte*, *rerihyāte*, *vevijyāte*, *vevīyate*. — Pl. 3. *tartṛyante* (*ṽ'tṛ-*), *marmṛjyānte*.

Participle. *carcūryāmāṇa-* (*ṽ'car-*), *nenīyāmāṇa-*, *marmṛjyāmāṇa-*.

3. The Causative.

DELBRÜCK, *Verbum* p. 209—216. — AVERY, *Verb-Inflection* 262—268. — WHITNEY, *Sanskrit Grammar* p. 379—386; *Roots* 235 f. — v. NEGELEIN 44—48.

552. The causative verb expresses that its object is caused to perform the action or to undergo the state denoted by the root; e. g. *pārām evā parāvātāṃ sapātātāṃ gamayāmasi* (x. 145⁴) 'we cause our rival to go to the far distance'. It is by far the commonest of the secondary conjugations, being formed from over 200 roots in the Saṃhitās; but of about 150 causative stems appearing in the RV. at least one-third lack the causative meaning. The stem is formed by adding the suffix *-āya* to the root, which as a rule is strengthened. Those verbs in which the root, though capable of being strengthened, remains unchanged, have not a causative⁴, but an iterative sense, being akin in formation to denominatives⁵ (which sometimes even have the causative accent). The whole group may originally have had this meaning, from which the causative sense was developed till it became the prevalent one⁶. This may perhaps account for an iterative formation, the reduplicated aorist, having specially attached itself to the causative. Both the iterative and the causative form are occasionally made from the same root; e. g. *patāya-ti* 'flies about' and *pātāya-ti* 'causes to fly' beside the simple verb *pāta-ti* 'flies'.

¹ See p. 391, note 9.

² *āvāśanta* (*ṽvāś-*) is probably a plu-perfect (p. 365, top).

³ WHITNEY 1018 quotes also *dedrāva* (*dru-* 'run') from the TS., and *joyāva* (*yu-* 'separate'), and *lelāya* (*ṽ-* 'be unsteady') from the

MS. (l. 86); the latter form is irregular in accent. Cp. BÖHTLINGK's *Lexicon*, s. v. 3. *ṽ*.

⁴ Cp. WHITNEY 1042 b.

⁵ Cp. v. NEGELEIN 44.

⁶ Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 698.

553. The root is strengthened in different ways according to the nature and position of its vowel.

Initial or medial *i u r*! (if not long by position) take Guṇa; thus a. *cit* 'perceive': *cet-āya* 'teach'; *mih* 'mingere': *meh-āya* 'cause to rain'; *riṣ* 'be hurt': *reṣ-āya* 'injure'; *vid* 'know': *ved-āya* 'cause to know'; *vip* 'tremble': *vep-āya* 'shake'; *viś* 'enter': *veś-āya* 'cause to enter'; *viṣṭ* 'wrap': *veṣṭ-āya* (AV.) 'involve'; *snih* 'be moist': *sneh-āya* 'destroy';

b. *kup* 'be agitated': *kop-āya* 'shake'; *krudh* 'be angry': *krodh-āya* 'enrage'; *ksud* 'be agitated': *kyod-āya* 'shake'; *ghuṣ* 'sound': *ghoṣ-āya* 'proclaim'; *aud* 'impel': *cod-āya*, id.; *juṣ* 'enjoy': *joṣ-āya* 'caress'; *jyut* 'shine': *jyot-āya* (AV.) 'enlighten'; *tuś* 'drip': *toś-āya* 'bestow abundantly'; *dyut* 'shine': *dyot-āya* 'illumine'; *puṣ* 'thrive': *poṣ-āya* 'nourish'; *budh* 'be awake': *bodh-āya* 'waken'; *muh* 'be dazed': *moh-āya* 'bewilder'; *yudh* 'fight': *yodh-āya* 'cause to fight'; *yup* 'efface': *yop-āya*, id.; *ruc* 'shine': *roc-āya* 'illumine'; *rud* 'weep': *rod-āya* 'cause to wail'; *ruh* 'rise': *roh-āya* 'raise'; *luh* 'desire eagerly': *lobh-āya* 'allure'; *suc* 'flame': *soc-āya* 'set on fire'; *subh* 'shine': *sobh-āya* (AV.) 'adorn'; *śuṣ* 'grow dry': *śoṣ-āya* (AV.) 'make dry';

c. *rd* 'dissolve' (intr.): *ard-āya* 'destroy'; *kṛś* 'be lean': *karś-āya* 'emaciate'; *tṛp* 'be pleased': *tarp-āya* 'delight'; *dṛś* 'see': *darś-āya* (AV.) 'show'; *nṛt* 'dance': *nart-āya* 'cause to dance'; *byh* or *vyh* 'tear': *barh-āya* 'thrust'; *mṛc* 'injure': *marc-āya*, id.; *mṛj* 'wipe': *marj-āya*, id.; *vṛj* 'turn': *varj-āya* (AV.) 'cause to turn'; *vṛt* 'roll': *vart-āya* 'cause to revolve'; *vṛdh* 'grow': *vardh-āya* 'augment'; *vṛṣ* 'rain': *varṣ-āya* 'cause to rain'; *śṛdh* 'be bold': *śardh-āya* 'cause to be bold'; *hṛṣ* 'be excited': *harṣ-āya* 'excite';

d. *kṛp* 'be adapted': *kulp-āya* 'arrange'.

554. The following verbs, mostly lacking the causative meaning, leave the root unchanged: *iṭ* 'be quiet': *iṭ-āya* (AV.) 'cease'; *cit* 'observe': *cit-āya* 'stimulate' (also *cet-āya*); *riṣ* 'be injured': *riṣ-āya* id. (beside *reṣ-āya*); *vip* 'quiver': *vip-āya* 'agitate' (also *vep-āya*);

tuj 'be eager': *tuj-āya* id.; *tur* 'overwhelm': *tur-āya* id.; *tus* 'be content': *tus-āya* id.; *dyut* 'shine': *dyut-āya* id. (beside *dyot-āya* 'illumine'); *ruc* 'shine': *ruc-āya* id. (beside *roc-āya* 'illumine'); *suc* 'shine': *suc-āya* id. (beside *soc-āya* 'illumine'); *subh* 'shine': *subh-āya* id. (also *sobh-āya* 'adorn' AV.). The vowel is lengthened in *duṣ* 'spoil': *dāṣ-āya* id.

hṛp 'lament': *hṛp-āya* id.; *mṛḡ* 'be gracious': *mṛḡ-āya*¹ id.; *sprh* 'be eager': *sprh-āya* id. In the case of *grabh* 'grasp', the root is even weakened: *grbh-āya* id.

a. Vowels long by nature or position remain unchanged, but the stem, in this case, usually has the causative sense: *iṅg* 'move': *iṅg-āya* 'set in motion'; *tṛṣ* 'see': *tṛṣ-āya* 'cause to see'; *tṛkḥ* 'swing': *tṛkḥ-āya* 'shake'; *tṛ* 'set in motion': *tṛ-āya* id.; *jīv* 'live': *jīv-āya* 'animate'; *dīp* 'shine': *dīp-āya* 'kindle'; *pṛṭ* 'press': *pṛṭ-āya* (AV.) 'distress'; *vṛḍ* 'be strong' (in *vṛṭ-āya* 'strong'): *vṛṭ-āya* 'make strong'²;

ukṣ 'grow up': *ukṣ-āya* 'strengthen'; *kūḍ* (does not occur in the simple form): *kūḍ-āya* 'scorch'; *śundh* 'purify': *śundh-āya* id.; *sūd* 'make pleasant': *sūd-āya* id.; *sphūrj* 'rumble': *sphūrj-āya* id.;

dṛmḥ 'make firm': *dṛmḥ-āya* (AV.) 'hold fast';

a. Two roots with medial *ṛ* take Guṇa: *sṛv* 'fail': *srev-āya* beside *sṛv-āya*³ (AV.) 'lead astray'; *hṛḍ* 'be hostile': *heḷaya-* in the participle *ā-heḷayant* 'not angry'; while

¹ Cp. v. NEGELEIN 46, note 1.

² DELBRÜCK 189, 4 regards *vṛṭāya* as a denominative.

³ In AV. VI. 73² all the Mss. but one have *sṛv-*.

two others already have it in the root: *rej-* 'tremble': *rej-āya-* 'shake'; *maḥ-* 'be fat': *maḥ-āya-* 'fatten'.

555. An initial or a medial *a* (if not long by position) is lengthened in some thirty roots: *am-* 'be injurious': *ām-āya-* 'be injured'; *kam-* 'desire': *kām-āya-* 'love'; *cat-* 'hide oneself': *cāt-āya-* 'drive away'; *chad-* 'cover': *chād-āya-* id.; *tan-* 'stretch': *tān-āya-* (AV.) 'make taut'; *tap-* 'burn': *tāp-āya-* (AV.) 'cause to burn'; *tras-* 'be terrified': *trās-āya-* (AV.) 'terrify'; *naś-* 'be lost': *nāś-āya-* 'destroy'; *pad-* 'go', 'fall': *pād-āya-* 'cause to fall'; *phaṇ-* 'bound': *phān-āya-* 'cause to bound'; *bhāj-* 'divide': *bhāj-āya-* 'cause to share'; *bhras-* 'fall': *bhrās-āya-* 'cause to fall'; *man-* 'think': *mān-āya-*² (AV.) 'esteem'; *yat-* 'stretch': *yāt-āya-* 'unite'; *yam-* 'guide': *yām-āya-* (Pp. *yām-*) 'present'; *lap-* 'prate': *lāp-āya-* (AV.) 'cause to cry'; *vat-* 'apprehend': *vāt-āya-* 'inspire'; *van-* 'win': *vān-āya-* (AV.) 'conciliate' (Pp. *vān-*); *vas-* 'dwell': *vās-āya-* 'cause to stay'; *vas-* 'wear': *vās-āya-* 'clothe'; *vas-* 'shine': *vās-āya-* 'illumine'; *śat-*³ 'cut in pieces': *śāt-āya-* (AV.) id.⁴; *śvas-* 'snort': *śvās-āya-* (AV.) 'cause to resound'; *spas-* 'see': *spās-āya-* 'show'; *svap-* 'sleep': *svāp-āya-* 'send to sleep'.

a. Five or six other causatives optionally retain the *a*: *gam-* 'go': *gam-āya-* and *gām-āya-* (RV.) 'bring'; *das-* 'waste away': *das-āya-* and *dās-āya-* (AV.) 'exhaust'; *dhvan-* 'disappear': *dhvan-āya-* (RV.) and *dhvān-āya-* (RV.) 'cause to disappear'; *pat-* 'fall': *pat-āya-* 'fly about' (in RV. only once, I. 169, 'cause to fall') and *pāt-āya-* 'cause to fall'; *mad-* 'be exhilarated': *mad-āya-* (AV.) and *mād-āya-* 'rejoice'; *ram-* 'rest': *ram-āya-* and *rām-āya-* 'cause to rest'.

556. Some twenty-five roots with initial or medial *a* (short by position) remain unchanged, as the causative meaning is mostly absent: *an-* 'breathe': *an-āya-* (AV.) 'cause to breathe'; *chad-* 'seem': *chad-āya-* id.; *jan-* 'beget': *jan-āya-* id.; *tvar-* 'make haste': *tvar-āya-* (AV.) 'quicken'; *dam-* 'control': *dam-āya-* id.; *dhan-* 'set in motion': *dhan-āya-* id.; *dhvas-* 'disperse' (intr.): *dhvas-āya-* 'scatter' (tr.); *nad-* 'roar': *nad-āya-* 'cause to resound'; *nam-* 'bend' (tr. and intr.): *nam-āya-* 'cause to bend', 'strike down'; *pan-* 'admire': *pan-āya-* id.; *prath-* 'spread out': *prath-āya-* id.; *mah-* 'be great': *mah-āya-* 'magnify'; *raj-* 'colour': *raj-āya-* (AV.) id.; *ran-* 'rejoice': *raṇ-āya-* id. and 'gladden'; *vyath-* 'waver': *vyath-āya-* 'cause to fall'; *śam-* 'be quiet': *śam-āya-* (AV.) 'appease'; *śnath-* 'pierce': *śnath-āya-* id.; *śrath-* 'loosen': *śrath-āya-* id.; *stan-* 'thunder': *stan-āya-* id.; *svad-* 'enjoy', 'sweeten': *svad-āya-* id.; *svan-* 'sound': *svan-āya-* id.; *svar-* 'sound': *svar-āya-* (AV.) id.⁵

a. If long by nature or position medial *ā* remains unchanged, the causative sense being more often lacking than present: thus *arc-* 'shine': *arc-āya-* 'cause to shine'; *kāś-* 'appear': *kāś-āya-* (AV.) 'cause to be viewed'; *kṛand-* 'roar': *kṛand-āya-* 'cause to roar'; *caḥṣ-* 'see': *caḥṣ-āya-* 'cause to appear'; *chand-* 'seem': *chand-āya-* id.; *jambh-* 'chew up', 'crush': *jambh-āya-* id.; *taṃs-* 'set in motion': *taṃs-āya-* id.; *dambh-* 'destroy': *dambh-āya-* id.; *bādh-* 'oppress': *bādh-āya-* (AV.) 'force'; *bhaks-* 'partake of': *bhaks-āya-* id.; *manḥ-* 'bestow': *manḥ-āya-* id.; *mand-* 'gladden': *mand-āya-* 'satisfy'; *yāc-* 'ask': *yāc-āya-* (AV.) 'cause to be asked for'; *raṃh-* 'hasten': *raṃh-āya-* (AV.) id.; *randh-* 'make subject': *randh-āya-* id.; *rāḥ-* 'rule': *rāj-āya-* (AV. TS.) 'be king'; *rādh-* 'succeed': *rādh-āya-* (AV.) 'make successful'; *vakṣ-* 'grow': *vakṣ-āya-* 'cause to grow';

¹ Finite forms of the simple root *chad-* do not occur; the part. *channa-* is found in B.

² In AV. xv. 102 the reading should be *mānayet*; see WHITNEY's note.

³ In AV. iv. 184 *śāpaya*, which would be the causative of *śap-*, is probably a wrong reading; cp. WHITNEY's note.

⁴ No form or derivative of the simple root *śat-* occurs in V.; see WHITNEY, Roots, s. v. *śat*.

⁵ Occurring only in the participle *svardāyant-* am (AV. XIII. 23), which WHITNEY translates 'shining'.

śaṃs- 'proclaim': *śaṃs-āya-* 'cause to proclaim'; *śvañc-* 'spread': *śvañc-āya-* 'cause to spread out'; *śyand-* 'flow': *śyand-āya-* id.; *sraṃs-* 'fall': *sraṃs-āya-* (AV.) 'cause to fall'.

557. Final *i*, *ū*, *r* take Guṇa or Vṛddhi, the latter being commoner.

a. The only example of a causative stem from a root ending in an *i*-vowel is that of *kṣi-* 'possess', which takes Guṇa: *kṣay-āya-* 'cause to dwell securely'.

b. Final *ū* takes Guṇa or Vṛddhi: *cyu-* 'waver': *cyāu-āya-* 'shake'; *dru-* 'run': *drav-āya-* 'flow' and *drāv-āya-* 'cause to flow'; *bhū-* 'become': *bhāv-āya-* (AV.) 'cause to become'; *yu-* 'separate': *yav-āya-* and *yāv-āya-* id.; *śru-* 'hear': *śrav-āya-* and *śrāv-āya-* 'cause to hear'; *śru-*¹ 'dissolve': *śrav-āya-* and *śrāv-āya-* (Pp. *śrat-*) 'cause to move'; *sru-* 'flow': *srāv-āya-* (AV.) 'cause to flow'.

c. Final *r* usually takes Vṛddhi; thus *ghr-* 'drip': *ghār-āya-* (AV.) 'cause to drip'; *dhr-* 'hold': *dhār-āya-* id.; *pr-* 'pass': *pār-āya-* id.; *pr-* 'fill': *pūr-āya-* (AV.) 'fulfil'; *mṛ-* 'die': *mūr-āya-* (AV.) 'kill'; *vṛ-* 'confine': *vār-āya-* id. Two causatives have the Guṇa as well as the Vṛddhi form: *jṛ-* 'waste away': *jar-āya-* and *jār-āya-* (Pp. *jar-*) 'wear out', 'cause to grow old'; *sr-* 'flow': *sar-āya-* id. and *sār-āya-* 'cause to flow'. One root in *-r* takes Guṇa only: *ḍr-* 'pierce': *dar-āya-* 'shatter'.

558. Roots ending in *-ā* form their causative stem by adding *-pāya*; thus *kṣā-* 'burn': *kṣā-pāya-* (AV.) id.; *glā-* 'be weary': *glā-pāya-* (Pp. *glāp-*) 'exhaust'; *dā-* 'give': *dā-pāya-* (AV.) 'cause to give'; *dhā-* 'put': *dhā-pāya-* 'cause to put'; *dhī-* 'suck': *dhī-pāya-* 'suckle'; *mlā-* 'relax' (intr.): *mlā-pāya-* (AV.) 'relax' (tr.); *vā-* 'blow': *vā-pāya-* 'fan'; *sthā-* 'stand': *sthā-pāya-* 'set up'; *snā-* 'wash' (intr.): *snā-pāya-* 'bathe' (tr.)². In three roots the *ā* is shortened: *jñā-* 'know': *jñā-pāya-* (AV.) 'cause to know'; *śrā-* 'boil': *śrā-pāya-* (AV. TS.) 'cook'; *snā-* 'wash': *snā-pāya-* (AV.) beside *snā-pāya-* 'bathe' (tr.).

a. A few roots ending in other vowels take *-pāya*. Two stems are formed by adding the suffix to the gunated root: *kṣi-* 'possess': *kṣe-pāya-* 'cause to dwell' beside *kṣay-āya-*; *ṛ-* 'go': *arpāya-* 'cause to go'. In the VS. two roots in *i* substitute *ā* for that vowel before *-pāya*: *jī-* 'conquer': *jā-pāya-* 'cause to win'; *śri-* 'resort': *(ad-)śrī-pāya-* (VS¹) 'raise'.

a. Two roots with initial *ṣ* and ending in *-ā* do not form their causative stem with *-pāya*, but add the ordinary suffix *-aya* with interposed *y*: *pā-* 'drink': *pīy-āya-* 'cause to drink'; *pī-* 'overflow': *pī-pīy-āya-* (AV.) 'fill up'. This seeming irregularity is doubtless due to the original form of the root³.

Inflection.

559. The causative is inflected regularly like the verbs of the *a*- conjugation in both voices. It is to be noted, however, that in the 1. pl. pres. the termination *-masi* occurs in the RV. and AV. ten times as often as *-mas*; that in the 2. pl. no forms in *-thana* are met with; and that in the 3. sing. mid. *e* never appears for *-ate*.

a. The forms of the present indicative active and middle, which actually occur, would if made from *kalpāya-* be the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *kalpayāmi*. 2. *kalpāyasi*. 3. *kalpāyati*. — Du. 2. *kalpāyathas*. 3. *kalpayatas*. — Pl. 1. *kalpayāmasi* and *kalpāyāmas*. 2. *kalpāyathā*. 3. *kalpāyanti*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *kalpāye*. 2. *kalpāyase*. 3. *kalpāyate*. — Du. 2. *kalpāyethe*. 3. *kalpāyete*. — Pl. 1. *kalpayāmahe*. 3. *kalpāyante*.

Forms that occur elsewhere in the present system are the following:

¹ This root, of which only three forms occur in the RV., seems to be only a varied spelling for *sru-* 'flow'.

² The causative stem *hā-pāya-*, from *hā-* 'forsake' is presupposed by the aorist *jñīpas*.

³ See above 27 a 1 and 4.

b. Subjunctive. Active. Sing. 1. *ceṭīyāni* (TS. III. 2. 10²; MS. IV. 5³), *randhayāni*. — 2. *codāyāsi*, *mṛṣāyāsi*, *randhāyāsi* (AV.), *vartayāsi* (TS. VII. 4. 20¹); *janāyās* (AV.), *yāvayās* (AV.), *yodhāyās*. — 3. *ardhayāti* (AV.), *kalpāyāti*, *tarpayāti* (AV.), *pādayāti* (AV.), *pārāyāti*, *pūrayāti* (AV.), *mārdhayāti* (AV.), *mṛṣāyāti*, *rājāyāti* (TS. II. 4. 14²), *sūdayāti*; *kalpayāt* (AV.), *codāyāt*, *pārdāyāt*, *marcāyāt*, *sādayāt*, *sāyāyāt* (TS. I. 8. 6²). — Du. 1. *irāyāva*. — 2. *dhāpayāthas* (AV.), *pādayāthas* (AV.), *vāsayāthas* (AV.), *sādayāthas* (AV.). — 3. *kūlayātas*. — Pl. 1. *irayāma*, *dhārayāma*. — 2. *chaddāyātha*, *vardhāyātha* (AV.). — 3. *śrapāyān* (TS. IV. 1. 5¹). — Middle. Sing. 2. *kāmāyāse*, *codāyāse*, *joṣāyāse*, *mādāyāse*, *yāthāyāse*, *mādayāthās* (AV. IV. 25⁶). — 3. *codayāte*, *chandayāte*, *dhārayāte*, *mādāyāte*, *vartayāte*; *nikhāyātai* (AV.), *ceṭāyātai* (TS. I. 1. 13²), *dhārayātai* (AV.), *rājāyātai* (AV.), *vārayātai* (AV.). — Du. 1. *nikhāyāvahai*, *kalpayāvahai*, *janayāvahai* (AV.). — 3. *mādāyāite*. — Pl. 2. *kāmāyādhve*, *mādayādhve*; *mādayādhvai*.

c. Optative. This mood is very rare, only four forms occurring in the RV. and two in the AV. Sing. 2. *janayes* (Kh. II. 10⁴), *dhārayes*. — 3. *mānayet* (AV.), *vādayet* (AA. III. 2. 5), *veṣayet* (AV.), *sprhayet*. — Pl. 1. *citīyema*, *marjayema*.

d. Imperative. Forms of this mood are common, nearly 120 occurring in the RV.; of these, however, quite one half are in the 2. sing. act. No forms of the 3. sing. and du. mid. are met with in the RV. No impv. in *-tāt* is found in the RV. and only one in the AV.: 2. sing. *dhārayatāt*¹. The forms actually occurring, if made from *kalpāya-*, would be the following:

Active. Sing. 2. *kalpāyā* and *kalpayatāt* (AV.). 3. *kalpayatu*. — Du. 2. *kalpāyatam*. 3. *kalpayatām*. — Pl. 2. *kalpāyatā*. 3. *kalpāyantu*.

Middle. Sing. 2. *kalpāyasva*. — Du. 2. *kalpāyethām*. — Pl. 2. *kalpāyadhvam*. 3. *kalpayantām*.

e. Participles. The active participle in *-ant*, with fem. in *-ī*, is common; e. g. *jan-āyant-*, f. *jan-āyant-ī* 'producing'. The middle participle, which is always formed with *-māna*, is rare. In the RV. are found only *mahāya-māna-* 'glorifying', *yāthīya-māna-* 'reaching', *vardhāya-māna-* 'increasing', and in the AV. only *kāmāya-māna-* 'desiring'; in the TS. (IV. 2. 6²) *cātāya-māna-*.

f. Imperfect. Forms of this tense, both augmented and unaugmented, are frequent. In the RV. some 130 occur in the active, about two-thirds of which are in the 2. and 3. sing. Middle forms are rare except in the 3. pl. In the active the 1. and 3. du., and 1. and 2. pl. are wanting; in the middle all the 1. persons and the 3. du. are unrepresented. Some 50 unaugmented forms are used as injunctives in the RV.² The forms actually occurring, if made from *janāya-*, would be the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *ajanayam*; *janayam*. 2. *djanayas*; *janāyas*. 3. *djanayat*; *janāyat*. — Du. 2. *djanayatam*. — Pl. 3. *djanayan*; *janayan*.

Middle. Sing. 2. *ajanayathās*; *janāyathās*. 3. *djanayata*; *janayata*. — Du. 2. *djanayethām*. — Pl. 2. *ajanayadhvam*. 3. *djanayanta*; *janāyanta*.

560. Outside the present system very few causative forms occur. These are found in the following formations.

a. Future. Only four forms occur in the RV. and AV. Active. Sing. 1. *dāsayisyāmi* (AV.). 3. *dhārayisyāti*. — Middle. Sing. 2. *vāsayisyāse* 'wilt adorn thyself'. 3. *vārayisyate* (AV.) 'will shield'.

b. Perfect. The only example of a periphrastic perfect occurring in the Samhitās is made from a causative stem: *gamayāṁ cakāra* (AV.).

c. Aorist. The reduplicated aorist has attached itself to the causative, probably because the intensive character of the reduplicated form became

¹ In K. the forms *yamayātāt* and *cyāvayātāt* occur; and in pl. 2. the unexampled ending *-dhvāt* in *vārayadhvāt*: WHITNEY 1043 d.

² See AVERY 264.

associated with the originally iterative meaning of the causative. But in form it is unconnected with the causative stem, being derived directly from the root; and more than one-third of the verbs which form it in the RV., and about one-fifth in the AV., have no causative stem in *-aya*. There are, however, eight forms which are actually made from the causative stem: Sing. 1. *arp-īp-am* (AV.) from *ar-paya-*; 2. *jīhīp-as* from *hū-paya-*¹ 'cause to depart'; *atiṣṭhīp-as* and 3. *dhīṣṭhīp-at* from *sthī-paya-* 'fasten'; *ājijhīp-at* (TS.) from *jñā-paya-* 'cause to know'; Pl. 2. *ājijhāp-ata* (VS.) from *jāpaya-* 'cause to conquer' (| *ji-*); Sing. 2. act. *bībhīṣ-as* (TS.) and mid. *bībhīṣ-athās* from *bhī-ṣaya-* 'frighten', anomalous causative of *bhī-* 'fear'.

a. There are besides three *iṣ*-aorists formed from the causative stem: *vyathay-īs* (AV.) from *vyathaya-* 'disturb'; *ailay-īt* (AV.) from *ilaya-* 'has quieted down'; *dhānaya-īt*² from *dhānaya-* 'envelope'.

561. Nominal derivatives. a. The only present passive participle appears in the form *bhīṣyā-māna-* (AV. xii. 5²⁸). There are also a few past participles: *ghṛīṣ-ī-ta-* (AV.) 'smeared'; *cod-ī-tā-* 'impelled'; *-veṣ-ī-ta-* (AV.) 'caused to enter'.

b. A few gerundives in *-īya* are formed from causative stems: *trayay-īya-* 'to be guarded'; *panay-īya-* 'admirable'; *spṛhay-īya-* 'desirable'³.

c. Ten infinitives formed with *-īyāi* from the causative stem are met with in the RV.: *iṣyādīyāi*, *trīyādīyāi*, *tapasyādīyāi*, *nāṣyādīyāi*, *mandayādīyāi*, *mādayādīyāi*, *riṣyādīyāi*, *artayādīyāi*, *vāṣyādīyāi*, *syandayādīyāi*⁴.

d. Four gerunds formed with *-tvā* from causative stems are met with in the AV.: *arpay-ī-tvā*, *hāpaya-ī-tvā*, *sāday-ī-tvā*, *sraṁsay-ī-tvā*.

e. Finally several ordinary nouns are derived from the causative stem with various suffixes; a few verbal nouns in *-ana*: *drp-ana-* (AV.) 'thrusting'; *-bhī-ṣ-aya-* 'frightening'; one or two agent nouns in *-trī*, f. *-tr-ī*: *coday-ī-tr-ī* 'stimulator'; *bodh-ī-tr-ī* 'awakener'; a few adjectives in *-ā* as second members of compounds: *ati-pāray-ā-* 'putting across'; *nī-dhāray-ā-* 'putting down'; *vācam-īkṣay-ā-* 'voice-impelling'; *vācam-ajaya-* 'all-stimulating'; an adjective in *-ālu*: *patay-ālū-* (AV.) 'flying'; five adjectives in *-iṣṇū*: *kāpay-iṣṇū-* 'tormenting'; *namay-iṣṇū-* 'bending'; *patay-iṣṇū-* 'flying'; *pāray-iṣṇū-* 'rescuing'; *māday-iṣṇū-* 'intoxicating'; seven adjectives in *-itnū*: *-amay-itnū-* 'making ill'; *tanay-itnū-* 'thundering'; *dr̥tray-itnū-* 'speeding'; *poṣay-itnū-* 'nourishing'; *māday-itnū-* 'intoxicating'; *sāday-itnū-* 'streaming sweetness'; *stanay-itnū-* m. 'thunder'; and three adjectives in *-u*: *dhāray-ū-* 'streaming'; *bhāray-ū-* 'animating'; *manday-ū-* 'rejoicing'.

4. The Denominative.

DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 201—209, 216—218. — AVERY, Verb-Inflection 272—274. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 1053—1068. — v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 40—44. — Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 693—696.

562. The denominative is nearly always formed from a nominal stem with the suffix *-ya*. The latter is normally accented; but a certain number of unmistakable denominatives, such as *mantrā-ya-te* 'takes counsel', have the causative accent and thus form a connecting link between the regular denominatives and the causatives⁵. The formation is a frequent one, more than a hundred denominative stems occurring in the RV., and in the AV. about

¹ The stem *kṛ-ṣaya-* does not itself otherwise occur in V.; cp. p. 396 note 2.

² The TS. iv. 6. 9² has instead *dhānaya-īt*.

³ See below 579.

⁴ Cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum 211; and below 585, 7.

⁵ WHITNEY, Roots, s. v. *dhṛ*; according to

BR. and GRASSMANN to be analyzed as *dhāra-yū-*.

⁶ There can be little doubt that the denominative suffix *-ya* is identical with that of the causative as well as that of the verbs of the fourth class; cp. WHITNEY 1055 a; v. NEGELEIN 44; BRUGMANN, KG. 690, 694.

thirty (or about fifty if those which form present participles or derivative nouns only are included). The general meaning of the denominative is that the subject expressed by the inflexion stands in some relation to the noun from which the stem is formed. It may usually be rendered by 'be or act like'; 'regard or treat as'; 'turn into or use as'; 'wish for'.

Denominatives formed with *-ya* are best classified according to the final of the nominal stem to which the suffix is added.

563. Stems in *-a*, which usually remains unchanged; thus *amitrā-yá-* 'act like an enemy', 'be hostile'; *indra-ya-* 'behave like Indra'; *kṣema-yá-* 'take a rest'; *jāra-ya-* 'treat like a lover', 'caress'; *deva-yá-* 'serve the gods'; *yusma-yá-* 'seek you'; *vasna-yá-* 'deal with the price', 'bargain'.

With the causative accent: (*pary-*)*anikhā-ya-*¹ 'clasp (round)'; *arīhā-ya-* 'have as a desire'; *ṛtā-ya-* 'act according to sacred order'; *kulīyā-ya-* 'build a nest'; *nīlā-ya-* 'bring together'; *pālā-ya-* (AV.) 'act as guardian', 'protect'; *mantrā-ya-* 'take counsel'; *mṛgā-ya-* 'treat as a wild animal', 'hunt'; *vavṛā-ya-* 'put in hiding', 'shrink from'; *vājā-ya-* 'act like a steed', 'race' (beside *vāja-yá-*)-*vīrā-ya-* 'play the man'; *sa-bhāgā-ya-* (AV.) 'apportion'².

a. One or two denominatives are from nominal stems extended with *-a*: *iś-ā-ya-* 'have strength' (*iś-*)³; *ūrj-ā-ya-* 'have strength' (*ūrj-*)⁴.

a. The *-a* is, however, often lengthened: *aghā-yá-* 'plan mischief'; *ajirā-ya-* 'be swift'; *amitrā-yá-* (AV.) 'be hostile' (Pp. *-āyá-*); *āśvā-yá-* 'desire horses'; *ṛtā-yá-* 'observe sacred order' (beside *ṛtā-ya-*); *tilvīlā-yá-* 'be fertile'; *tuḍā-yá-* (AV.) 'thrust'; *dhāpā-yá-* (MS. AV.) 'be like smoke', 'fume'; *prīyā-yá-* 'become friends'; *mathā-yá-* (AV.) 'shake'; *muṣā-ya-*⁶ (AV.) 'steal'; *yajñā-yá-* 'sacrifice'; *rathirā-yá-* 'be conveyed in a car'; *randhanā-ya-*⁷ 'make subject'; *vṛṣā-yá-* 'act like a bull'⁸; *śamā-yá-* 'be active' (*śāma-*); *śubhā-yá-* 'be beautiful'⁹; *śrathā-ya-* 'make loose' (Pp. *-āya-*)¹⁰; *satvanā-yá-* (AV.) 'act like a warrior'; *sumnā-yá-* 'show benevolence'; *skabhā-yá-* 'make firm'. In most of these examples the Pada text has a short *a*.

a. The denominative *ojā-yá-* 'employ force' is formed from *oja-*, shortened for *ōjas* 'strength'.

b. The *-a* of the nominal stem is sometimes changed to *-ī*: *adhvarī-yá-* 'perform the sacrifice' (*adhvarā-*); *caranī-yá-* 'follow a course' (*cārāṇa-*); 'pursue'; *taviṣī-yá-* 'be strong' (*taviśā-*); *putrī-yá-* 'desire a son' (*putrā-*); *rathī-yá-* 'drive in a car' (*rāthā-*); *śapathī-yá-* (AV.) 'utter a curse' (*śapāthā-*). In nearly every instance here the Pada text has *ī*. Even in the Samhitā text the AV. has *putrī-yá-* 'desire a son', and the RV. the denominative participle (with shifted accent) *ānni-yanī-* 'desiring food' (*ānna-*).

a. For the *-a* of the nominal stem *e* is substituted in *vare-yá-* 'play the wooer' (*vāra-*), 'woo'.

c. The final *-a* of the nominal stem is sometimes dropped¹¹: *adhvar-yá-* 'perform sacrifice' (beside *adhvarī-yá-*); *kṛpā-yá-* 'be eager'; *taviṣ-yá-* 'be

¹ Regarded as a causative by GRASSMANN, s. v. *anikh*.

² DELBRÜCK 189, 1 regards the form *hástayatas* as a denominative; but the accent would be unique: its explanation by BR. and GRASSMANN as a compound, *hástā-yatas* 'wielded by the hand', is doubtless the correct one.

³ Cp. DELBRÜCK 189, 2.

⁴ GRASSMANN regards this verb as a causati ve: see Wörterbuch, s. v. *ūrjāy*.

⁵ See WHITNEY's note on AV. IV. 196.

⁶ See WHITNEY on AV. IV. 212.

⁷ Based on *randhana*, an assumed derivative of the root *randh-*.

⁸ Beside *vṛṣāṇ-yá-*, from *vṛṣa-*, the form which *vṛṣāṇ-* assumes before terminations or before second members of compounds beginning with consonants.

⁹ From *śubha-*, an assumed derivative of *śubh-* 'shine'.

¹⁰ There is also a causative form *śrathāya-*, from *śrath-* 'loosen'.

¹¹ Cp. v. NEGELEIN 40.

mighty' (beside *tatīṣṭyā-*); *turayā-* 'be speedy'; *damanyā-*¹ 'overpower'; *bhuranāyā-* 'be active'; *tīkūryā-* 'stagger'; *saranyā-* 'hasten'. There are several other denominatives which presuppose nouns in *-ana*: thus *dhiṣṇyā-* 'pay attention'; *ṛiṣanyā-* 'commit faults'; *ruvanyā-* 'roar'; *huvanā-* 'call'. The derivation of *iṣayā-* beside *iṣanāya-* 'impel' is perhaps similar; but the nominal stem on which this denominative is based may be *iṣāni-* 'impulse'².

564. Stems in *-ā*, which usually remains unchanged: *gopāyā-* 'act as herdsman'; 'protect'; *jñāyā-* 'speed to earth'; *ducchunāyā-* 'desire mischief'³; *ṛjtanāyā-* 'right'; *dhādanāyā-* 'strive for glory'; *manāyā-* 'feel attachment'; *ṛṇānāyā-* (AV.) 'put on a girdle'. Similar stems are to be assumed in *ṛghāyā-* 'tremble', and *ṛpṣāyā-* 'be wrathful'; and *dhiyāyā-* 'pay attention' is based on *dhiyā-* = *dhi-* 'thought'.

a. The *-ā* of the nominal stem is once shortened, if *ṛjṣāyā-* (RV.) 'mourn'⁶ is a denominative and different from the causative *ṛjṣaya-* (554). The *-ā* is dropped in *ṛṇanāyā-* 'fight' beside *ṛṇanāyā-*.

a. There are more than a dozen denominatives with *-ā* preceding *-ya-*, without any corresponding noun in *-ā*: thus *astīyā-* 'attain'⁷; *tudāyā-* (AV.) 'thrust'; *damāyā-* 'tame'; *naṣāyā-* (X. 40⁶) 'reach'; *ṣanāyā-* 'boast of'; *ṛasīyā-* 'invest oneself with'; *ṛṣṣāyā-* 'cause to rain'⁹. Seven such denominatives, however, appear beside present bases according to the ninth class in *-nti*: *ṛghāyā-* 'seize' (*ṛghānti*); *matāyā-* 'shake' (*matānti*); *ṛṣṣāyā-* 'drip' (*ṛṣṣānti*, VS.); *naṣāyā-* 'steal' (*naṣānti*); *ṛathāyā-* 'loosen' (*ṛathānti*); *ṣabhāyā-* 'fasten' (*ṣabhānti*); *ṣabhāyā-* 'support' (*ṣabhānti*).

565. Stems in *-i*, which is nearly always lengthened (though usually short in the Pada text: *arātīyā-* (RV. VS.) 'be malevolent', but *arātīyā-* (AV. and RV. Pp.); *ṛatīyā-* 'be wise'; *janīyā-* 'seek a wife', but *janīyā-* (AV.); *dur-gṛhīyā-* 'be hard to grasp'; *maḥīyā-* 'be delighted'; *rayīyā-* 'desire wealth'; *sakhīyā-*¹⁰ 'seek friendship'.

a. In a few instances the *i* is either treated as *e* or takes Guṇa of which the final element is dropped: *ṛasīyā-* = *ṛasīyā-*; thus *ṛasīyā-* 'set in motion' (*iṣāni-* 'impulse'); *kūrāyā-* (AV.) 'make mention of' (*kūrā-*); *dhānāyā-* 'resound' (*dhāni-* 'sounding'); *suṣāyā-* and *suṣāyā-* 'show' (*suṣā-* 'pressing'). Perhaps formed in the same way are *ṛṇāntīyā-* 'obey' and *ṛṇāntīyā-* 'be angry'¹².

β. *ṛjṣāyā-* 'be a lord', 'rule', probably in origin a denominative of *ṛjṣā-* 'lord', is treated like a verb of the fourth class as if from a root *ṛjṣ-*.

566. Stems in *-u*, which (except *gātūyā-* twice) is always long (though always short in Pp.): *asūyā-* 'grumble'; *ṛjāyā-* 'be straight'; *kratūyā-* 'exert the intellect'; *ṛitāyā-* and *gātūyā-* 'set in motion'; *ṛitūyā-* 'desire nourishment'; *valgūyā-* 'treat kindly'; *ṛasūyā-* 'desire wealth'; *ṣatruyā-* 'play the enemy', 'be hostile'; *sukratūyā-* 'show oneself wise'. Moreover, *iṣūyā-* 'strive', may be derived from *iṣu-* 'arrow', and nouns in *-u* are presupposed by *aṅkūyā-* 'move tortuously', and *stabhūyā-* 'stand firm'.

a. In *ṛg-*, the only stem in *-o*, the diphthong becomes *-av* before the denominative suffix: *ṛgavyā-* 'desire cows'.

¹ From an assumed adjective derivative *damana-*.

² Cp. DELBRÜCK 189, 4.

³ The Pada text wrongly *ducchunayā-*.

⁴ Cp. WHITNEY's note on AV. XIV. 274.

⁵ Which perhaps became an independent noun through the influence of the instrumental form in such compounds as *dhiyā-jīru-* 'growing old in devotion'.

⁶ Cp. GRASSMANN, s. v. *ṛjṣay*.

⁷ Cp. DELBRÜCK 199 (p. 217, middle).

⁸ DELBRÜCK, l. c., regards *naṣāyā-* (X. 40⁶) as a denominative, BR. as causative of *naṣ-*.

⁹ To be distinguished from *ṛṣṣāyā-* 'act like a bull'.

¹⁰ Cp. v. NEGELEIN 41 (middle).

¹¹ From the reduplicated root *su-* 'press'.

¹² According to DELBRÜCK 205, p. 57, also *duhīyā-* in the forms *duhīyāt* and *duhīyān* (optatives GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch, and WHITNEY, Roots, s. v. *duhī*). Cp. 450, a 5.

567. Consonant stems usually remain unchanged before the suffix.

a. The only stem ending in *-j* is *bhīṣāj-* 'physician': *bhīṣaj-yá-* 'play the physician', 'heal'.

b. There is one denominative, *iṣudh-yá-* 'implore', which seems to presuppose a stem in *-dh*, viz. *iṣudh-*¹, but is probably a denominative from *iṣu-dhi-* (like *pátya-* 'from *pāti-*') 'put in the arrow', 'aim'².

c. Denominatives formed from stems in *-n* are *ukṣaṇ-yá-* 'act like a bull'; *udan-yá-* 'irrigate'; *brahmaṇ-yá-* 'be devout' ('act like a *brahmān*'); *vṛṣaṇ-yá-*³ 'act like a bull', 'be lustful'.

d. A denominative formed from a stem in *-ar* is *vadhara-yá-* 'hurl a bolt' (*vádhar-*). Stems in *-ar* are further presupposed in *rathara-yá-* 'ride in a car'; *śrathara-yá-* 'become loose'; *sapara-yá-* 'worship'.

e. The consonant stems most frequently used to form denominatives are those in *-as*: *apas-yá-* 'be active'; *avas-yá-* 'seek help'; *canas-yá-* 'be satisfied'; *duvas-yá-* 'adore'; *namas-yá-* 'pay homage'; *nṛ-maṇas-yá-* 'be kindly disposed to men'; *manas-yá-* 'bear in mind'; *vacas-yá-* 'be audible'; *varivas-yá-* 'grant space'; *śravas-yá-*⁴ 'hasten'; *sa-canas-yá-* 'cherish'; *su-manas-yá-* 'be gracious'; *sv-apas-yá-* 'act well'. Stems in *-as* are further presupposed by *iras-yá-* 'be angry'; *daśas-yá-* 'render service to'; *panas-yá-* 'excite admiration'; *sacas-yá-* 'receive care'. A few denominatives have further been formed from stems in *-a* following the analogy of those in *-as*; thus *makhā-yá-* 'be cheerful' (*makhā-*) and *su-makhā-yá-* (TS.) 'be merry'; *mānavas-yá-* 'act like men' (*mānavā-*). The stem *aviṣ-yá-*, appearing in the participle *aviṣyānt-* 'helping willingly', apparently a denominative (beside *aviṣyā-* 'desire', *aviṣyī-* 'desirous'), seems to be formed from **av-is-* = *āv-as-* 'favour'⁵.

f. A few denominatives are formed from stems in *-us*: *taruṣ-yá-* 'engage in fight' (*tār-us-*); *vanuṣ-yá-* 'plot against' (*van-ūs-* 'eager'); *vapuṣ-ya-* 'wonder' (*váp-us-* 'marvellous'). This analogy is followed by *uru-ṣ-yá-* 'seek wide space' from a stem in *-u* (*urū-* 'wide').

568. There are a few denominative forms made without a suffix direct from nominal stems, but they nearly always have beside them denominative stems in *-ya*; thus *bhīṣák-ti* (VIII. 79²) 'heals' 3. sing. from *bhīṣāj-* 'act as physician' (also m. 'physician'); *a-bhīṣṇak* (X. 131⁵), 3. sing. impf. of *bhīṣṇaj-* 'heal'. Similarly there appear the forms sing. 2. *iṣana-*s, 3. *iṣana-t*, pl. 3. *iṣana-nta* beside *iṣaṇ-yá-*; pl. 3. *kṛpāna-nta* beside *kṛpaṇ-yá-*; pl. 1. *taruṣe-ma*, 3. *tāruṣa-nte*, *taruṣa-nta* beside *taruṣ-yá-*; pl. 3. *vanuṣa-nta* beside *vanuṣ-yá-*. Possibly the form *vānanavati* is a denominative meaning 'is at hand', from a noun **van-anu-*, beside the simple verb *van-* 'win'⁶.

Inflexion.

569. The denominative is regularly inflected throughout the present system according to the *a*-conjugation in both voices. The commonest form is the 3. sing. active and middle.

The forms of the present indicative active and middle that actually occur would, if made from *manas-yá-* 'bear in mind', be the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *manasyāmi* (AV.). 2. *manasyāsi*. 3. *manasyāti*. — Du. 2. *manasyāthas*. 3. *manasyātas*. — Pl. 1. *manasyāmasi* and *manasyāmas*. 2. *manasyatha*. 3. *manasyānti*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *manasyé*. 2. *manasyāse*. 3. *manasyāte*. — Du. 2. *manasyethe*. 3. *manasyēte* (AV.). — Pl. 1. *manasyāmahe*. 3. *manasyānte*.

¹ Cp. DELBRÜCK 194.

² Cp. GRASSMANN, s. v. *iṣudhy*.

³ Beside *vṛṣāyá-*; cp. p. 399, note 8.

⁴ According to BR. derived from *śravas-*

from *śru-* = *sru-* 'flow', but GRASSMANN from *śru-* 'hear'.

⁵ Cp. GRASSMANN, s. v. *aviṣy*.

⁶ Cp. DELBRÜCK p. 218.

Forms that actually occur elsewhere in the present system are the following:

a. Subjunctive. Active. Sing. 1. *namasyā*. — 2. *urusyās*, *kṛtīyās* (AV.), *śratasyās*. — 3. *apasyāt*, *arātīyāt* (TS. IV. 1. 10³; VS. XI. 80), *arātīyāt* (AV.), *urusyāt*, *caranyāt* (AV.), *durasyāt* (AV.), *ducasyāt*, *prtanyāt*, *vanusyāt*, *varēyāt*, *vasūyāt*, *śratasyāt*, *saparyāt*. — Du. 3. *varivasyātas*. — Pl. 3. *prtanyān* (AV.), *saparyān*, *saranyān*. — Middle. Sing. 2. *arthāyāse*, *nīlāyāse*. — 3. *anīkīyāte*.

b. Injunctive. Active. Sing. 2. *irasyas*, *riṣanyas*, *ruvanyas*. — Pl. 3. *turanyan*, *ducasyan*, *namasyan*, *saparyan*. — Middle. Sing. 3. *panāyata*. — Pl. 3. *ṛghīyānta*, *ṛtāyānta*, *krpāyānta*, *taruṣānta*, *dhunayānta*¹, *rucayānta*, *vanuṣānta*, *susuṣayānta*.

c. Optative. Active. Sing. 2. *daśasyes*. — 3. *urusyet*, *caranyet* (TS. I. 8. 22¹), *daśasyet*, *ducasyēt*. — Pl. 1. *iṣayema*, *taruṣema*, *saparyēma*. — Middle. Sing. 3. *manasyāta* (AV.).

d. Imperative. Active. Sing. 2. *iṣanya*, *urusyā*, *gātuyā*, *gūrdhaya*, *gopāyā* (AV. TS.), *grbhāya*, *daśasyā*, *ducasyā*, *namasyā*, *varivasyā*, *vājaya* (TS. I. 7. 8¹), *śratāya*, *saparya*. — 3. *urusyatu*, *gopāyatu*² (AV.), *bhiṣajyatu* (TS. V. 2. 12²). — Du. 2. *urusyātam*, *gopāyātam*, *canasyātam*, *daśasyātam*. — 3. *urusyātām*. — Pl. 2. *iṣanyata*, *urusyata*, *grbhāyāta* (AV.), *gopāyata* (AV.), *daśasyata*, *ducasyāta*, *namasyāta*, *riṣanyata*, *saparyata*. — 3. *urusyantu*, *gopāyantu* (AV.), *varicasyantu*. — Middle. Sing. 2. *arthayaśva*, *vīrāyaśva* (AV. TS.), *vṛṣayaśva* (AV.). — Pl. 2. *tilvīlāyādhvam*, *vīrāyādhvam*. — 3. *dhunayantām*.

e. Participle. The present participle active in *-ant* (with fem. *-ant-ī*) is very common, while the middle form in *-māna*, occurs fairly often.

a. Examples of the active are *aghāyānt*, *anīkīyānt*, *adhvaryānt*, *amitra-yānt*, *arātīyānt*, *aśvāyānt*, *iṣanyānt*, *iṣāyānt* and *iṣayānt*, *iṣūyānt*, *udanyānt*, *ūrjāyānt*, *ṛghāyānt*, *ṛtāyānt*, *ṛtāyānt*, *gavyānt*, *gopāyānt* (AV.), *taviṣyānt*, *daśasyānt*, *ducasyānt*, *devayānt*, *namasyānt*, *pālāyānt* (AV.), *putrīyānt*, *prtanyānt*, *prtanyānt*, *bhāndanāyānt*, *bhuranyānt*, *mathāyānt*, *muṣāyānt*, *yajñāyānt*, *yusmayānt*, *rathirāyānt*, *rathīyānt*, *vasīyānt*, *vasnāyānt*, *vāṣīyānt* and *vājayānt*, *vṛṣanyānt*, *śatrūyānt*, *śīkīyānt* (VS.) 'dripping', *sakhīyānt*, *sat-anāyānt* (AV.), *saparyānt*, *sumnāyānt*, *susuṣayānt*, *hrnāyānt* 'angry'.

β. Examples of the middle are *ṛghāyāmāna*, *ṛjūyāmāna*, *ojāyāmāna*, *kaṇḍūyāmāna* (TS.), *kavīyāmāna*, *caranīyāmāna*, *taviṣyāmāna*, *priyāyāmāna* (AV.), *(ā-prati-)manyūyamāna* (AV.), *raśanāyāmāna*, *vṛṣāyāmāna*, *samanāyāmāna*, *sumakhasyāmāna* (TS.), *sumanasyāmāna*, *stabdhūyāmāna*, *svapasyāmāna*, *hrnūyāmāna* 'angry'.

f. Imperfect. Active. Sing. 2. *arandhanāyas*. — 3. *apṛtanyat*, *āskabhāyat* (AV.); *urusyat*, *damanyat*, *dhūpāyat* (AV.); *abhiṣṇak*. — Du. 3. *urusyātām*. — Pl. 3. *anamasyan*, *asaparyan*; *turanyan*, *vapūṣyan*, *saparyan* (TS. II. 2. 12⁴). — Middle. Sing. 3. *āpriyāyata*. — Du. 2. *avīrayethām*. — Pl. 3. *iṣanayanta*.

570. Outside the present system no denominative form occurs in the RV. except *ānayis* (+AV.), 2. sing. *iṣ-* aorist (used injunctively with *mā*)

¹ The form *bhurāyānta* (IV. 43⁵) is according to pw. = *bhrājānta* for *bhrājānta* (*bhrāj-* 'be roasted'). Cp. note in OLDENBERG's *Rgveda*.

² This denominative is derived from the very frequent *go-pā-* 'cowherd', of which two transition forms according to the a-

declension (*go-pā-*) occur in the RV. To the denominative must be due the secondary root *gup-* 'protect' (*jugupsur* once, *gupitā* twice in the RV.). Cp. p. 358, note 13. How *gup-* should be a denominative of *go-* 'cow' (v. NEGELEIN 43, note 5) is not clear.

from *unaya-* 'leave unfulfilled' (*und-*). A few other forms occur in the later Samhitās. Thus the AV. has the peculiar form *āsaparyait* (AV. xiv. 2²⁰)¹, probably 3. sing. aorist, with *-ait* for *-it*². The VS. (ii. 31) has the 3. pl. aorist *ā-a-vṛṣāy-iṣ-ata* 'they have accepted'. The TS. has the 2. pl. aor. *pāpay-iṣ-ta* 'lead into evil' (used injunctively with *mā*). The TS. (iii. 2. 8³) has also the future participles *kaṇḍūyisyánt-* 'about to scratch', *meghāyisyánt-* 'about to be cloudy', *śikāyisyánt-* 'about to drip', with the corresponding perfect participles passive *kaṇḍūyitá-*, *meghitá-*, *śikitá-*.

B. Nominal Verb Forms.

571. A large number of nominal formations partake of the verbal character inasmuch as they express time (present, past, or future); or the relations between subject and object, implying transitive or intransitive action, and active, middle, or passive sense. Such formations are participles (including verbal adjectives), infinitives, and gerunds. The participles formed from tense-stems having already been treated³, only those that are formed directly from the root remain to be dealt with. These are the verbal adjectives which have the value either of past passive participles or of future passive participles (otherwise called gerundives).

a. Past Passive Participles.

572. The past passive participle is formed by adding, in the great majority of instances, the suffix *-tá*⁴ (with or without connecting *-i-*), or far less commonly the suffix *-ná* (directly) to the root. When formed from a transitive verb, it has a passive as well as a past sense; e. g. *as-tá-* 'thrown'; *dā-* 'give': *dat-tá-* 'given'. But when formed from an intransitive verb, it has a neuter past sense; e. g. *gam-* 'go': *ga-tá-* 'gone'; *pat-* 'fall': *pat-i-tá-* (AV.) 'fallen'.

573. When *-tá* is added direct, the root tends to appear in its weak form. Very frequently, however, the form in which the root is generally stated, if ending in vowels, remains unchanged, while those ending in consonants are usually modified only in so far as is required by the rules of internal Sandhi; thus *√mlā-*: *mlā-tá-* 'softened'; *√yā-*: *yā-tá-* 'gone'; *√rā-*: *rā-tá-* 'given'; *√ji-*: *ji-tá-* 'conquered'; *√śri-*: *śri-tá-* 'leaning on'; *√pr-*: *prī-tá-* 'rejoiced'; *√bhī-*: *bhī-tá-* 'frightened'; *√yu-* 1. 'yoke' and 2. 'ward off': *yu-tá-*; *√śru-*: *śru-tá-* 'heard'; *√stu-*: *stu-tá-* 'praised'; *√bhū-*: *bhū-tá-* 'become'; *√hū-*: *hū-tá-* 'called'; *√kṛ-*: *kṛ-tá-* 'made'; *√bhr-*: *bhr-ta-* 'borne'; *√vr-*: *vr-tá-* 'covered' and 'chosen'; *√mṛc-*: *mṛc-tá-*⁵ (RV.) 'injured'; *√sic-*: *sik-tá-* 'poured out'; *√tij-*: *tik-tá-* 'sharp'; *√yuj-*: *yuk-tá-* 'yoked'; *√mṛj-*: *mṛj-tá-* 'rubbed'; *√sṛj-*: *sṛj-tá-* 'discharged'; *√cit-*: *cit-tá-* 'perceived'; *√vrt-*: *vrt-tá-* 'turned'; *√mad-* 'be exhilarated': *mat-tá-* (AV.); *√idh-*: *id-dhá-* 'kindled'; *√krudh-*: *krud-dhá-* 'angry'; *√tap-*: *tap-tá-* 'hot'; *√rip-*: *rip-tá-* (RV.) 'besmeared'; *√dīṣ-*: *dīṣ-tá-* 'shown'; *√nas-*: *nas-tá-* 'lost'; *√juṣ-*: *juṣ-tá-* (RV.) 'gladdened' and *jūs-ta-* 'welcome'; *√pis-*: *pis-tá-* 'crushed'; *√kas-*: *vi-kas-ta-* 'split'; *√guh-*: *gū-dhá-*⁶ 'hidden'; *√trh-*: *tr-dhá-* 'crushed'; *√dah-*: *dag-dhá-*⁷ 'burnt'; *√dih-*: *dig-dhá-* (AV.) 'besmeared'; *√duh-*: *dug-dhá-* 'milked'; *√dṛh-*

¹ Cp. v. NEGELEIN 41; BÖHTLINGK, ZDMG. 52, 510 ff.

² As in the AB. form *agrabhaiṣam* beside *agrabhū*; cp. v. NEGELEIN 41, note 2.

³ See under declension 311—313, and in the account of the various tenses (present, perfect, aorist, future).

⁴ Cp. REICHELTL, BB. 27, 95—97.

⁵ Only in the compounds *ā-mṛkta-* and *mṛkta-vāhas-*.

⁶ In roots in *-h* which cerebralize the suffix, the vowel is lengthened as compensation for the loss of the cerebral *ḡ*: cp. p. 51, note 2.

⁷ In the RV. only in *agni-dagdhá-* 'burnt with fire'.

: *ār-dhā* 'firm'; *√druh* : *drug-dhā* 'hurtful'; *√nah* : *nad-dhā* 'bound'; *√muh* : *mug-dhā* and *mū-dhā* (AV.) 'bewildered'; *√rih* : *rī-dhā* (RV.) 'licked'; *√ruh* : *rū-dhā* (AV.) 'ascended'; *√sah* : *sā-dhā* 'overcome'.

a. Occasional irregularities in the form of the root are not due to the ordinary rules of internal Sandhi. Thus some roots show an interchange of vowel and semi-vowel: *āu* 'play' : *dyū-tā* (AV.); *śv* 'sew' : *syū-tā*; *mū* 'push' : *mūta* (VS. AV.) instead of **myū-tā*; *hṛ* 'make crooked' has *hru-tā* 'crooked', beside the regular *-hṛy-tā* (RV.); sometimes a long vowel appears in the root: *svad* 'sweeten' : *svāt-tā*; *sur* 'greet' : *gūr-tā*; *śr* 'mix' : *śīr-tā*, beside *śrī-tā* from *śrī* 'mix', the usual form of the root; *dā* 'give', beside the regular form *-dā-tā* in *tvā-dāta* (RV.) 'given by thee', otherwise always has *dāt-tā*, formed from *dad*, the weak form of the present base.

574. Roots which contain the syllables *ya*, *ra*, *va* (initial or medial) are generally weakened by Samprasāraṇa; those which contain a nasal (medial or final), by dropping it; those which end in *ā* or *yā*, by shortening the former to *ī* or *i*, the latter to *i*. Thus:

1. *yaj* 'sacrifice' : *iṣ-ṭā*; *vyadh* 'pierce' : *vid-dhā*; *prach* 'ask' : *prṣ-tā*; *bhras* 'fall' : *bhṛṣ-ṭā* beside *bhras-ṭā* (AV.); *vac* 'speak' : *uk-tā*; *vap* 'strew' : *up-tā*; *vas* 'shine' : *uṣ-ṭā*; *vah* 'carry' : *ū-dhā*; *svap* 'sleep' : *sup-tā* (AV. VS.).

a. A shortening akin to Samprasāraṇa appears in *av* 'favour' : *-ū-tā*; *vā* 'weave' : *u-tā*; *śrī* 'boil' : *śr-ṭā* beside *śrī-tā*.

2. A medial nasal is dropped in *añj* 'anoint' : *ak-tā*; *umbh* 'confine' : *ub-dhā*; *damś* 'bite' : *daṣ-ṭā* (AV.); *bamh* 'make firm' : *-bā-dha*; *sundh* 'purify' : *śud-dhā*. Final *n* and *m* are dropped (the radical *a* representing the sonant nasal) in *kṣan* 'wound' : *-kṣa-tā*; *tan* 'stretch' : *ta-tā*; *man* 'think' : *ma-tā*; *han* 'smite' : *ha-tā*; *gam* 'go' : *ga-tā*; *nam* 'bend' : *na-tā*; *yam* 'reach' : *ya-tā*.

a. A few roots in *-an* have *ā* instead of *-an*²: *khan* 'dig' : *kṃā-tā*; *jan* 'be born' : *jā-tā*; *van* 'win' : *vā-tā*; *san* 'gain' : *sā-tā*; while some roots in *-am* and one in *-an*, retaining the nasal, have *ān*: *dhvan* 'sound' : *dhvāntā* (VS. xxxix. 7); *kram* 'stride' : *krān-tā* (AV.); *śam* 'be quiet' : *śān-tā* (AV.); *śram* 'be weary' : *śrān-tā*; *dham* 'blow' has the irregular *dhmā-tā* and *dham-i-tā*.

3. Final *ā* is shortened to *ī* in *gā* 'sing' : *gī-tā*; *dhā* 'suck' : *dhī-tā*; *pā* 'drink' : *pī-tā*³; to *i* in *dā* 'bind' : *-dī-tā*; *dhā* 'put' : *-dhi-tā* and *hi-tā*; *mā* 'measure' : *mi-tā*; *śā* 'sharpen' : *śī-tā*; *sā* 'bind' : *si-tā*; *sthā* 'stand' : *sthī-tā*.

Final *yā* is shortened to *ī* in *jyā* 'overpower' : *jī-tā* (AV.); *vyā* 'envelope' : *vī-tā*; *śyā* 'coagulate' : *śī-tā*.

a. Internal shortening of *ā* to *i* appears in *śās* 'order' : *śīṣ-ṭā*; and medial *a* entirely disappears in *ghas* 'eat' : *-dha* (TS.) and in the compounded form of *dattā* 'given', which becomes *-tā* : *deva-tā* 'given by the gods'; *vy-ā-tta* (AV. VS.), n. 'the opened mouth'; *pārī-tta* (VS. ix. 9) 'deposited'; *prātī-tta* (AV.) 'given back'. The same syncope form appears in the compound participle of *dā* 'divide' : *dva-tta* (VS.) 'cut off'.

575. When *-tā* is added, as it is in many verbs, with connecting *-i-*, the root is not weakened (excepting four instances of Samprasāraṇa)⁴. It is thus added to a number of roots ending in consonants and to all secondary verbs.

a. The roots to which it is thus regularly added are those that end:

1. in two consonants: thus *ukṣ* 'sprinkle' : *ukṣ-i-tā*; *ubj* 'force' : *ubj-i-tā* (AV.); *nind* 'revile' : *nind-i-tā*; *rakṣ* 'protect' : *rakṣ-i-tā*; *śumbh* 'beautify' : *-śumbh-i-tā* (AV.); *hims* 'injure' : *hims-i-tā* (AV.); but *takṣ* 'fashion' has *taṣ-ṭā*;

¹ See above 50 b.

² Representing the long sonant nasal.

³ The more correct way of stating these roots would be *gai*, *dhai*, *ṭai*; cp. 27 a.

⁴ In *grbh-i-tā* from *grabh* 'seize' and *grh-i-tā* (AV.) from *grah* id.; *ukṣ-i-tā* from *vakṣ* 'increase'; *ud-i-tā* from *vad* 'speak'; *śrth-i-tā* from *śrath* 'slacken'.

2. in voiceless aspirates: *likh-* 'scratch': *likh-i-tā-* (AV.); *grath-* 'tie': *grath-i-tā-*; *nāth-* 'seek aid': *nāth-i-tā-*; *math-* 'stir': *math-i-tā-*;

3. in cerebral *ḍ*: *ṭi-* 'praise': *ṭi-i-tā-*; *hiḍ-* 'be hostile': *hiḍ-i-tā-*;

4. in semivowels: *car-* 'move': *car-i-tā-*¹; *jīv-* 'live': *jīv-i-tā-*.

b. The suffix is also added with *-i-* to a number of roots ending in simple consonants, especially sibilants, about which no rule can be stated. Such are the following participles arranged according to the final of the root: *yāc-* 'ask': *yāc-i-tā-* (AV.); *pat-* 'fall': *pat-i-tā-* (AV.); *rad-* 'dig': *rad-i-tā-* (AV.); *vad-* 'speak': *ud-i-tā-*; *vid-* 'know': *vid-i-tā-* (AV.)²; *dudh-* 'stir up': *dūdhi-tā-* (RV.); *nādh-* 'seek aid': *nādh-i-tā-*; *bādh-* 'oppress': *bādh-i-tā-*; *pan-* 'admire': *pan-i-tā-*; *kup-* 'be agitated': *-kup-i-tā-*; *gup-*³ 'protect': *gup-i-tā-* beside *gup-tā-* (AV.); *yup-* 'obstruct': *yup-i-tā-* (AV.); *rup-* 'break': *-rup-i-tā-*; *drp-* 'rave': *-drp-i-tā-* and *-drp-tā-*; *lap-* 'prate': *lap-i-tā-* (AV.); *grabh-* 'seize': *grābh-i-tā-* and *grah-* 'seize': *grāh-i-tā-* (AV.); *skabh-* 'prop': *skabh-i-tā-*; *stabh-* 'prop': *stabh-i-tā-*; *dham-* 'blow': *dham-i-tā-* (beside *dhmā-tā-*);

aś- 'eat': *aś-i-tā-*; *piś-* 'adorn': *piś-i-tā-* (AV.) beside *piś-tā-*; *iś-* 'send': *iś-i-tā-*; *iṣ-* 'move': *iṣ-i-tā-*; *tviṣ-* 'be stirred': *tviṣ-i-tā-*; *dhr̥ṣ-* 'dare': *dhr̥ṣ-i-tā-* beside *dhr̥ṣ-tā-*; *pruṣ-* 'sprinkle': *pruṣ-i-tā-*; *muṣ-* 'steal': *muṣ-i-tā-*; *hr̥ṣ-* 'be excited': *hr̥ṣ-i-tā-*; *gras-* 'devour': *gras-i-tā-*.

a. The verb *hā-* 'leave' forms its past participle anomalously (like *dā-* 'give') from the reduplicated present base: *jāh-i-tā-* (cp. the pres. part. *jāh-at-*).

β. In the AV. is once (IX. 63⁸) found a past passive participle extended with the possessive suffix *-vant-*, which gives it the sense of a perfect participle active: *aś-i-tā-vant-* (Pp. *aśutā-vant-*) 'having eaten'.

c. Secondary verbs, almost exclusively causatives⁴, add *-ita* after dropping *-aya-*; thus *arp-aya-* 'cause to go': *arp-iti-* and *arp-ita-*; *īkṣh-āya-* 'cause to quake': *īkṣh-ita-*; *cod-āya-* 'set in motion': *cod-ita-*; *vīl-āya-* 'make strong': *vīl-ita-*; *śnath-āya-* 'pierce': *śnath-ita-*; *svan-āya-* 'resound': *-svan-ita-*.

The only past passive participle formed from a denominative is *bhām-ita-* 'enraged', from *bhāma-* 'wrath'.

576. The suffix *-nā* is always attached directly to the root, which as a rule remains unweakened. Among roots ending in consonants, it is taken by those in *d*, besides two or three in the palatals *c* and *j*; among roots in vowels, it is taken by those ending in the long vowels *ā*, *ī*, *ṛ*, besides one in *ū*.

a. The final of roots in *-d* is assimilated to the *n* of the suffix; thus *chid-* 'cut off': *chin-nā-*; *tud-* 'push': *tun-nā-*; *tr̥d-* 'pierce': *tr̥n-na-* (VS. XXXVI. 2); *nud-* 'push': *-nun-na-* (SV.) beside *nūt-tā-*; *pad-* 'go': *pan-nā-* (AV.); *bhid-* 'split': *bhin-nā-*; *vid-* 'find': *vin-nā-* (AV.) beside *vit-tā-*; *sad-* 'sit': *san-nā-* (VS. AV.) beside *sat-tā-*; *skand-* 'leap': *skan-nā-*; *syand-* 'move on': *syannā-*; *svid-* 'sweat': *svinnā-*. The original participle of *ad-* 'eat' survives only (with change of accent) in the neuter noun *ān-na-* 'food'.

b. The roots in palatals which take *-na* are: *pr̥c-* 'mix': *-pr̥g-na-* (RV¹.) beside *pr̥k-tā-*; *vraśc-* 'cut up': *vṛk-nā-*; *ruj-* 'break': *rug-nā-*.

c. Roots in *-ā* remain unchanged or weaken the final to *ī*: *drā-* 'sleep': *-drā-na-* (AV.); *dā-* 'divide': *dī-nā-*; *hā-* 'leave': *hī-nā-*; final *-yā* is shortened to *-ī*: *śyā-* 'coagulate': *śī-nā-* (VS.) beside *śī-tā-*.

d. Roots in *-ī* and *-ū* remain unchanged: *kṣī-* 'destroy': *-kṣī-na-* (AV.);

¹ Also *ār-i-tā-* if derived from a somewhat doubtful root *ār-* 'praise'; cp. WHITNEY, Roots, s. v. *ār*.

² *mad-i-tā-* is probably from the causative of *mad-* 'be exhilarated'.

³ See p. 402, note 2.

⁴ No examples of past participles from desideratives (except *mīmāṃsitā-*, AV.) and intensives seem to occur in the Samhitās.

pī- 'swell': *pī-ná-* (AV.); *blī-* 'crush': *-blī-na-* (AV.); *lī-* 'cling': *-lī-na-* (AV.); *dū-* 'burn': *dū-ná-* (AV.).

e. Roots in *-ī* change that vowel to *-ir* or (generally when a labial precedes) *-ūr* before *-na*: *gī-* 'swallow': *gīr-ná-*; *jī-* 'waste away': *jīr-ná-* (AV.) and *jūr-ná-*; *tī-* 'pass': *tīr-ná-*; *pī-* 'fill': *pūr-ná-* beside *pūr-tá-*; *mī-* 'crush': *mūr-ná-* (AV.); *śī-* 'crush': *śīr-ná-* (AV.) beside *śūr-tá-* (RV. I. 174⁶); *stī-* 'strew': *stīr-ná-* beside *-stī-ta-*.

b. Future Passive Participles (Gerundives).

577. Verbal adjectives formed with certain suffixes have acquired the value of future participles passive, expressing that the action of the verb is or ought to be suffered. There are four forms of such gerundives in use in the RV.: that derived with the primary suffix *-ya*, which is common, and those derived with the secondary suffixes *-āy-ya*, *-én-ya*, and *-tv-a*, about a dozen examples of each of which are met with. In the AV. are also found two instances each of gerundives in *-tavyā* and *-anīya*.

578. By far the most frequent form of gerundive is that in *-ya*, about 40 examples occurring in the RV. and about 60 in the AV. This suffix is nearly always to be read as *-ia*, which accounts for the treatment of final radical vowels before it. The root, being accented, appears in a strong form, excepting a few instances in which there is the short radical vowel *i* *u* or *ī*.

1. In the following examples a final short vowel remains unchanged, a *-t-*² being interposed: *-ī-t-ya-* 'to be gone'; *apa-mī-t-ya-* (AV. VI. 117¹) 'to be thrown away' (? *mī-* 'fix')³; *śrū-t-ya-* 'to be heard'; *-kr-t-ya-* 'to be made'; *car-kī-t-ya-* 'to be praised' (*kr-* 'commemorate').

2. Otherwise final *ī*, *ū*, *ī* regularly take Guṇa or Vṛddhi, the final element of which always appears as *y*, *v*, *r* as before a vowel; thus from *lī-* 'cling': *a-līy-ya-*⁴, an epithet of Indra; *nu-* 'praise': *nāv-ya-* 'to be praised'; *bhū-* 'be': *bhāv-ya-* and *bhāv-yá-* 'future'; *hū-* 'call': *hāv-ya-* 'to be invoked'; *vī-* 'choose': *vār-ya-* 'to be chosen'.

3. Final *-ā* coalesces with the initial of *-ia* to *e*, between which and *-a* a phonetic *y* is interposed; thus *dā-* 'give': *dē-ya-* (= *dā-i-y-a-*) 'to be given'; *khyā-* 'see': *-khye-ya-* (AV.); *mā-* 'measure': *mē-ya-* (AV.). In the RV., however, the form *jñā-ya-* once occurs in the compound *bala-vi-jñā-yá-* (x. 103⁵) 'to be recognized by his might'.

4. A medial vowel either remains unchanged or, if short, may take Guṇa, and *a* is sometimes lengthened; thus *īd-ya-* 'to be praised'; *gūh-ya-* 'to be hidden'; *-dhṛs-ya-* 'to be assailed'; *dvēs-ya-* (AV.) 'to be hated' (Vṛddhi); *yódh-ya-* 'to be fought' (I yudh-); *ārdh-ya-* 'to be completed' (Vṛddhi); *mārj-ya-* 'to be purified' (I māj-); *cákṣ-ya-* 'to be seen'; *dābh-ya-* 'to be deceived'; *rādh-ya-* 'to be hastened'; *rād-ya-* 'to be won'; *vānd-ya-* 'praiseworthy'; *sāms-ya-* 'to be lauded'; *-sād-ya-* from *sad-* 'sit'; *-mād-ya-* from *mad-* 'be exhilarated'; *vāc-ya-* 'to be said' (Vṛddhi).

579. Hardly a dozen gerundives, almost restricted to the RV., are formed with *-āy-ya*⁵ (which with one exception is always to be read *-āyia*): *dakṣ-āy-ya-* 'to be conciliated'; *pan-āy-ya-* 'to be admired'; *vid-āy-ya-* 'to be

¹ The form *-stī-ta-* is also found in the MS.: WHITNEY, Roots, s. v. *śī-* 'crush'.

² Cp. the *-t* added to roots ending in *-i*, *-u*, *-ī* to form nominal stems (308).

³ The meaning is uncertain: WHITNEY translates the word by 'borrowed'. See his notes in his Translation.

⁴ Cp. GRASSMANN, s. v.

⁵ Cp. LINDNER, Nominalbildung 22; DELBRÜCK, Verbum 233; WHITNEY 966 c; Bartholomae, BB. 15, 179 n. 1; BB. 20, 85.

found'; *śrav-āyya* 'glorious'; *-hnav-āyya* 'to be denied'. A few are formed from secondary verbs; from causatives: *trayay-āyya* 'to be guarded' (*Vtrā*)¹; *panay-āyya* 'admirable' (*Vpan*); *śprhay-āyya* 'desirable' (*Vśprh*); from a desiderative: *di-dhi-s-āyya* 'to be conciliated' (*Vdhā*); from an intensive: *vi-tan-tas-āyya* 'to be hastened' (*Vtans*). Akin to these gerundives is the anomalous form *stuṣṭ-yya* 'to be praised', derived direct from the infinitive *stuṣṭ* 'to praise'².

580. More than a dozen gerundives are formed with *-en-ya* (generally to be read *-enia*): *īkṣ-ēnya* 'worthy to be seen', *ī-ēnya* 'praiseworthy', *-car-ēnya* 'to be acted', *drś-ēnya* 'worthy to be seen', *-dviṣ-ēnya* 'malignant', *ā-bhūṣ-ēnya* 'to be glorified', *yudh-ēnya* 'to be combatted', *vār-ēnya* 'desirable'. From the aorist stem is formed *-yamṣ-ēnya* 'to be guided' (*Vyam*); and perhaps *paprkṣ-ēnya*³ 'desirable' (*Vprakh*). A few are also derived from secondary verbs; from desideratives: *didrkṣ-ēnya* 'worthy to be seen' (*Vdrś*); *śuśrūṣ-ēnya* (TS.) 'deserving to be heard'; from intensives: *mar-mj-ēnya* 'to be adorned', *vāvṛdh-ēnya* 'to be glorified'; from a denominative: *sapary-ēnya* 'to be adored'.

581. About a dozen gerundives, almost restricted to the RV.⁴, end in *-tv-a* (generally to be read as *-tu-a*), which seems to be the infinitive stem in *-tu* turned into an adjective by means of the suffix *-a*: *kār-tva* 'to be made', *jān-i-tva* and *jān-tva* 'to be born', *jēt-tva* 'to be won', *nān-tva* 'to be bent', *bhāv-t-tva* 'future', *vāk-tva* 'to be said', *sān-i-tva* 'to be won', *sō-tva* 'to be pressed', *snā-tva* 'suitable for bathing', *hān-tva* 'to be slain', *hē-tva* 'to be driven on' (*Vhi*).

a. In the AV. there begins to appear a gerundive in *-tav-yā*. It probably started from the stem of the predicative infinitive in *-tav-e*, which was turned into an adjective by means of the suffix *-ia*⁵. The only examples of this formation are *jan-i-tav-yā* 'to be born' (AV. IV. 237) and *hims-i-tav-yā* 'to be injured' (AV. V. 189).

b. There are also two examples in the AV. of a new gerundive in *-an-īya*, which is derived from a verbal noun in *-ana* with the adjective suffix *-īya*. These are *nṛpa-jīva-nīya* 'serving for subsistence' = 'to be subsisted on' (AV. VIII. 10²²); *ā-mantr-anīya* 'fit for address' (*ā-māntrana*) = 'worthy to be addressed' (AV. VIII. 10)⁶.

c. Infinitive.

A. LUDWIG, *Der Infinitiv im Veda*, Prag 1871. — J. JOLLY, *Geschichte des Infinitivs im Indogermanischen* (München 1873), especially p. 111—137. — DELBRÜCK, *Das altindische Verbum* (1874), p. 221—228; *Altindische Syntax* p. 410—425. — AVERY, *Verb-Inflection in Sanskrit*, JAOS. 10, 275—276 (1876). — BRUNNHOFER, *Über die durch einfache flectirung der wurzel gebildeten infinitive des Veda*, KZ. 30 (1890), 504—513. — BARTHOLOMAE, *Zur bildung des dat. sing. der a-stämme*, BB. 15, 221—247. — V. NEGELEIN, *Zur Sprachgeschichte des Veda* (1898), 91. — FRITZ WOLFF, *Die infinitive des Indischen und Iranischen*. Erster teil: Die ablativisch-genetivischen und die accusativischen infinitive, Gütersloh 1905.

582. The infinitive, all the forms of which are old cases of nouns of action, is very frequently used, occurring in the RV. alone about 700 times. The case-forms which it exhibits are those of the accusative, dative, ablative-genitive, and locative. Only the first two are common, but the dative is by far the commonest, outnumbering the accusative in the proportion of 12 to 1 in the RV. (609 to 49)⁷, and of 3 to 1 in the AV.⁸ Infinitives are

¹ Cp. GRASSMANN, s. v., and WHITNEY 1051 f.

² See BRUGMANN, KG. 809.

³ See BENFEY, *Vollständige Grammatik* 904 and 860.

⁴ A few of these are also found in B., also an additional one, *hō-tva* 'to be sacrificed', in the MS. (I. 93).

⁵ Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 809.

⁶ The gerundive meaning in these two verbal adjectives is probably only incipient. The second is expressly connected with the verbal noun *ā-māntrana*.

⁷ AVERY 231.

⁸ WHITNEY 986.

formed chiefly from radical stems or stems in *-tu*, only a few dative and locative forms being made from other stems. It is somewhat remarkable that the acc. form in *-tum* which is the only infinitive in the later language, hardly occurs in the RV., being found there only five times¹, while the dative infinitive, which is more than seven times as frequent as all the rest in the RV., has almost disappeared even in the Brāhmaṇas. The formations which are restricted to the infinitive meaning are the datives in *-tavai*, *-dhyai*, and (the very few) in *-se*, besides a small number of locatives in *-sāni*. In other forms it is often difficult to draw a strict line of demarcation between the infinitive² and ordinary case uses³.

1. Dative Infinitive.

583. This infinitive ends in *-e*, which when added to the *ā* of a root or stem combines with it to *-ai*. It has the final meaning of '(in order) to', 'for (the purpose of)'⁴. This dative is commonly used without an object; hence a dative often appears beside it by attraction instead of an accusative; e. g. *asmābhyam drśāye sūryāya pīnar dātām āsum* (x. 14¹²) 'may they two grant us life again, for the sun, that we may see (it)', i. e. 'that we may see the sun' (= *drśāye sūryam*). When used with *kr-* 'make' or verbs of wishing, and when predicative, this infinitive acquires a passive meaning; e. g. *agnīm sam-lūhe cakārtha* (1.113⁹) 'thou hast made (= caused) the fire to be kindled'; *yād im uśmāsi kīrtave* (x. 74⁶) 'what we wish to be done'; *brahmadvīṣaḥ . . . hantavā u* (x. 182³) 'Brahma-haters (are) to be slain'⁴.

584. From roots are formed some 60 dative infinitives.

a. About a dozen are made from roots ending in long vowels, chiefly *-ā*, and one in *-i*. All of these are found only compounded with prefixes, excepting *bhū-*, which appears once in the simple form. Two of them drop *ā* before the *-e*⁵. These infinitives are: *vi-khyái* 'to look abroad'; *parā-dāi* 'to give up'; *prati-māi* 'to imitate' (III. 60⁴); *-yāi* 'to go'; *ava-sāi* (III. 53²⁰) 'to rest'; *śrad-dhé* (1.102²) 'to trust' (with the dat. particle *kām*); *pra-mé* (IX. 70⁴) 'to form'; *pra-hyé* (x. 109³) 'to send' (*√hi-*); *-mīy-e* 'to diminish' (*√mī-*); *bhuv-é* and *bhū-é* 'to be' (*√bhū-*); *-tīr-e* 'to cross' (*√tī-*); *-stīr-e* (*√stī-* 'spread').

b. The rest are formed from roots ending in consonants. The uncompounded forms are: *tvīṣ-é* 'to arouse', *drś-é* 'to see', *bhuj-é* 'to enjoy', *mah-é* 'to be glad', *mīh-é* 'to make water', *mud-é* 'to rejoice', *muṣ-é* 'to rob', *muh-é* 'to be bewildered', *yuj-é* 'to yoke', *yudh-é* 'to fight', *ruc-é* 'to shine', *vrđh-é* 'to thrive', *śubh-é* 'to shine'.

The compounded forms are much more frequent. They are: *-āje* 'to drive', *-lāhe* 'to kindle', *-krām-e* 'to stride', *-grābh-e* 'to seize', *-cākṣ-e* 'to see', *-tīr-e* 'to cross', *-tīj-e*⁶ 'to procure', *-dābh-e* 'to injure', *-dīś-e* 'to point', *-dīś-e* 'to see', *-dhīś-e* 'to be bold' (+ AV. TS.), *-nām-e* 'to bend', *-nās-e* (+ VS.) 'to attain', *-nikṣ-e* 'to pierce', *-nīd-e* 'to thrust', *-pīc-e* 'to fill', *-pīcch-e* 'to ask'; *-bādhe* 'to bind' (AV.), *-būdhe* (TS. I. 2. 3¹) 'to awake', *-mīṣe* 'to forget', *-yāṣ-e* 'to speed', *-yūje* 'to yoke', *-rābh-e* 'to seize', *-rīje* 'to break', *-vāc-e* 'to speak' (*√vac-*), *-vīd-e* 'to find', *-vīdh-e* 'to pierce' (*√vyadh-*), *-vīṣ-e* 'to seize', *-vīje* 'to put round', *-vīt-e* 'to turn', *-śās-e* 'to proclaim', *-sād-e* 'to sit', *-sūd-e* 'to enjoy', *-skād-e* 'to leap', *-skābh-e* 'to prop', *-spīś-e* 'to touch', *-syād-e* 'to flow', *-svāj-e* 'to embrace'⁷.

¹ AVERY 230.

² WHITNEY 9701; WOLFF p. 1.

³ Cp. WHITNEY 982. On the uses of the infinitive, cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 805–811.

⁴ Cp. WHITNEY 982, a–d.

⁵ That is, *śrad-dhé* and *pra-mé*, which might, however, be explained as locatives.

⁶ In VIII. 415 the dative, accented *tīj-e*, occurring independently, appears to be a substantive.

⁷ Cp. the list in LUDWIG p. 56–58.

a. One infinitive is also formed from a reduplicated root: *śiśnáth-e* (III. 31¹³) 'to attack'; but according to GRASSMANN¹ it is the locative of a substantive meaning 'attack'.

585. The remaining dative infinitives are formed from verbal nouns derived with nine different suffixes.

1. Some 25 of these are datives of stems in *-as*². They are the following: *áyas-e* (I. 57³) 'to go', *arhás-e* 'to be worthy of', *rcás-e* 'to praise', *ṛñjás-e* 'to strive after', *kṣádas-e*³ 'to partake of', *cáksas-e* 'to see', *carás-e* 'to fare', *javás-e*⁴ (III. 50²) 'to speed', *jīvds-e* 'to live', *tujás-e* 'to hurl', *dohás-e* 'to milk', *dhāyas-e* 'to cherish', *dhruvds-e* 'to sit firmly', *pusyás-e* 'to thrive', *bhāras-e*⁵ 'to bear', *bhīyds-e* 'to fear', *bhojds-e* 'to enjoy', *rājds-e* 'to shine', *vrñjds-e* 'to turn aside', *vrāhds-e* 'to further', *śobhds-e* 'to shine', *śrīyds-e* 'to be resplendent', *sāhyas-e*⁵ 'to conquer', *spāras-e* 'to help to', *spūrdhds-e* 'to strive after', *harás-e* 'to seize'.

a. Three roots form an infinitive stem with *-s* only instead of *-as*: *jī-s-é* 'to conquer', *upa-prak-s-é*⁶ (V. 47⁶) 'to unite', *stu-s-é* 'to praise'.

2. Some half dozen are formed from stems in *-i*: *iṣ-áy-e*⁸ (VI. 52¹⁵) 'to refresh', *tuj-áy-e* (V. 46⁷) 'to breed', *dyt-áy-e* 'to see', *māh-áy-e* 'to rejoice', *yudh-áy-e* 'to fight', *san-áy-e* 'to win'; *cit-áy-e*⁹ (VS.) 'to understand'.

3. Four or five are formed from stems in *-ti*: *iṣ-táy-e* 'to refresh', *pī-táy-e* 'to drink', *vī-táy-e* 'to enjoy', *sā-táy-e* 'to win'; perhaps also *ū-táy-e* (*nñ*) 'to help (his men)'.

4. Over 30 dative infinitives are formed from stems in *-tu* (added to the gunated root, in some instances with connecting vowel), from which acc. and abl. gen. infinitives are also formed:

a. *āt-tav-e* 'to eat', *ās-tav-e* 'to attain', *ās-tav-e* (VS.; TS. IV. 5. 1²) 'to shoot', *ē-tav-e* 'to go', *ō-tav-e* 'to weave' (*ī-vā-*), *kār-tav-e* 'to make', *gān-tav-e* and *gā-tav-e* 'to go', *dā-tav-e* 'to give', *prāti-dhā-tav-e* 'to place upon', *dhā-tav-e* 'to suck', *pāk-tav-e* (AV.) 'to cook', *pāt-tav-e* 'to fall', *pā-tav-e* 'to drink', *bhār-tav-e* 'to bear away', *mān-tav-e* 'to think', *yān-tav-e* 'to present', *yās-tav-e* 'to sacrifice', *yā-tav-e* 'to go', *yō-tav-e* 'to ward off', *vāk-tav-e* 'to speak', *prā-van-tav-e* 'to win' (*ī-van-*), *vār-tav-e* 'to restrain', *vās-tav-e* 'to shine', *vā-tav-e* (AV.) 'to weave', *vēt-tav-e* (AV.) 'to find', *vō-lhav-e* 'to convey', *pāri-śak-tav-e* 'to overcome', *sār-tav-e* 'to flow', *sū-tav-e* 'to bring forth', *sō-tav-e* (AV.) 'to bind', *sō-tav-e* 'to press', *stō-tav-e* 'to praise', *hān-tav-e* 'to slay'.

β. *āv-i-tav-e* 'to refresh', *cār-i-tav-e* 'to fare', *jīv-ā-tav-e* (TS. IV. 2. 6⁵; VS. XVIII. 67) 'to live', *sāvi-tav-e* 'to bring forth', *stār-t-tav-e* (AV.) 'to lay low', *srāv-i-tav-e* 'to flow', *hāv-i-tav-e* 'to call'.

5. Over a dozen infinitives are formed from stems in *-tavā* (added like *-tu* to the gunated root), which are doubly accented.

a. *ē-tavāi* 'to go' (also *dy-*, *āv-*, *etavāi*), *ō-tavāi* 'to weave', *gān-tavāi* 'to go' (also *ūpa-gantavāi*), *dā-tavāi* 'to give', *pāri-dhā-tavāi* (AV.) 'to envelope', *pā-tavāi* 'to drink', *ūpa-bhar-tavāi* 'to be taken away', *mān-tavāi* 'to think', *mā-tavāi* 'to low', *sār-tavāi* 'to flow', *sū-tavāi* (AV.) 'to bring forth', *hān-tavāi* 'to slay'¹⁰.

¹ s. v. *śiśnátha*.

² As a rule the suffix, but in half a dozen instances the root, is accented.

³ According to GRASSMANN, 2. sing. middle.

⁴ According to GRASSMANN, dat. of the substantive *jāvas* meaning 'swiftness'.

⁵ According to GRASSMANN, dat. of the comparative *sāhyas*.

⁶ DELBRÜCK, Verbum, and AVERY accent

-prākṣe. Cp. OLDENBERG. R̥gveda, note on V. 47⁶.

⁷ See DELBRÜCK p. 181 (I, 5); cp. above, p. 378, note 1.

⁸ Cp. however, DELBRÜCK 207.

⁹ Perhaps more probably a substantive, according to BR.: 'for understanding'.

¹⁰ The MS. has *kārtavāi*, cp. WHITNEY 982 d and WOLFF 7 (p. 9).

3. *jīva-i-tavāi* (AV.) 'to live' (Pp. -ta vāi), *yām-i-tavāi* 'to guide', *śrāv-i-tavāi* 'to flow'.

6. There seems to be only one certain example of a dative infinitive formed from a stem in *-tyā*: *i-tyāi* 'to go'¹.

7. Some 35 dative infinitives almost limited to the RV.² are formed from stems in *-dhyā* added to verbal bases ending in *a* (generally accented), and seem to have the termination *-dhyai*: *iyā-dhyai* 'to go' (√i-), *irā-dhyai*³ 'to seek to win', *iśā-dhyai* and *iśāya-dhyai* 'to refresh', *irayā-dhyai* 'to set in motion', *ksīra-dhyai* 'to pour out', *gāma-dhyai* 'to go', *grnā-dhyai* (AA. v. 2. 1¹⁰) 'to praise', *carā-dhyai* 'to fare', *jarā-dhyai* 'to sing', *taṁsayā-dhyai* 'to attract', *tarā-dhyai* 'to overcome', *duhī-dhyai* 'to milk', *dhiyā-dhyai* 'to deposit' (√dhā-), *nāṣayā-dhyai* 'to cause to disappear', *pība-dhyai* 'to drink', *prnā-dhyai* 'to fill', *bhāra-dhyai* 'to bear', *mandā-dhyai* 'to delight in', *mandayā-dhyai* 'to rejoice', *mādayā-dhyai* 'to delight in', *yāja-dhyai*⁴ 'to worship', *riṣayā-dhyai* 'to injure oneself', *vandī-dhyai* 'to praise', *vartayā-dhyai* 'to cause to turn', *vāha-dhyai* 'to guide', *vijayā-dhyai* 'to hasten', *vāyrdhā-dhyai* (from the perfect) 'to strengthen', *vrjā-dhyai* 'to turn to', *śayā-dhyai* 'to lie', *śucā-dhyai* 'to shine', *sacā-dhyai* 'to partake', *sāha-dhyai* 'to overcome', *stavā-dhyai* 'to praise', *syandayā-dhyai* 'to flow', *huvā-dhyai* 'to call'. The TS. has also one of these infinitives ending in *-e*: *gamā-dhye* (1. 3. 6²).

8. Five dative infinitives are formed from stems in *-man*: *trā-man-e* 'to protect', *dā-man-e* 'to give', *dhūr-man-e* (x. 88¹) 'to support', *bhār-man-e* 'to preserve', *vid-mān-e*⁵ 'to know'.

9. Three dative infinitives are formed from stems in *-van*: *tur-vān-e* 'to overcome' (1¹ t̥p-), *dā-vān-e* 'to give', *dhūr-vān-e* 'to injure' (√dhvṛ-).

2. Accusative Infinitive.

586. This infinitive is an accusative in sense as well as in form, being used only as the object of a verb. It is primarily employed as a supine with verbs of motion⁶ to express purpose. It is formed in two ways.

a. More than a dozen radical stems in the RV. and several others in the AV. form an accusative infinitive with the ending *-am*⁷.

The root nearly always ends in a consonant and appears in its weak form. It is not always easy to distinguish these infinitives from substantives, but the following include all the more certain forms: *sam-idham* 'to kindle', *vi-śt-am* 'to unfasten', *pra-tīr-am* (1¹ t̥p-) 'to prolong', *prati-dhām* 'to place upon' (AV.), (*vi-* *sa-*)-*pīcch-am* 'to ask', *pra-mīy-am* 'to neglect' (√mī-), *yām-am*⁸ 'to guide', *yūdh-am* (AV.) 'to fight', *ā-rībh-am* 'to reach', *ā-rīh-am* 'to mount', *ā-viś-am* 'to enter', *śībh-am* 'to shine', *ā-sād-am* 'to sit down'⁹.

b. Five accusative infinitives from stems in *-tu* (of which the dative

¹ In x. 106⁴ *bhujyāi*, occurring beside *paṇyāi*, is doubtless a substantive; other cases of the word are also met with: see GRASSMANN, s. v. *bhujī*. The MS. 1. 6³ has also *sādhayai* (from *sah + ā*); *śādhayai*, which occurs in the TS. 1. 3. 10² is doubtless a substantive; see DELBRÜCK 201 and WHITNEY 977.

² This infinitive form occurs once only in the AV. in a Rigvedic passage.

³ An intensive formation from √rādā- (64, 1).

⁴ *yajādhyai* TS. IV. 6. 3³; VS. XVII. 57.

⁵ WHITNEY 974 also quotes *dār-man-e*.

⁶ Cp. WOLFF 32, 40.

⁷ The only roots in vowels taking it are *dā-*, *mī-*, *tī-*.

⁸ Occurs three times in the RV., always dependent on *śakēma*.

⁹ Perhaps also *sam-oh-am* (strong radical vowel) and *upa-spīj-am*. Cp. the list in WOLFF, p. 87—90. There are several quite doubtful examples from the AV., as *nīh-khīd-am* (conjecture), *pra-tānk-am*, *saṁ-rūdham*. See WHITNEY's notes in his Translation on AV. IV. 16²; v. 18⁷; VII. 50⁵.

form is much commoner)¹ occur in the RV. and about the same number of others in the AV.: *āt-tum* (AV.) 'to eat', *ś-tum* 'to weave', *kār-tum* (AV.) 'to make', *nī-kartum* (Kh. iv. 5²⁵) 'to overcome', *kṣhān-i-tum* (VS. xi. 10) 'to dig', *dā-tum* 'to give', *drās-tum* (AV.) 'to see', *prāś-tum* 'to ask', *prā-bhar-tum* 'to present', *yāc-i-tum* (AV.) 'to ask for', *anu prā-voḥtum* 'to advance', *spārdh-i-tum* (AV.) 'to contend with'².

3. Ablative-Genitive Infinitive.

587. This infinitive is formed in two ways, like the accusative infinitive, either from a radical stem or from a verbal noun in *-tu* (from which a dative and an acc. infinitive are also formed)³. The former, therefore, ends in *-as*, the latter in *-tos*. As these endings are both ablative and genitive in form, the cases can only be distinguished syntactically. The ablative use is by this criterion shown to preponderate considerably.

a. The *-as* form has the ablative sense almost exclusively, as is indicated by its being employed with words governing the ablative, viz. the adnominal prepositions *ritē* 'without', *purā* 'before', and the verbs *pā-* 'protect' *trā-* 'rescue', *bhī-* 'fear'. It occurs with the same kind of attraction as appears with the dative infinitive: thus *trādhvaṃ kartād ava-pād-as* (ii. 29⁶)⁴ 'save us from the pit, from falling down (into it)'. There are six such ablatives in the RV.: *ā-tīd-as* 'being pierced', *ava-pād-as* 'falling down', *sam-pīc-as* 'coming in contact', *abhi-śrīś-as* 'binding', *abhi-śvās-as* 'blowing', *ati-śkād-as* 'leaping across'.

a. There seems also to be at least one example (ii. 28⁶) of the genitive use, viz. *nī-mīś-as* . . . *īśe* 'I am able to wink', the construction of *īś-* being the same as with the genitive infinitive in *-tos* (b α). Another instance is perhaps *ā-pīc-as* 'to fill' (viii. 40⁹).

b. Of the infinitives in *-tos* occurring in the RV. some six are shown by the construction to be ablatives. They are: *ś-tos* 'going', *gām-tos* 'going', *jāni-tos* 'being born', *nī-dhā-tos* 'putting down', *śār-ī-tos* 'being shattered', *sō-tos* 'pressing', *hān-tos* 'being struck'; perhaps also *vās-tos* (i. 174³)⁵.

a. Three infinitives in *-tos* have the genitive sense, viz. *kār-tos* 'doing' (with *madhyā*)⁶, *dā-tos* 'giving', and *yō-tos* 'warding off' (both with *īś-* 'have power'). In two passages in which *īśe* governs the infinitive attraction of the object appears as with the dative infinitive: *īśe rāyāḥ suvīryasya dātōs* (vii. 4⁶) 'he has power over wealth (and) brave sons, over giving (them)', i. e. 'he has power to give wealth and brave sons'; also *yāsya* . . . *īśe* . . . *yōtōs* (vi. 18¹¹) 'whom he can ward off'⁷.

4. Locative Infinitive.

588. This form of the infinitive is rare, since thirteen or fourteen examples at the most occur. Several of these are, however, indistinguishable in meaning from ordinary locatives of verbal nouns⁸.

a. Five or six of these locatives are formed from radical stems: *vy-īś-i* 'at the dawning', *sam-cāks-i* 'on beholding', *dīś-i* and *sam-dīś-i* 'on seeing', *budh-i* 'at the waking'. As these nearly always govern a genitive, they are preferably to be explained as simple locatives of verbal nouns.

¹ See above 585, 4.

² See the list in WOLFF p. 68—71.

³ Above 585, 4 and 586.

⁴ Cp. also viii. 11²: *purā jatrūbhya ā-tīd-as* before the cartilages being pierced'.

⁵ See WOLFF II.

⁶ On this word see WOLFF 14, who thinks

it governs the ablative rather than the genitive.

⁷ See DELBRÜCK, Altindische Syntax p. 418, and cp. WOLFF 58.

⁸ Cp. DELBRÜCK 212 (p. 227) and WHITNEY 985.

b. One locative infinitive is formed from a stem in *-tar*: *dhār-tār-i* 'to support' and *vi-dhār-tār-i* 'to bestow'.

c. Eight locatives with a genuine infinitive meaning are formed from stems in *-san* in the RV. They are: *gy-ñī-sān-i*¹ 'to sing', *tar-ī-sān-i* 'to cross', *ne-sān-i* 'to lead', *par-sān-i* 'to pass', *abhi-bhū-sān-i* 'to aid', *sū-sān-i* 'to swell', *sak-sān-i* 'to abide' (| *sac-*)², *upa-str-ñī-sān-i*³ 'to spread'.

a. The form *iśān-i* (II. 2⁴), seems to be derived from *iś-* 'emit' for *iś-sān-i*⁵.

d. Gerund.

589. A considerable number (upwards of 120) of forms ending in *-tvī*, *-tvā*, *-tūya*, *-tyā*, *-yā* occur in the RV. and AV. in the sense of gerunds expressing an action which accompanies or more often precedes that of the finite verb. They are doubtless old cases⁴ (the first most probably a locative, the rest instrumentals) of verbal nouns formed with *-tu*, *-ti*, *-i*, all of which are also employed in the formation of infinitives⁵. The first three are formed from the simple root, the last two from the compounded root.

590. A. a. Of the gerunds formed from the simple root, those in *-tvī* are the commonest in the RV., there being fifteen altogether in the RV. They hardly ever occur in any of the other Samhitās. They appear to be old locatives⁶ of stems in *-tu*, which as a rule is added directly to the root, but in two instances with connecting *-i-*. They are *kr-tvī* 'having made', *kṣā-tvī* (TS. IV. 1. 1⁴) 'having dug', *ga-tvī* 'having gone', *gū-dhvī* 'having concealed', *janī-tvī* 'having produced', *juṣ-tvī* 'liking', *pī-tvī* 'having drunk', *pū-tvī* 'having cleansed', *bhū-tvī* 'having become', *vr-tvī* 'enclosing', *vrk-tvī* 'having overthrown' (| *vrj-*), *vīṣ-tvī* 'working' (| *vīṣ-*), *vṛṣ-tvī* 'showering', *śabhi-tvī* 'having propped', *ha-tvī* 'having smitten', *hi-tvī* 'having abandoned' (| *hā-*).

b. The gerund in *-tvā*, an old instrumental of a verbal noun in *-tu*, is formed by nine roots in the RV. and about thirty more in the AV. Those found in the RV. are: *pī-tvā* 'having drunk', *bhit-tvā* 'having shattered', *bhū-tvā* 'having become', *mī-tvā* 'having formed' (| *mā-*), *yuk-tvā* 'having yoked', *vr-tvā* 'having covered', *śru-tvā* 'having heard', *ha-tvā* 'having slain', *hi-tvā* 'having abandoned' (| *hā-*). The forms occurring in the AV. include two formed from secondary verbal stems and three others formed with the connecting vowel *-i-*. They are: *iś-tvā* 'having sacrificed' (| *yaj-*), *kalpay-i-tvā* 'having shaped', *kr-tvā* 'having made', *krī-tvā* 'trading', *ga-tvā* 'having gone', *grh-ī-tvā* 'having seized', *jag-dhvā* 'having devoured' (| *jaks-*), *ci-tvā* 'having gathered', *cāy-i-tvā* 'noting', *tīr-tvā* 'having crossed' (| *tī-*), *tī-dhvā* 'having shattered'⁷ (| *tīh-*), *dat-tvā* 'having given', *dṛṣ-tvā* 'having seen', *pak-tvā* 'having cooked', *pū-tvā* 'having purified', *bad-dhvā* 'having bound', *bhāk-tvā* 'sharing', *mṛṣ-tvā* 'having wiped off', *rū-dhvā* 'having ascended', *lab-dhvā* 'taking', *vit-tvā* 'having found', *vṛṣ-tvā* 'cutting off' (| *vraśc-*)⁸, *sup-tvā* 'having slept', *stab-dhvā* 'having established', *stu-tvā* 'having praised', *snā-tvā* 'having bathed', *sramsay-i-tvā* 'letting fall', *hīns-i-tvā* 'having injured'. One gerund in *-tvā* also occurs though compounded with a prefix: *praty-arpay-i-tvā* (AV.) 'having sent

¹ Formed from the present base.

² From | *sac-*, BR., DELBRÜCK, Verbum 213; from | *sah-*, WHITNEY 978.

³ See BÖHTLINGK, pw. s. v. *iśānī*, and cp. WHITNEY 978, OLDENBERG, note on II. 2⁹.

⁴ Cp. v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 91.

⁵ Cp. BARTHOLOMAE, BB. 15. 227, 239; BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 1090.

⁶ BARTHOLOMAE, loc. cit.

⁷ *tṛṣ-tvā* in AV. XIX. 34⁶ is probably to be read *trīṣ tvā* 'thrice thee'; see WHITNEY's Translation.

⁸ See note on AV. VIII. 3² in WHITNEY's Translation (RV. has *vrk-tvā*).

in opposition'. From the Khilas: *janay-i-tvā* (I.4⁸); from the VS. *i-tvā* (xxxii. 12), *vid-i-tvā* (xxxii. 18) 'having known', *spṛ-tvā* (xxxii. 1) 'pervading'.

c. The rarest gerund in the RV. is that in *-tvāya*, being formed from only seven roots. It appears to be a late formation, occurring only in the tenth Maṇḍala, excepting one example in the eighth (viii. 100⁸) in a hymn which is marked by ARNOLD² as belonging to the latest period of the RV. Two of these gerunds (*gatvāya* and *hatvāya*) recur in the AV., which, however, has no additional examples of this type. These forms have the appearance of being datives of stems in *-tva*, but the use of the dative in this sense is in itself unlikely, as that case is otherwise employed to express the final meaning of the infinitive. Hence BARTHOLOMAE³ explains the forms as a metrical substitute for a fem. inst. in *-tvāyā* (from the stem *-tvā*), or for a loc. of *-tva* with enclitic *ā* added. There seems to be another possible explanation. Three of the seven forms occurring appear instead of the corresponding forms in *-tvā* of the older Maṇḍalas. Owing to this close connexion and the lateness as well as the rarity of these forms, we may here have a tentative double formation, under the influence of compound gerunds formed with *-ya* which end in *-āya*, such as *ā-dāya* 'taking'.

The forms occurring are *kr-tvāya* (VS. xi. 59; TS. iv. 1. 54) 'having made', *ga-tvāya* 'having gone', *jag-dhvāya* 'having devoured', *ta-tvāya* (VS. xi. 1) 'having stretched', *dat-tvāya* 'having given', *dṛṣ-tvāya* 'having seen', *bhakt-tvāya* 'having attained', *yuk-tvāya* 'having yoked', *vr-tvāya* (TS. iv. 1. 23; VS. xi. 19) 'having covered', *ha-tvāya* 'having slain', *hi-tvāya* 'having abandoned'.

591. B. When the verb is compounded, the suffix is regularly either *-yā* or *-tyā*. In at least two-thirds of these forms the vowel is long in the RV.⁴

a. Nearly 40 roots in the RV. and about 30 more in the AV., when compounded with verbal prefixes, take the suffix *-yā*⁵. Four roots take it also when compounded with nouns or adverbs. The forms occurring in the RV. are in the alphabetical order of the radical initial: *ā-āc-yā* 'bending', *pra-ārp-yā* 'setting in motion', *prati-īś-yā* 'having sought for', *abhi-ūp-yā* 'having enveloped' (*√vap*), *vi-kṛt-yā* 'having cut in pieces', *abhi-krām-yā* 'approaching', *abhi-khyā-yā* 'having descried', *abhi-gūr-yā* 'graciously accepting', *sam-gṛbh-yā* 'gathering', *prati-gṛh-yā* 'accepting', *anu-ghṛs-yā* 'proclaiming aloud', *abhi-cāks-yā* 'regarding', *prati-cāks-yā* 'observing' and *vi-cāks-yā* 'seeing clearly', *ni-cāy-yā* 'fearing', *pari-tāp-yā* 'stirring up' (heat), *vi-tūr-yā* 'driving forth', *ā-dā-yā* 'taking' and *pari-dā-yā* 'handing over', *ati-dāv-yā* 'playing higher', *anu-dṛś-yā* 'looking along', *abhi-pād-yā* 'acquiring', *pra-prūth-yā* 'puffing out', *vi-bhid-yā* 'shattering', *abhi-bhū-yā* 'overcoming', *vi-mā-yā* 'disposing' and *sam-mā-yā* 'measuring out', *sam-mil-yā* 'closing the eyes', *vi-mūc-yā* 'unyoking', *ā-mīś-yā* 'appropriating', *anu-mṛś-yā* 'grasping', *ā-yū-yā*⁶ 'taking to oneself', *ā-rābh-yā* 'grasping' and *sam-rābh-yā* 'surrounding oneself with', *ni-rīdh-yā* 'having restrained', *abhi-vṛt-yā* 'having overcome' and *ā-vṛt-yā* 'causing to roll towards', *abhi-ūlāg-yā* 'pursuing', *ni-sād-yā* 'having sat down', *vi-sāh-yā* 'having conquered', *ava-sā-yā* 'having unyoked', *sam-hā-yā* 'preparing oneself' (*hā* 'go'). Compounds formed with adverbs are: *punar-dā-yā* 'giving back', *mitha-sṛjdh-yā* 'vying together'; and with nouns, *karna-gṛh-yā* 'seizing by the ear', *pāda-gṛh-yā* 'grasping by the foot', *hasta-gṛh-yā* 'grasping by the hand'.

¹ The MS. has also the form *sam-ūay-i-tvā*: WHITNEY 990 a.

² Vedic Metre p. 283.

³ BB. 15, p. 239, 12.

⁴ Cp. WHITNEY 993 a.

⁵ On the gerund in *-ya* cp. NEISSER, BB. 30, 308—311.

⁶ *-yū-yā* is also compounded with *ni-* and *vi-*.

The additional roots thus compounded in the AV. are: *ud-ih-ya* 'having carried up', *ā-kram-ya* 'stepping into' and *pari-kram-ya* 'striding about', *saṁ-gīr-ya* 'swallowing up', *saṁ-gīh-ya*¹ 'having grasped'², *vi-ccid-ya* 'having cut asunder', *upa-dād-ya* 'putting in' (*dā* 'give')³, *abhi-dhā-ya* 'encircling', *vi-dhi-ya* 'shaking off', *parā-ñi-ya* 'leading away', *ā-pād-ya* 'arriving at' and *pra-pād-ya* 'going forward', *saṁ-pā-ya* 'drinking up', *vi-bhāṣ-ya* 'having apportioned', (caus. of *bhāṣ-*), *saṁ-bhāṣ-ya* 'combining', *ni-māj-ya* 'having immersed' (*√māj-*), *apa-mi-ya* 'having measured off'⁴, *apa-mij-ya* 'having wiped off', *saṁ-rābh-ya* 'taking hold together', *ā-rīh-ya* 'ascending', *saṁ-līp-ya* 'having torn up'⁵, *upa-viś-ya* 'sitting down', *pari-viś-ya* 'attending upon', *saṁ-śā-ya* 'sharpening', *ā-sūd-ya* 'sitting upon' and *ni-śād-ya* 'sitting down', *saṁ-sic-ya* 'having poured together', *apa-sidh-ya* 'driving away', *saṁ-siv-ya* 'having sewed', *niḥ-sīp-ya* 'having crept out', *ati-śthā-ya* 'excelling', *prati-śthā-ya* 'standing firm', *ut-thā-ya* 'arising'. From the VS.: *ni-śir-ya* (xvi. 13) 'having broken off', *saṁ-sij-ya* (xi. 53) 'having mingled', *ati-hā-ya* (xxv. 43) 'having missed'.

b. Roots which end in a short vowel, either originally or after losing a nasal, add *-tyā* (nearly always in RV.) or *-tya* instead of *-yā*, when compounded. The following gerunds are thus formed in the RV.: *-i-tyā* 'having gone' with *api-*, *abhi-* and *ā-*, *-i-tya* with *abhi-* and *prati-*; *ā-gā-tyā* 'having come' (1 *gam-*), *ā-dī-tyā* 'regarding', *ā-bhī-tyā* 'bringing', *vi-hā-tyā* 'having driven away' (1 *han-*); and with adverbial prefixes *aram-kī-tyā* 'having made ready', *akḥkhalī-kī-tyā* 'shouting'. From the Khilas: *aty-ā-hī-tya* (iv. 5²⁹).

The AV. has the following gerunds from nine additional roots *nir-ī-tya* 'separating' (?),⁶ *abhi-jī-tya* 'having conquered', and *saṁ-jī-tya* 'having wholly conquered', *ā-tī-tya*⁷ 'having expanded', *apa-mi-tya* 'having borrowed' (*√mā-*), *ud-yā-tya* 'lifting up', *pra-ā-ry-tya* 'having enveloped', *upa-śrī-tya* 'having overheard', *ud-dhī-tya* 'having taken up' (1 *hī-*); also in composition with a substantive: *namas-kī-tya*. The VS. has *upa-stī-tya* (xxi. 46) 'having invoked' and *pra-stī-tya* (xxi. 46) 'having lauded'.

VIII. INDECLINABLES.

1. Prepositions.

GAEDICKE, *Der Akkusativ im Veda* (Breslau 1880), p. 193—210. — WHITNEY, *Sanskrit Grammar* 1077—1089, 1123—1130. — DELBRÜCK, *Altindische Syntax* p. 440—471. — Cp. BENFEY, *Vollständige Grammatik* 241 and 784. — BRUGMANN, KG. p. 457—480. — J. S. SPEIJER, *Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax*, Grundriss I. 6, 87.

592. Two classes of prepositions are to be distinguished. The first class embraces the genuine or adverbial prepositions. These are words with a local sense which, being primarily used to modify the meaning of verbs, came to be connected independently with the cases governed by the verbs thus modified. They show no signs of derivation from inflexional forms or (except *tiris* and *puris*) forms made with adverbial suffixes. The second class embraces what may be called adnominal prepositions. These are words which are not compounded with verbs, but govern cases only. As regards form, they almost invariably end in case terminations or adverbial suffixes.

¹ *-gīhya* also appears compounded with *ni-*, *vi-* and *prati-*.

² The gerund *ā-ghrā-ya* (AV. xix. 85), the reading of the text, is not found in the Mss. and is doubtless wrong; cp. WHITNEY's *Index Verborum*.

³ From the present base of *√dā-*, cp. WHITNEY 992 a.

⁴ *apa-mā-ya* is a conjectural reading.

⁵ v. NEGELEIN 92 gives *-vidh-ya* (*√vyadh-*) and *-śus-ya* as occurring in the AV., but they are not to be found in WHITNEY's *Index verborum*.

⁶ See note on AV. x. 2² in WHITNEY's *Translation*.

⁷ Conjectural reading in AV. xx. 136³; see WHITNEY's *Index Verborum*.

A. Adverbial Prepositions.

593. Of the twenty-two included in this class¹, eight are never used adnominally, viz. *āpa*² 'away'; *ūd* 'up', 'out'; *nī* 'down', 'into'; *nīs* 'out'; *pārā* 'away'; *prā* 'forth'; *vī* 'asunder' (often = 'dis-', 'away'); *sām*³ 'together'⁴. Three others, for the most part employed adnominally, are restricted in their adverbial use to combination with particular verbs, viz. *āccha* 'towards', *tīrās* 'across', *purās* 'before'. The remaining eleven, being employed both adverbially and adnominally, are: *āti* 'beyond'; *ādhi* 'upon'; *ānu* 'after'; *antār* 'within'; *āpi* 'on'; *abhi* 'against'; *āva* 'down'; *ā* 'near'; *ūpa* 'up to'; *pāri* 'around'; *prāti* 'towards'.

a. When combined with verbs⁵ these prepositions are not compounded in the principal sentence⁶. Generally speaking, they immediately precede the verb; but they are also often separated from it, e. g. *ā tvā viśantu* (I. 5⁷) 'may they enter thee'. Occasionally the preposition follows the verb, e. g. *īndro gā avṛṇod āpa* (VIII. 63³) 'Indra disclosed the cows'. Two prepositions are not infrequently combined with the verb⁷; no certain instances of three being thus used can be quoted from the RV., though a few such instances occur in the AV.⁸ On the other hand, a preposition sometimes appears quite alone⁹; the verb 'to be', or some other verb commonly connected with it, can then be supplied without difficulty; e. g. *ā tū na indra* (I. 10¹¹) 'hither, pray, (come) to us, Indra'. Or the preposition appears without the verb in one part of the sentence, but with it in another; e. g. *pāri mām, pāri me prajāṃ, pāri naḥ pāhi yād dhānam* (AV. II. 7⁴) 'protect me, protect my progeny, protect what wealth (is) ours'. As the verb normally stands at the end of the sentence, the preposition would naturally come after the object. Hence as a rule it follows the noun governed by the verb (though it is also often found preceding the noun). Primarily used to define the local direction expressed by the verb which governs a case, prepositions gradually became connected with particular cases. In the RV. it is still often uncertain whether the adverbial or the adnominal sense is intended. Thus *dāśvāṃsam ūpa gacchatam* (I. 47³) may mean either 'do ye two go to the pious man' or 'do ye two go to-the pious man'. When used adnominally the preposition only

¹ On the relative frequency of these prepositions in the RV. and AV. see WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 1077 a.

² On the relation of *āpa*, *āpi*, *ūpa*, *nī*, *pāri* to corresponding Greek prepositions see J. SCHMIDT, KZ. 26, 21 ff.

³ *sām* seems in a few passages to have attained an independent prepositional use with the instrumental: *sām uṣābhīḥ* (I. 6³), *sām pātūbhīḥ* (II. 16⁸), *sām śvābhīḥ* (VIII. 97¹²), *sām jyōtiṣā jyōtiḥ* (VS. II. 9), *sām āyusā* (TS. I. I. 10²); but in all these examples the case perhaps depends on the compound sense of the verb. BR. do not recognize the prepositional use, cp. DELBRÜCK p. 459; on the other hand, see GRASSMANN s. v. *sām* and WHITNEY 1127. *sām* is used with the inst. in Kh. I. 47.

⁴ The adverbs *āvis* and *prādūr* 'in view' are used with *vas-*, *vāhu-* and *vak-* only.

⁵ Though a certain number of verbs are never actually met with in the RV. and AV. in combination with prepositions (cp. DELBRÜCK p. 433), there can be little doubt

that practically all verbs except denominatives were capable of combining with prepositions. On the other hand, some verbs occur only in combination with prepositions (DELBRÜCK, loc. cit.).

⁶ *āccha*, *tīrās*, *purās* seem never to be compounded with the verb even in dependent clauses; see DELBRÜCK p. 469 (mid.).

⁷ When there are two, *pārā* always immediately precedes the verb; *ā* and *āva* nearly always; *ūd*, *nī*, *prā* usually. On the other hand, *abhi* is all but invariably the first of the two; *ādhi* and *ānu* are nearly always so, *ūpa* and *prāti* usually; cp. DELBRÜCK 234.

⁸ Cp. DELBRÜCK 235. Three prepositions combined with a verb are common in B.; the last is then almost invariably *ā* or *āva*.

⁹ On the elliptical imperative use of prepositions cp. FISCHER, VS. I. 13, 19f.; BRUGMANN, IF. 18, 128; DELBRÜCK, Vergleichende Syntax 3, 122 f.

defines the local meaning of the case. It cannot be said to 'govern' the case, except perhaps when *ā* 'up to' or *purās* 'before' are connected with the ablative.

594. The fourteen genuine prepositions which are used adnominally are almost entirely restricted to employment with the accusative, locative, and ablative. Six are used with the accusative only, viz. *āccha*, *āti*, *ānu*, *abhi*, *prīti* and *tīrds*; one (*āpi*) with the locative only; one (*āva*) with the ablative only (and that very rarely).

The remaining six take the accusative and one or both of the other two cases: *pūri* takes the ablative also; *ūpa* the locative also; *ādhi*, *antār*, *ā*, *purās* take both the locative and the ablative also. The first two¹ of these six belong primarily to the sphere of the accusative, the last four to that of the locative. Thus it appears that the genuine prepositions were at the outset practically associated with these two cases only. The ablative came to be used secondarily with *pūri* in the sense of 'from (around)'; and similarly with locative prepositions, *ādhi* = 'from (upon)', *antār* = 'from (within)', *ā* = 'from (on)'. In all these, the sense of the ablative case combined with the original meaning of the preposition to form a new double notion. But in *purās* 'before' and in *ā*, when it means 'up to', which are both used before the case, the ablative sense has completely disappeared.

The following is a detailed account of the genuine prepositions in their alphabetical order.

āccha 'towards'.

595. In combination with verbs of motion and of speaking², *āccha*³ expresses direction in the sense of '(all the way) to'⁴. Used adnominally with the same meaning, it takes the accusative, which either precedes or follows. It is rare except in the RV.⁵ Examples of its use are: *prā yātana sākṣīm ācchā* (I. 165¹³) 'proceed hither to your friends'; *ūpa prāgāt .. ācchā pītaram mātaram ca* (I. 163¹³) 'he has come forward hither to his father and mother'; *kām ācchā yujjāthe rātham* (V. 74³) 'to (go to) whom do ye two yoke your car?'; *ācchā ca tvā enā nāmasā vādāmasi* (VIII. 21⁶) 'and to these we speak with this devotion'; *prēyam agād dhiṣṇā barhīr āccha* (TS. I. 1. 2¹ = MS. I. 1² = K. I. 2) 'this bowl has come forward hither to the litter'.

āti 'beyond'.

596. Adverbially *āti* is frequently used in the sense of 'beyond', 'over', 'through', with verbs of motion. Whether it is used adnominally with these and cognate verbs is somewhat uncertain. There are, however, a few distinct instances of such use⁶ of *āti* in other connexions with the accusative; e. g. *śatām dāsām āti srājah* (VIII. 56³) 'a hundred slaves (beyond =) in addition to garlands'; *purvīr āti kṣāpah* (X. 77²) 'through many nights'; *kād asya vāti vratām cakṛmā* (X. 125) 'what have we done (beyond =) contrary

¹ In regard to *ūpa* the sense of 'motion to' seems to be the primary one; for it is used twice as often with the acc., and its position before the loc. is less primitive.

² It is once (VIII. 33¹³) also used with *śru-* 'hear' in the sense of 'listen to'.

³ The final *a* is short only at the end of a Pada and in I. 31¹⁷ and IX. 106²; otherwise always *ācchā*.

⁴ In the SV. it is once used with the

locative in the v. r. *sādaneṣu āccha* for *sādanāni āccha* (RV. IX. 91¹).

⁵ It is used with over twenty roots in the RV. and with only two in the AV. (WHITNEY 1078). In the TS. it occurs with *i-* 'go' (IV. 1. 8¹; II. 2. 12³) and with *vad-* 'speak' (IV. 5. 12² = VS. XVI. 4).

⁶ The adnominal use survives through the Brāhmaṇas into the Mahābhārata.

to his ordinance?'; *yó devó mártiyāṁ āti* (AV. XX. 127⁷) 'the god who (is) beyond mortals'.

ādhi 'upon'.

597. The general meaning of *ādhi* in its adverbial use is 'upon', e. g. *ādhi gam* 'come upon', then 'find out', 'learn'.

In adnominal use the proper sphere of *ādhi* is the locative, with which it is almost always connected. Here, however, there is sometimes an uncertainty whether the preposition belongs to the verb or the noun; e. g. *nākasya prsthē ādhi tiṣṭhati* (I. 125⁵) 'he stands upon the ridge of the firmament'. When referring to a person *ādhi* means 'beside', 'with' (from the notion of wielding sway over); e. g. *yān, nāsatyā, parāvātī yād vā sthó ādhi turvāse* (I. 47⁷) 'when, O Nāsatyas, ye are at a distance or with Turvaśa'.

a. From the locative the use of *ādhi* extended to the ablative, with which it is less frequently connected. It then primarily has the compound sense 'from upon'; e. g. *ātah ... ā gahi divó vā rocanād ādhi* (I. 6⁹) 'thence come, or from the bright realm of heaven'. Often, however, the simple ablative meaning alone remains; e. g. *hṛdayād ādhi* (X. 163³) 'from the heart'; *pūruṣā ādhi* (VS. XXXII. 2) 'from Puruṣa'. A somewhat extended sense is occasionally found; e. g. *yām ... kāṇva idhā rtād ādhi* (I. 36¹¹) 'whom Kaṇva kindled (proceeding from =) in accordance with sacred order'; *mā pañir bhūr asmā ādhi* (I. 33³) 'be not niggardly with regard to us'.

b. From the locative the use of *ādhi* further spread to the accusative, though in a very limited way, to express the sphere on or over which an action extends; e. g. *prthū prātkam ādhy édhe agniḥ* (VII. 36¹) 'Agni has been kindled over the broad surface'. Otherwise, when taking the accusative in the sense of 'upon' with verbs of motion, *ādhi* nearly always belongs to the verb.

a. In the RV. only, *ādhi* is used seven times with the (following) instrumental singular or plural of *snū-* 'height', to express motion along and over = 'across'; e. g. *cakrām ... ādhi ṣṇinā bṛhatā vārtamānam* (IV. 28²) 'the wheel rolling across the mighty height'. This is probably to be explained, as the instrumental of the space (by =) through which motion takes place (e. g. *vāto anādrīkṣeṇa yāti* 'the wind goes through the air', I. 161¹⁴), the preposition that regularly means 'upon' being added to define the action as taking place 'over' as well as 'along'. The VS. has the regular locative of *snū-* with *ādhi*: *prthivyā ādhi snūsu* (XVII. 14) 'on the heights of the earth'.

ānu 'after'.

598. In its adverbial use *ānu* primarily means 'after', e. g. *ānu i-* 'go after', 'follow'; from this fundamental sense are developed various modifications such as 'along', 'through'.

In its adnominal use *ānu* takes the accusative only. When the influence of the verb is still felt, it means 'after', 'along', 'throughout'; e. g. *pārā me yanti dhītīyo gāvo nā gāvayūtir ānu* (I. 25¹⁶) 'my prayers go abroad like kine (seeking) after pastures'; *ūpa prā yanti dhītīyaḥ rtāsya pathyā ānu* (III. 12⁷) 'forth go my prayers along the paths of sacred order'; *yāt pāñca mānuṣām ānu nṛmṇām* (VIII. 9²) 'the might which (exists) throughout the five peoples'; *similarly prthivīm ānu* (VS. XIII. 6) 'throughout the earth', *vānaspātīm ānu* (VS. XIII. 7) 'in all trees', *pradīśó 'nu* (VS. XXXII. 4) 'throughout the regions'.

When used in closer connexion with nouns *ānu* expresses:

a. **sequence in time**: 'after' or (with plurals) 'throughout'; e. g. *pūrvām ānu prāyatim* (I. 126⁵) 'after the first presentment'; *ānu dyān* 'throughout the days' = 'day after day'.

b. **conformity**: 'after' = 'in accordance with'; e. g. *svām ānu vṛatām* (I. 128²) 'according to his own ordinance'; *amṛtān ānu* (VS. IV. 28) 'after the

manner of immortals'; *ānu jīṣam* (TS. I. 1. 13² = VS. II. 17) 'for (= to suit) thy enjoyment'. This is the commoner independent use.

antār 'between'.

599. In its adverbial use, which is not frequent, *antār* means 'between', 'within', 'into'; e. g. *antās car-* 'move between or within'; *antāḥ pās-* 'look into'; *antār gā-* 'go between', 'separate'; *antar-vidvān* 'knowing (the difference) between', 'distinguishing'.

The fundamental and by far the most frequent adnominal use of *antār* is connected with the locative in the sense of 'within', 'among'; e. g. *antāḥ samudrē* 'within the ocean'; *apsi-antār* 'within the waters'; *antār devēṣu* 'among the gods'; *gūrbhe antāḥ* (VS. xxxii. 4) 'within the womb'; *mātṛtamāsu-antāḥ* (TS. I. 8. 12² = VS. x. 7) 'in the best of mothers'.

a. From the locative its use extends in a few instances to the ablative in the sense of 'from within'; e. g. *antār dśmanaḥ* 'from within the rock'; *apaḥ yayaṁ paramād antāḥ ādreh* (IX. 87⁸) 'it has come from the highest stone'.

b. From the locative its use further extends, in several instances, to the accusative, in the sense of 'between' (expressing both motion and rest), generally in connexion with duals or two classes of objects; e. g. *mahān sadhīsthe dhruvā ā niṣatto 'ntār dyāvā* (III. 6⁴) 'the great one who has sat down in the firm seat between the two worlds'; *indra it somapā ēkaḥ .. antār devān mātṛvāṁs ca* (VIII. 2⁴) 'Indra is the one Soma-drinker (between =) among gods and mortals'.

āpi 'upon'.

600. In its adverbial use with verbs of motion *āpi* generally means 'into', e. g. *āpi gam-* 'go into', 'enter'; but this sense assumes various modifications which may be expressed by 'on', 'over', 'up'; e. g. *āpi dhā-* 'put upon', 'close up'; *āpi nah-* 'tie up'; *āpi-ripta-* 'smeared over' = 'blind'.

In its adnominal use, which is rare, *āpi* is connected with the locative only. It then has the sense of 'on'; e. g. *ayām, agne, tvē āpi yajñ yajñān cakṛmā vayām* (II. 5⁸) 'this (is), O Agni, the sacrifice which we have offered on thee'.

abhi 'towards'.

601. In its adverbial use *abhi* means 'towards' with verbs of motion, e. g. *abhi dru-* 'run towards'; it further commonly makes verbs of action transitive, e. g. *krand-* 'roar': *abhi krand-* 'roar at'; it also sometimes, especially with *bhū-* 'be', comes to have the sense of superiority: *abhi bhū-* 'overcome'.

The adnominal use of *abhi* is fairly frequent, though in many individual instances difficult to distinguish from its adverbial use. It is connected with the accusative only, in the sense of 'to'; e. g. *id ūsya nārī abhi jīvalokām* (x. 18⁸) 'Arise, O woman, to the world of the living'. The sense of 'over' (implying dominion), abstracted from one of its secondary adverbial uses, is occasionally found; e. g. *vīśvā yās carṣaṇīr abhi* (I. 86⁵) 'who (is) over all men'.

¹ In the later language *antār* is not infrequently used with the genitive (as well as the locative). An example of this occurs as early as VS. XL. 5 (= Iśa Upaniṣad 5): *tād antār asya sārvasya, tād u sārvasya asya bāhyatāḥ* 'it is within this all and it is without this all'.

² The adverb *āpi* begins to be employed secondarily in the RV. (though rarely) as a conjunctive particle meaning 'also'; cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 588, 5.

áva 'down'.

602. In its adverbial use, *áva* generally means 'down'. e. g. *áva gam-* 'come down'; but it has also the extended sense of 'away', 'off', e. g. *áva srj-* 'discharge'.

In its adnominal use, which is very rare and doubtful, it is connected with the ablative in the sense of 'down from'. In the following two examples, especially the second, the case seems to be directly dependent on the preposition: *vr̥ṣṭīm áva divá invatam* (VII. 64²) 'send rain down from heaven'; *yé te pánthāno áva diváh* (AV. VII. 55¹) 'which (are) thy paths down from the sky'.

a 'near'.

603. The adverbial use of *á* with verbs expressing either physical or mental motion is very common in the sense of 'near', 'hither', 'towards', 'to', 'upon'; e. g. *á aj-* 'drive hither'; *á krand-* 'cry to'; *á dhī-* 'think upon', 'attend to'. Less commonly, when used with verbs expressing rest or occurrence, it means 'in' or 'at'; e. g. *á kṣi-* 'dwell in', *á jan-* 'be born at' a place.

When used adnominally, *á* regularly follows the case, excepting only one sense of the ablative. It is primarily and most commonly connected with the locative, when it has the sense of 'on', 'in', 'at', 'to'; e. g. *upásthā á* 'on the lap'; *dadhīṣ tvā bhṛgavo mānuṣeṣu.á* (I. 58⁰) 'the Bhṛgu brought thee to men'.

a. From the locative its use extended to the ablative, with which it is used fairly often. It is generally used after this case, when it primarily has the compound sense of 'from on' (cp. *ádhi*); e. g. *parvatād á* 'from (on) the mountain'. It also means, secondarily, 'away from'; e. g. *yás cid dhī tvā bahúbhya á sutāvām ávivāṣati* (I. 84⁹) 'who entices thee away from many (others) with his Soma draught'. This secondary meaning is sometimes further extended to express preference; e. g. *yás te sakhībhya á váram* (I. 4⁴) 'who is a boon to thee (in distinction) from friends', i. e. 'who is better to thee than friends'.

a. In about a dozen instances in the RV., *á* is used before the ablative to express 'up to'²; e. g. *yati girībhya á samudrāt* (VII. 95²) 'going from the mountains up to the sea'; *á nimrūcalḥ* (I. 161¹⁰) 'till sunset'³. This reversal of meaning is probably due to the reversal of the natural order of the words: *samudrād á* 'from the sea' thus becoming *á samudrāt* 'to the sea'.

b. The use of *á* is further extended to the accusative, with which it is least frequently connected, generally meaning 'to', 'upon', to express the goal with verbs of motion; e. g. *antár t̥yase . . yusmāns ca devān víśa á ca mártān* (IV. 2³) 'thou goest mediating to you, the gods, and to the people, the mortals'; *mātārā sídatām barhīr á* (I. 142⁷) 'may the two mothers seat themselves upon the litter'; *áhy á naḥ* (AV. II. 5⁴) 'come hither to us'; *devānām vakṣi priyām á sadhásītham* (TS. V. 1. 11¹ = VS. XXIX. 1) 'bring (it) to the dear abode of the gods'. In closer connexion with nouns, *á* is used to express purpose in the phrases *jóṣam á* 'for enjoyment', and *váram á* 'for pleasure'.

úpa 'up to'.

604. In its adverbial use *úpa* is in sense akin to *abhi* and *á*, expressing 'near to'; e. g. *úpa gam-* 'go near to'. The fundamental meaning of close

¹ Cp. DELBRÜCK p. 451.

² With very few exceptions this is the only use of *á* to be found in B.; in C. also *á* is found only before the ablative, but

with the old sense of 'from' as well as 'up to'.

³ It is occasionally found after the ablative in this sense; see GRASSMANN s. v. *á*.

contiguity is often coupled with the idea of subordination or inferiority; e. g. *ūpa sad-* 'sit down close to', 'approach reverentially'; *upa ās-* 'sit under', 'adore'.

In its adnominal use *ūpa* is most frequently connected with the accusative (which it more often precedes than follows) in the sense of 'to'; e. g. *ā yāhi . . ūpa brāhmāṇi vāghātāḥ* (I. 3³) 'come to the prayers of the worshipper'.

a. It is also used (about half as frequently in the RV.) before the locative in the sense of 'beside', 'upon', 'at': *yā ūpa sārṇe* (I. 23¹⁷) 'who (are) beside the sun'; *ūpa dyāvī* '(upon =) up to the sky' (from below); *ūpa jmann ūpa vetasē dva tara* (VS. XVII. 6 = MS. II. 10¹) 'descend upon the earth, upon the reed'.

a. Quite exceptionally (only three times) *ūpa* occurs in the RV. with the (following) instrumental. In two passages it expresses sequence of time in the phrase *ūpa dyūbhis* (V. 53³; VIII. 40³) 'day by day'. Once it expresses conformity: *yāsmāi viṣṇu trīṇi padā vicakramā ūpa mitrāya dhārmabhiḥ* (Vāl. IV. 3³) 'for whom Viṣṇu strode forth his three steps in accordance with the ordinances of Mitra'. These abnormal senses of *ūpa* are parallel to those of *anu* (598 a, b), and the construction to that of *ādhi* (597 a).

tirās 'across'.

605. Adverbially *tirās* is used in the sense of 'aside', but only with the two verbs *dhā-* 'put' and *bhū-* 'be', in the Samhitās¹; thus *tirō dhā-* 'put aside', 'conceal'; *tirō bhū-* 'disappear'; e. g. *ajakāvāṇ tirō dadhe* (VII. 50¹) 'I put away the scorpion'; *mā tirō 'bhūt* (AV. VIII. 1⁷) 'may it not disappear'.

Adnominally *tirās* is used fairly often in the RV., and a few times in the AV., in the sense of 'across', 'over', 'through', 'past', with (nearly always before) the accusative²; e. g. *ā yē tanvānti raśmibhis tirāḥ samudrām* (I. 19⁸) 'who spread with their rays across the ocean'; *nāyanti duritā tirāḥ* (I. 41³) 'they lead him through (so as to escape) dangers'; *tirō vīśvām ārcato yāhy arvāṇi* (X. 89¹⁶) 'come hither past (leaving behind) all singers'.

a. Figuratively *tirās* occasionally means 'contrary to'; e. g. *devānām cit tirō vāsam* (X. 171⁴) 'even against the will of the gods'; *yō no . . tirās cittāni jighāṃsati* (VII. 59⁸) 'who desires to slay us contrary to expectations' (= 'un-awares'), *yō no . . tirāḥ satyāni . . jighāṃsāt* (TS. IV. 3. 13³) 'who may desire to slay us contrary to oaths'.

pāri 'around'.

606. In its adverbial use *pāri* generally means 'around', e. g. *pāri i-go* around'; figuratively it also means 'completely', e. g. *pāri vid-* 'know fully' (cp. *ṇēpi oīs*).

Its adnominal use starts from the accusative, with which case it is, however, not very commonly connected. Here, too, it is not always certain that the preposition does not belong to the verb. It nearly always immediately precedes the accusative in the sense of 'around', 'about'; e. g. *pāri dyām anyād iṇyate* (I. 30¹⁹) 'the other (wheel) goes around the sky'. The following is one of the two instances in which *pāri* comes after the accusative³: *havāmahe śraddhām madhyāṇdinam pāri* (X. 151⁵) 'we invoke Śraddhā (about =) at noon'⁴.

a. Its use then extends to the ablative, with which it is much more frequently connected. Here it has primarily the compound sense of 'from around'; e. g. *dīvās pāri* (I. 47⁶) 'from the sky (which is) around'; *tāmasas pāri* (I. 50¹⁰) 'from the surrounding darkness'. The original meaning (as in

¹ In the ŚB. and later *tirās* is used with *kr-* 'do' also.

² It is found at least once in the AV. (XII. 339) and occasionally in the ŚB. in the

sense of 'away from' = 'without the knowledge of'.

³ Cp. GRASSMANN, s. v. *pāri*, 784 (bottom).

⁴ Like the German preposition 'um'.

ādhi) then disappears, leaving only the ablative sense 'from'; e. g. *tvām adbhyaś tvām āśmanas pāri . . jāyase* (II. 1¹) 'thou art born from the waters, from the rock'.

purās 'before'.

607. Adverbially *purās* is combined with *kṛ-* 'do', and *dhā-* 'put' only, in the sense of 'in front'; e. g. *īndraḥ kṛṇotu prasavē rathām purāḥ* (I. 102⁹) 'may Indra place (our) car in front in the enterprise'; *īndraṃ viśve devāso dadhire purāḥ* (I. 131¹) 'the all-gods placed Indra in the forefront'.

Adnominally *purās* occurs about nine times in the RV., in the sense of 'before' and connected with the accusative, the ablative, and the locative; e. g. *āsadan mātṛam purāḥ* (x. 189¹) 'he has sat down before his mother'; *nā gardabhām purō āsvān nayanti* (III. 53²) 'they do not place the ass before the horse' (*āsvāt*); *yāḥ sṛñjaye purō . . samidhyāte* (IV. 15⁴) 'who is kindled before Sṛñjaya'.

prāti 'against'.

608. Used adverbially *prāti* means 'towards', 'against', e. g. *prāti i-* 'go towards or against'; *prāti mā-* 'counterfeit', 'imitate'. From this sense the notion of equality was developed, as in *prāti as-* 'be a match for'; e. g. *īndra, nākiś tvā prāty asty eśām, viśvā jātāny abhy āsi tāni*¹ (VI. 25⁵) 'O Indra, none of them is equal to thee; thou art superior to all these beings'. The verb *as-* often being omitted, *prāti* appears to be used like an adjective; e. g. *īndraṃ nā mahnā pṛthivī canā prāti* (I. 55¹) 'not even the earth (is) equal to Indra in greatness'. The preposition further comes to express adverbially the sense of 'back'; e. g. *prāti ūh-* 'thrust back'; *prāti brū-* 'reply'.

Adnominally *prāti* is used with the accusative only, altogether about a dozen times in the RV. With verbs of motion² or of calling it means 'towards', 'to' (though here there is sometimes a doubt whether it does not rather belong to the verb); e. g. *prāti tyāṃ cārum adhvarāṃ gopīthāya prā hūyase* (I. 19¹) 'thou art summoned to the beloved sacrifice to drink the milk'. With verbs of protecting it means 'against' = 'from'; e. g. *agne rākṣā ṇo āmhasaḥ, prāti śma, deva, rīṣataḥ* (VII. 15¹³) 'O Agni, protect us from distress, against injurers, O god'. Sometimes it means 'over against', 'opposite'; e. g. *ābodhy agniḥ . . prāti . . āyatīm uśāsam* (V. 1¹) 'Agni has awakened in face of the coming Dawn'. It expresses conformity in the phrase *prāti vāram* 'according to desire' (cp. *ānu* b, *ūpa* a, α).

a. In the phrase *prāti vāstoḥ* 'at dawn', occurring three times in the RV., the preposition seems to take the ablative, but *vāstoḥ* may here be meant for an adverbial form³.

B. Adnominal Prepositions.

609. This class of words which is never compounded with verbs, but only governs oblique cases (with the exception of the dative), cannot be clearly distinguished from adverbs such as *ūrdhvām* (which from B. onwards is also used as a preposition with the ablative in the sense of 'above' and 'after'). It is to be noted that several of them govern the genitive and the instrumental, cases practically never connected with the genuine prepositions in the Samhitās. The following is an account of these words arranged in their alphabetical order⁴.

¹ Both *abhi* and *prāti* primarily express direction 'towards', but the former tends to imply superiority or attack ('at'), the latter comparison and equality or repulsion ('back').

² In B. *prāti* is regularly used after the accusative, though apparently never connected

with verbs of motion: here it expresses approximate position = 'about', 'at', 'on'; it also means 'in regard to', 'in equality with'.

³ Cp. BR., and DELBRÜCK p. 463.

⁴ Though several of these (*avās*, *ārē*, *parās*, *sacā*, *sanitūr*, *sanutār*, *samāyā*, *sumād*,

adhás 'below'.

610. With the accusative *adhás* occurs only once in the RV., in the sense of 'below': *tisráḥ pṛthivīr adhó astu* (VII. 104¹¹) 'may he be below the three earths'. It is also found once with the ablative (or genitive) in the same sense: *adháḥ . . padāḥ* (X. 166²) 'below (my) feet'. The latter use also occurs once in the SV. and once in the AV.: *yé te pánthā adhó divāḥ* (SV. I. 2. 2. 3⁸) 'thy paths which are below the sky'; *adhás te áśmano manyīm āpīśvāmasi yó gurāḥ* (AV. VI. 42³) 'we cast thy fury under a stone that (is) heavy'.

antarā 'between'.

611. This word occurs five times in the RV. with a following accusative in the sense of 'between', e. g. *antarā dāmpatī* 'between husband and wife'. It also occurs a few times in the AV. and VS. before duals; e. g. *antarā dyāvāpṛthivī* 'between heaven and earth'.

abhītas 'around'.

612. This adverb is employed in a few passages of the RV. and AV. in the sense of 'around' with the accusative; e. g. *sáro ná pūrṇám abhito vādantaḥ* (VII. 103⁷) 'talking as round a brimful lake'; *yé devā rāṣṭrabhīto 'bhīto yānti sūryam* (AV. XIII. 1³⁵) 'the kingdom-bearing gods who go around the sun'.

avás 'down from'.

613. In the RV. *avás* occurs four times with the ablative (cp. *áva*) in the sense of 'down from'; e. g. *avāḥ sūryasya brhatāḥ pūrīṣāt* (X. 27²¹) 'down from the vast misty region of the sun'. It is further employed four or five times with the instrumental; e. g. *avó divā patāyāntam patāṅgām* (I. 163⁵) 'a bird flying down from heaven'. The latter use seems to be analogous to that of *ádhi* with the instrumental (597 α).

upāri 'above'.

614. This adverb occurs three times in the RV. after the accusative in the sense of 'above', 'beyond'; e. g. *tisráḥ pṛthivīr upāri* (I. 34⁸) 'above the three earths'. It is also found once with the instrumental in the combination *bhūmyopāri*, i. e. *bhūmyā upāri* (X. 75³) 'beyond the earth'. It is, however, more likely that here we have an irregular euphonic combination for *bhūmyā[ḥ] upāri*¹ and that the case governed by the preposition is the genitive. This would account for the frequent use of *upāri* with the genitive in the later language, while the instrumental would be unique.

ṛté 'without'.

615. This word² is used fairly often in the RV., and occasionally in the later Samhitās, before or after the ablative (sometimes separated from it) in the sense of 'without'; e. g. *ná ṛté tvát kriyate kiṃ canā* (X. 112⁹) 'without thee nothing is done'; *yébhyo ná 'ṛté pávate dhāma kiṃ canā* (TS. IV. 6. 1⁴ = VS. XVII. 14) 'without whom no dwelling is purified'.

smád) disappear in C., there is nevertheless in the later language a large increase in their numbers, greatly supplemented by the periphrastic use of nouns and by the prepositional gerunds. Cp. SPEIJER, *Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax* 89—93.

¹ See GRASSMANN, s. v. *upāri*; cp. above p. 65 (top).

² In origin an old locative. On some other words representing old case-forms, used prepositionally (*arvāk* etc.), cp. WHITNEY 1128.

parás 'beyond'.

616. In the RV. *parás* is used with the accusative, instrumental, ablative, and locative; but in the later Samhitās it seems to be found with the ablative only.

a. It takes the accusative six or seven times in the sense of 'beyond', not only locally, but also to express superiority or excess; e. g. *āti sūryam parāḥ śakunā iva paptima* (IX. 107²⁰) 'we have flown away like birds beyond the sun'; *nahī devō nā māriyo mahās tāva krātum parāḥ* (I. 19²) 'for neither god nor mortal (goes) beyond the might of thee, the great'.

b. It is employed nearly three times as frequently with the instrumental, for the most part in the sense of 'beyond'; e. g. *parō mātrayā* (VII. 99¹) 'beyond measure'. In some passages this sense is somewhat modified. Thus the word twice means 'over' (as opposed to *avās*); e. g. *yās te amśūr avās ca yāḥ parāḥ srucā* (X. 17¹³) 'thy juice which (fell) down from and over the ladle'. Twice, moreover, it expresses 'without'; e. g. *parō māyābhis* (V. 44²) 'without wiles'.

c. With the locative it occurs only once in the sense of 'beyond': *yé triṃśāti trīyas parō devāso barhīr āsadan* (VIII. 28¹) 'the gods who, three in excess of thirty, have seated themselves upon the litter'.

d. It is found in three passages of the RV., as well as a few times in the AV. and the VS., with the ablative in the senses of 'beyond', far 'from', and 'away from'; e. g. *parō divāḥ* (AV. IX. 4²¹) 'beyond the sky'; *asmāt . . parāḥ* (VIII. 27¹⁸) 'far from him'; *tvāt parāḥ* (AV. XII. 3³⁹) 'apart from thee'; *parō mūjavatō 'tīhi* (VS. III. 61) 'go away beyond (Mount) Mūjavat'. The last example may probably be an instance of the accusative with *parás* = 'beyond (the tribe of) the Mūjavants'¹.

purāstād 'in front of'.

617. This adverb is used two or three times in the Samhitās with the genitive in the sense of 'before', 'in front of'; e. g. *sāmidhāsya purāstāt* (III. 8²) 'in front of the kindled one'; *vājahi purāstād utā madhyatō nah* (TS. IV. 7. 12² = VS. XVIII. 34) 'strength be before us and in the midst of us'.

purā 'before' (time).

In the RV. *purā* is used some twenty times, and in the later Samhitās occasionally, before or after the ablative. It has primarily the sense of 'before' (of time); e. g. *purā nū jarāsaḥ* (VIII. 67²⁰) 'before old age'; *purā krūrāsya viśpāḥ* (TS. I. 1. 9³ = VS. I. 28) 'before the departure of the cruel (foe)'. This sense is, however, often modified to express exclusion, sometimes equivalent to 'without', 'except', 'in preference to', e. g. *purā sambādhād abhy ā vavṛtsva* (II. 16⁸) 'turn to us before (= so as to save us from) distress'; *purā māt* (AV. XII. 3⁴⁶) 'except me'.

bahirdhā 'outside'.

618. This adverb² is once used in the VS. with the ablative in the sense of 'outside', 'from': *idām ahām taptām vār bahirdhā yajñān nīssrjāmi* (VS. V. 11) 'this heated water I eject from the sacrifice'.

sacā 'with'.

619. The use of *sacā* is almost restricted to the RV., where it is common before and after the locative, meaning 'in association with', 'beside', 'at',

¹ The word *mūjavant-* occurs in the plural simple form *bahis* 'outside' (used also with abl.) is frequent in B. and later.

² It is used fairly often in B. and S. The

'in'; e. g. *īndra īd dhīryoh śacā* (I. 7²) 'Indra with his two bays'; *māddyaśva sutē śacā* (I. 81⁶) 'rejoice at the pressed libation'; *nāmucāv āsurē śacā* (VS. xx. 68) 'along with the demoniac Namuci'¹.

sanitūr 'apart from'.

620. This adverb is used two or three times² in the RV. after the accusative in the sense of 'beside', 'apart from'; e. g. *pātiṃ sanitūr* (v. 12³) 'without a lord'.

sanutār 'far from'.

621. Allied to the preceding word, *sanutār* appears once in the RV. with the ablative in the sense of 'far away from': *kṣétrād apaśyaṃ sanutās cārantam* (v. 2⁴) 'far from the field I saw him wandering'.

sahā 'with'.

622. This adverb is common in the RV. as well as the later Samhitās, before and after the instrumental in the sense of 'with'; e. g. *sahā īśibhiḥ* (I. 23²⁴) 'together with the seers'; *jarāyunā sahā* (VS. viii. 28) 'with the after-birth'; *sahā pātyā* (TS. I. I. 10²) 'with (my) husband'; *mānasā sahā* (AV. I. 1²) 'together with divine mind'.

sākām 'with'.

623. In the same sense as, but less frequently than, *sahā*, the adverb *sākām*³ is used before and after the instrumental; e. g. *sākāṃ sūryasya raśmibhiḥ* (I. 47⁷) 'together with the rays of the sun'; *sākāṃ gaṇ mānasā yajñīm* (VS. xxvii. 31) 'may he come with thought to the sacrifice'; *sākāṃ jarāyunā pata* (AV. I. 11⁶) 'fly with the afterbirth'.

sumād 'with'.

624. This word occurs four times as an adverb⁴ in the RV. with the sense of 'together'. It is found once governing the instrumental in the sense of 'with': *jāyā pātiṃ vahati vagnīnā sumāt* (x. 32³) 'the wife weds the husband with a shout of joy'.

smād 'with'.

625. Besides being used adverbially some half dozen times in the RV. with the sense of 'together', 'at the same time', *smād*⁵ also occurs about as often with the instrumental, meaning 'with'; e. g. *smāt sūrībhiḥ* (I. 51¹⁵) 'together with the princes'.

2. Adverbs.

GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch 1737—1740. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 1097—1117.

626. Adverbs are most conveniently grouped as those which are formed with adverbial suffixes and those which are formed with case-endings. The former class may be best described according to the suffixes alphabetically arranged, the latter according to the ordinary sequence of the cases.

¹ Though not found in the AV., *śacā* survives in the TB. (I. 2. 18).

² Cp. BR. and GRASSMANN, s. v.

³ On other adverbs of similar meaning, with case-endings (*samāyā*, *sarādhām*) used prepositionally, see WHITNEY 1127.

⁴ *sumād* also appears as the first member of a compound in *sumād-amtu-*, *sumād-gaṇa-*, *sumād-raha-*.

⁵ *smād* also appears as the first member of six or seven compounds.

A. Adverbial suffixes.

627. **-as** forms adverbs chiefly of a local or temporal meaning; thus *tir-ás* 'across', *par-ás* 'beyond', *pur-ás* 'before', *sa-dīu-as* and *sa-dy-ás* 'to-day', 'at once'; *śv-ás* 'to-morrow', *hy-ás* 'yesterday'; also *mīth-ás* 'wrongly'.

628. **-tas** expresses the ablative sense of 'from'. It forms adverbs:

a. from pronouns; e. g. *ā-tas* 'hence', *amū-tas* 'from there', *kū-tas* 'whence?', *tā-tas* 'thence', *yā-tas* 'whence', and, with accent on the suffix, *i-tās* 'from hence', *mat-tās* (AV.) 'from me'.

b. from adjectives and substantives; e. g. *anyā-tas* 'from another place', *dakṣiṇa-tās* 'from the right', *sarvā-tas* 'from all sides'; *agra-tās* 'in front', *hṛt-tās* 'from the heart', etc.; the suffix is added to a locative case-form in *patsu-tās* 'at the feet', beside *pat-tās* 'from the feet'.

c. from prepositions: *ānti-tas* 'from near', *abhi-tas* 'around', *pari-tas* (AV.) 'round about'.

a. These adverbs in *-tas* are sometimes used as equivalents of ablatives; e. g. *āto bhūyas* 'more than that'; *tātaḥ ṣaṣṭhāt* (AV.) 'from that sixth'. On the other hand, the ablative sense is sometimes effaced, the locative meaning taking its place; e. g. *agra-tās* 'in front'.

629. **-tāt** (an old ablative of *ta-* 'this')¹ has an ablative or a locative meaning. It is attached to adverbial case-forms and adverbial or adnominal prepositions; thus *īdāk-tāt* 'from above', *prāk-tāt* 'from the front'; *ārāt-tāt* 'from afar', *uttarāt-tāt* 'from the north', *parākāt-tāt* 'from a distance'; *paścāt-tāt* 'from behind'; *ādhas-tāt* 'below', *avās-tāt* 'below', *pardś-tāt* 'beyond', *purās-tāt* 'in or from the front', and with inserted *s* (probably due to the influence of the preceding forms) *upāri-ś-tāt* '(from) above'.

630. **-ti** in *ān-ti* 'near', *i-ti* 'thus'; probably also in *ā-ti* 'beyond', *prā-ti* 'towards'.

631. **-tra** or **-trā** has a local sense, and is mostly attached to pronominal stems or stems allied to pronouns in sense; thus *ā-tra* 'here', *amū-tra* (AV.) 'there', *kū-tra* 'where?', *tā-tra* 'there', *yā-tra* 'where'; *anyā-tra* 'elsewhere', *ubhaya-tra* 'in both places', *viśvā-tra* 'everywhere'; *asma-trā* 'among us', *sa-trā* 'in one place', 'together'; *dakṣiṇa-trā* 'on the right side', *puru-trā* 'in many places', *bahu-trā* 'amongst many'; *deva-trā* 'among the gods', *pāka-trā* 'in simplicity', *puruṣa-trā* 'among men', *martya-trā* 'among mortals', *śayū-trā* 'on a couch'.

a. These adverbs in *-trā* are sometimes used as equivalents of locatives; e. g. *yātrādhi* 'in which', *hāsta ā dakṣiṇa-trā* 'in the right hand'. This locative sense also sometimes expresses the goal; e. g. *patho devatrā...yānān* (x. 737) 'roads that go to the gods'.

632. **-thā** forms adverbs of manner, especially from pronominal stems; thus *ā-thā* (more usually with shortened vowel, *ātha*) 'then', *i-t-thā* 'thus', *imā-thā* 'in this manner', *ka-thā* 'how'; *tā-thā* 'thus', *yā-thā* 'in which manner'; *anyā-thā* 'otherwise', *viśvā-thā* 'in every way'; *ūrāhvā-thā* 'upwards', *pūrvā-thā* 'formerly', *pratnā-thā* 'as of old'; *ṛtu-thā* 'regularly', *nāmā-thā* (AV.) 'by name'; *evā-thā* 'just so'.

a. **-thām** occurs beside *-thā* in *i-t-thām* 'thus', and *ka-thām* 'how'.

633. **-dā** forms adverbs of time almost exclusively from pronominal roots; thus *i-dā* 'now', *ka-dā*² 'when?', *ta-dā* 'then', *ya-dā* 'at what time'; *sā-dā* 'always'; *sarva-dā* (AV.) 'always'.

a. **-dam** occurs beside *-dā* in *sā-dam* 'always'; and **-dā-nīm**, an extended form of *-dā*, appears in *i-dā-nīm* 'now', *ta-dā-nīm* 'then', *viśva-dā-nīm* 'always'.

¹ In the RV. *tāt* itself is once used independently in the sense of 'in this way'.

² In the RV. nearly always accented *kādā* when followed by *canā* = 'never'.

b. *di-*, which occurs only in *yá-dī* 'if', is perhaps related to *-dā*.

634. *-dhā* forms adverbs from numerals or words of cognate meaning, with the sense of '(so many) times', 'in (so many) ways', 'fold'; thus *eka-dhā* (AV.) 'singly', *dvī-dhā* 'in two ways', *tri-dhā* and *tre-dhā* 'triply', *catur-dhā* 'fourfold', *ṣo-dhā* 'in six ways', *dvādaśa-dhā* (AV.) 'twelfefold'; *kati-dhā* 'how many times?', *tati-dhā* (AV.) 'in so many parts', *puru-dhā*² 'variously', *bahu-dhā* 'in many ways', *viśvā-dhā*³ 'in every way', *śaśva-dhā* 'again and again'; *priya-dhā* (TS.) 'kindly', *pre-dhā* (MS.) 'kindly', *bahir-dhā* (VS.) 'outward', *mitra-dhā* (AV.) 'in a friendly manner'; *ā-dhā* and (with shortened final) *ā-dha* 'then', *a-d-dhā* ('thus' =) 'truly'; *sāma-dhā*³ (Kh. I. 114) 'in the same way'.

a. *sa-dha-*, occurring as the first member of several compounds, in the sense of ('in one way' =) 'together', is probably formed with the same suffix, the final vowel being shortened⁴; in independent use it appears as *sahā* 'with'⁵. With the same original suffix appear to be formed other adverbs in *-ha*; thus *i-hā* 'here' (Prākṛit *idha*), *kū-ha* 'where?', *viśvā-ha*⁶ and *viśvā-hā*⁷ 'always', *sama-ha* 'in some way or other'.

635. *-va*, expressing similarity of manner, forms two adverbs: *i-va* 'like', 'as'⁸; *e-vā*, often with lengthened final, *e-vā* 'thus'. *-vām* appears beside *-va* in *e-vām* 'thus', which occurs once in the RV. (x. 151³) instead of *evā*, and a few times in the AV. with *vid-* 'know'; it is also found in the SV. (1.3.1.1¹⁰): *nā ki evam yāthā tvām* 'there is nothing such as thou'.

636. *-vāt* forms adverbs meaning 'like' from substantives and adjectives; e. g. *āṅgiras-vāt* 'like Āṅgiras', *manu-vāt* 'as Manu (did)'; *purāṇa-vāt*, *pūrva-vāt*, *pratna-vāt* 'as of old'. In origin it is the accusative neuter (with adverbial shift of accent) of the suffix *-vant*, which is used to form adjectives of a similar meaning (e. g. *tvā-vant-* 'like thee').

637. *-śās* is used to form adverbs of measure or manner with a distributive sense, often from numerals or words implying number; thus *śata-śās* (AV.) 'by hundreds', *śahasra-śās* 'by thousands'; *śreṇi-śās* 'in rows'; similarly *ṛtu-śās* 'season by season', *deva-śās* 'to each of the gods', *parva-śās* 'joint by joint', *manma-śās* 'each as he is minded'.

638. *-s* forms two or three multiplicative adverbs: *dvī-s* 'twice', *tri-s* 'thrice', and probably *catūr* for **catūr-s* (cp. Zend *cathrus*) 'four times'. The same suffix forms a few other adverbs: *adhā-s* 'below' (cp. *ādha-ra* 'inferior'), *avā-s* 'downwards' (from *āva* 'down'), *-dyū-s*⁹ (from *dyū-* 'day') in *anye-dyū-s* (AV.) 'next day' and *ubhaya-dyū-s* (AV.) 'on both days'; perhaps also in *āvl-s* 'openly' and *bahi-s* 'outside'¹⁰.

639. *-hi* forms a few adverbs of time from pronominal roots; thus *kār-hi* 'when?', *tār-hi* 'then?'¹¹. The first part of these words seems already to contain an adverbial suffix *-r*¹² (thus *kār-r* = Lat. *cūr*)¹³.

640. There are also some miscellaneous adverbs consisting of isolated

¹ Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 585.

² The final vowel of *purudhā* and *viśvādhā* appears shortened before a double consonant in the RV.

³ Cp. *sama-ha*.

⁴ As in *ādha*, *purudhā*, *viśvādhā*.

⁵ See above 58, 2 a (p. 52).

⁶ Just as *viśvādhā* beside *viśvādhā*; but cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 582.

⁷ On the other hand *viśvādhā* 'always' is = *viśvā dhā* 'all days' ('alle Tage') with a single accent, like a compound; see GRASSMANN, s. v.

⁸ In the late parts of the RV. and in the AV. *iva* has often to be read as *va*; cp. ARNOLD, Vedic Metre 129, but see OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 61, 830.

⁹ See MERINGER, IF. 18, 257; cp. RICHTER, IF. 9, 238; SCHULZE, KZ. 28, 546.

¹⁰ Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 584.

¹¹ *amūr-hi*, *etār-hi*, *yār-hi* also occur in B.

¹² Cp. *avā-r*, which occurs once beside the usual *avā-s*.

¹³ Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 583.

words or small groups, mostly of obscure origin, formed with other suffixes. The latter in alphabetical order are:

-*a* : *kū-ā* (always *kū-ā*) 'where?' and *a-dy-ā*¹ 'to-day'.

-*ar* : *pūn-ar* 'again' and *sasv-dr* 'secretly'.

-*ā* : *antar-ā* 'between', *pur-ā* 'before'; perhaps also in *nānā* 'variously', which may be = *nā-nā* 'so and so' from the pronominal root *na*-².

-*it* : *dakṣiṇ-it* 'with the right hand'; and -*vit* in *cikit-vit* 'with deliberation'.

-*u* : *jāt-u* 'ever', *mīth-u* 'wrongly', *mīh-u* 'suddenly'; *anu-ṣṭh-ū* 'at once' ('standing after', from *√sthā*-, cp. *su-ṣṭh-ū* 'in good state').

-*ur* : *mīh-ur* 'suddenly'.

-*k* : *jyō-k* 'long'. In several other adverbs -*k* with more or less probability represents the final of a root; thus *nīl-k* 'secretly' (probably from **nīlī-ac*-adj. 'secret'), *madrik* 'towards me' (contracted from *madriak*, neut. adv. of *madriac*-adj. 'turned to me'); *ānu-sāk* 'in succession' ('following after' : *√sac*-); *āyu-sāk* 'with the cooperation of men' (*sac*- 'follow'); *usā-dhak* 'with eager consumption' ('eagerly burning' : *√dah*-).

-*tār* : *prā-tār* 'early' and *sanu-tār* 'away' (621).

-*tūr* : *sani-tūr* 'away' (620).

-*nām* : *nā-nām* 'now' and *nānā-nām* 'variously' (642 d).

B. Adverbial Case-forms.

641. A large number of case-forms of nominal and pronominal stems, often not otherwise in use, are employed as adverbs. They become such when no longer felt to be case-forms³. Forms of all the cases appear with adverbial function.

Nominative. Examples of this case are *prathamām* 'firstly', *dvitīyam* 'secondly'; e. g. *dīvdś pāri prathamām jajñe agnir, asmād dvitīyam pāri jātāvedāḥ* (x. 45¹) 'Agni was first born from heaven, secondly he, Jātavedas, (was born) from us'. Such adverbs are to be explained as originally used in apposition to the verbal action: 'as the first thing, Agni was born'. A masculine form has become stereotyped in *kī-s* as an interrogative adverb; its negative forms *nā-kis* and *mā-kis* are often used in the sense of 'never' or simply 'not'.

642. **Accusative.** Adverbs of this form are to be explained from various meanings of the accusative. The following are examples of nominal forms representing:

a. the cognate accusative: *rcā kapótam nudata praṇōdam* (x. 165⁵) 'by song expel the pigeon as expulsion'; *citrām bhānty usāsah* (vi. 65²) 'the Dawns shine brightly' (= 'a bright scil. shining'); *marmṛjmā te tanvām bhūri kṛtvah* (iii. 184) 'we adorned thy form many times' (originally 'makings'); similarly *dhr̥ṣṇū* 'boldly', *purū* 'much', 'very', *bhūyas* 'more'; and the comparative in -*taram* added to verbal prefixes; e. g. *vi-tarām vī kramasva* (iv. 18¹¹) 'stride out more widely'; *saṃ-tarām sām śisādhi* (AV. vii. 16¹) 'quicken still further'; *prā tām naya pra-tarām* (x. 45⁹) 'lead him forward still further'; *ūd enam ut-tarām naya* (AV. vi. 5¹) 'lead him up still higher'; so also *ava-tarām*, *paras-tarām*, *parā-tarām* 'further away', and the fem. accusatives *saṃ-tarām* and *paras-tarām* (AV.).

¹ Cp. REICHELDT, BB. 25, 244.

² Cp. op. cit. 839; PERSSON, IF. 2, 200 ff., 'auf diese (oder) jene Weise'; BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 10, 10—12, originally 'separatim'.

³ On the distinction between case function and adverbial use see BRUGMANN, KG. 571.

b. the appositional accusative; thus *oṣā-m* 'quickly' (lit. 'burningly'), *kāma-m* 'according to desire'; *nāma* 'by name', *rūpā-m* 'in form', *satyā-m* 'truly'.

c. the accusative of direction; e. g. *āgra-m* (*i-*) '(go) to the front of', 'before'; *āsta-m* (*gam-*) '(go) home'.

d. the accusative of distance and time; e. g. *dūrā-m* 'a long way off', 'far'; *nākta-m* 'by night', *sāyā-m* 'in the evening', *cirā-m* '(for a) long (time)', *nitya-m* 'constantly', *pūrvā-m* 'formerly'.

a. There are also some adverbs derived from obsolete nominal stems, which would seem for the most part to have belonged originally to the sphere of the cognate accusative; thus *dra-m* 'sufficiently' (from **dra*- 'fitting'), *dlā-m* (AV.) id.; *tīṣṣā-m* 'in silence', *nānā-m* (from *nānā*) 'variously', *nūnā-m* (from *nū*) 'now'; *sākā-m* 'together' (from **sākā*- 'accompaniment': *sac-* 'follow')².

β. Finally a number of accusative adverbs are formed from pronominal stems; thus *adās* 'there', 'thither'; *iḍ* 'just', 'even'; *idām* 'here', 'now'; *im* 'ever' (e. g. *yā im* 'whoever'); *kā-d*, an interrogative particle; *kā-m*, a particle emphasizing a preceding dative or (unaccented) the particles *nū*, *sū*, *hi*; *kī-m* 'why?'; *kī-m* 'ever' (in *mā-kīm* 'never'); *kuv-iḍ* 'whether?'; *cī-d* 'even'; *tā-d* 'then'; *yā-d* 'if', 'when', 'that'; *sī-m* 'ever' (*yāt sīm* 'whenever'); *sumā-d* and *smā-d* 'together'.

643. Instrumental. With the ending of this case (sometimes plural) are formed adverbs from substantives, adjectives, and pronouns, the latter two groups being at first probably used with the ellipse of a substantive. Various senses of the instrumental case are expressed by these adverbs. Usually they imply manner or accompanying circumstances; e. g. *tāras-ā* 'with speed'; *sāhas-ā* 'forcibly'; *tāvīṣṭi-bhis* 'with might'; *nāvyas-ā* 'anew'; *enā* 'in this (way)', 'thus'. Not infrequently they express extension of space or time; e. g. *āgreṇa* 'in front'; *akti-bhis* 'by night'; *div-ā* 'by day' (but *div-ā* 'through the sky'); *doṣā* 'in the evening'.

a. The substantive instrumentals are chiefly formed from feminine stems in *-ā* not otherwise in use, but corresponding mostly to masculines or neuters in *-a*; thus *a-dātrayā* 'without (receiving) a gift' (*dātra*- 'gift'); *āsaya* 'before the face of', 'openly' (**āsā*- = *ās*- 'face'); *ṛtayā* 'in the right way' (**ṛtā*- = *ṛti-*); *naktayā* 'by night' (**nāktā*- = *nākta-*); *sumnayā* 'piously' (**sumnā*- = *sumni-*); *svāpnayā* (AV.) 'in a dream' (**svāpnā*- = *svāpna-*).

a. Several of these feminines are instrumentals from stems in *-tā* and identical in form with the stem; thus *tāraśā-tā* 'through'; *devā-tā* 'among the gods'; *bāhū-tā* 'with the arms'; *sasvār-tā* 'in secret'; *dvi-tā* 'in two ways' may have a similar origin (*dvi-tā*- 'two')³. We have perhaps also old instrumentals of feminine stems in *-ā* in *tādītā* 'then' = 'at that time'; and in *vīthā* 'according to choice', 'at will' (**vī-thā*- 'choice', from *vr-* 'choose').

β. In a few examples the instrumental seems more probably to be that of a radical stem with adverbial shift of accent rather than from a stem in *-ā*; thus *gūh-ā* 'in secret', rather inst. of *gūh-* 'hiding'⁴, than of a stem **gūh-ā*⁵; similarly *mīṣ-ā* 'in vain' (**mīṣ-* 'neglect': inst. *mīṣ-ā*); *sāc-ā* 'together' (**sāc-* 'accompaniment': inst. *sac-ā*). In *a-sthā* (RV.), perhaps meaning 'at once', we seem to have an instrumental adverb from a radical *ā*-stem *a-sthā*- 'no standing' = 'without delay'.

b. The adjective instrumentals end either in *-ā* (plural *-āis*) or *-yā*. The former are derived from *a-* stems and a few consonant stems in *-c*; the latter are anomalous feminines from *u-* stems and one or two *r-* stems:

a. *apākā* 'afar' (*āpāka*- 'far'); *īrmā* 'quickly' (*īrmā*-); *uccā* and *uccāis* 'on high' (*uccā*-); *dakṣiṇā* 'to the right' (*dākṣiṇa*-); *parācāis* 'for away' (**parācā*-); *paścā* 'behind' (**paścā*-); *madhyā* 'in the midst' (*mādhyā*-); *sānais* 'slowly'

¹ Cp. GRAY, IF. II, 307 ff.; FOY, IF. 12, 172.

² For some other adverbs of obscure origin, which were originally accusatives, see WHITNEY III f.

³ Cp. BENFEY, SV. Glossary, and GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch, s. v.

⁴ The normal inst. of which would be *guh-ā*.

⁵ Cp. RV. I. 67⁶ *guhā guham gās* and in the next stanza *guhā bhāvāntam*.

(**sána*-) and *sánakais* id.; *sánā*¹ 'from of old' (*sána*-); *samanā* 'in the same way' (*samana*-); *tīraśc-ā* 'across'; *nīc-ā* 'downwards'; *prāc-ā* 'forwards'.

β. *anu-śṭhu-y-ā*² 'at once' (*anu-śṭh* 'following', adv. from *śṭhā* 'stand'); *āsu-y-ā* 'swiftly' (*āsīl*-); *dhr̥ṣṇu-y-ā* 'boldly' (*dhr̥ṣṇit*-); *mīthu-y-ā* 'falsely' (*mīthu*, adv. from *mīth-* 'be hostile'); *raghu-y-ā* 'rapidly' (*raghit*-); *sādhu-y-ā* 'straight' (*sādhit*-); also *urvy-y-ā* (for *urvy-ā*) 'far', from *urvi* f. of *urī-* 'wide'; and *viśv-y-ā* 'everywhere', from **viśv-*, irregular f. of *viśva-* 'all', beside the regular inst. f. *viśvayā*, which itself seems once (viii. 68³) to be used adverbially.

c. Pronominal instrumentals are formed from several stems in *-a* and one in *-u*. Some appear in the masculine (or neuter) form of *-ā* or the feminine of *-yā*; so *anā* 'thus' (*anā-* 'that'); *amā* 'at home' (*āma-* 'this'); *a-yā* 'thus' (*a-* 'this'); *enā* 'thus' (*ena-* 'this'); *ka-yā* 'how?' (*kā-* 'who?'); *ubhayā* 'in both ways' (*ubhāya-* 'both'). From *amī-* 'that' is formed the adverb *amu-y-ā* 'in that way', with the anomalous interposition of *y*³. To the influence of the latter word is probably due the form *kuhayā* 'where?' (RV¹.) beside the usual *kūha* 'where?'.

644. a. Dative. The adverbial use of this case is rare. Examples are: *aparāya* 'for the future' (from *āpara-* 'later'); *vārāya* 'according to wish' (*vāra-* 'choice').

b. Ablative. This case is on the whole used adverbially fairly often. It is, however, seldom formed from substantives, as *ārāt* 'from a distance', *āsāt* 'from near'; or from pronouns, as *āt* 'then', *tāt* 'thus', *yāt* 'as far as'. It is most commonly formed from adjectives; thus *dūrāt* 'from afar'; *nīcāt* 'from below'; *paścāt* 'from behind'; *sākṣāt* 'visibly'; and with shifted accent: *adharāt* 'below' (*ādharma-*); *apākāt* 'from afar' (*āpāka-*); *amāt* 'from near' (*āma-*); *uttarāt* 'from the north' (*úttara-*); *sanāt*⁴ and *sanakāt* 'from of old' (*sána-*).

c. Genitive. The adverbial use of this case is very rare. Examples are *aktīs* 'by night' and *vāstos* 'in the morning'.

d. Locative. Several forms of this case have an adverbial meaning; thus *āgre* 'in front'; *abhi-svarē* 'behind' (lit. 'within call'); *astam-īkē* 'at home'; *ākē* 'near'; *ārē*⁵ 'afar'; *ṛtē* 'without'; *dūrē* 'afar'; and in the plural *aparīṣu* 'in future'.

3. Particles.

WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 122, 132—133. — DELBRÜCK, Altindische Syntax p. 240—267. — Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 817—855.

645. Other adverbial words, the derivation of which is obscure and the meaning of which is abstract or general, may be classed as particles. They form three groups, the emphatic, the conjunctive, and the negative, the first being the most numerous. The emphatic particles, as throwing stress on a preceding word, are either enclitic or incapable of beginning a sentence; the conjunctive particles, except *utā*, are of a similar nature; but the negatives, having a strongly antithetical meaning, generally occupy an emphatic position in the sentence.

646. The emphatic particles may usually be translated by such words as 'just', 'indeed', or rendered merely by stress on the word they follow.

¹ In the last three adverbs the accent does not shift to the final syllable.

² These anomalous forms are due perhaps to the influence of the pronominal *amu-y-ā*.

³ The anomalous interposition of *y* is

perhaps due to the influence of the numerous adverbs in *-yā* from stems in *-a*, *amī-* being an isolated pronominal *u-* stem.

⁴ *sanāt* occurs also AA. v. 2. 2.¹⁵

⁵ On *ārē*, *ārāt*, *ṛtē* cp. NEISSER, BB. 19, 140.

They are *āṅgā*; *āha*¹, *gha*, *ha* (the last two less emphatic than *āha*); *smā*; *svīd* (generally following an interrogative) = 'pray'; *vāi*, nearly always following the first word of a sentence. Three particles which emphasize the preceding word more strongly in the sense of 'certainly', 'in truth', are *kīla* (+ AV.), *khālu* (RV¹, not in AV.), *bhālu* (RV¹, AV¹). In the RV. *tū* usually emphasises exhortations = 'pray', but sometimes also statements = 'surely'; once (VI. 29⁵) it seems to mean 'but', which is its sense in its single occurrence in the AV. The particle *nā*, when it means 'as it were', 'like', was in origin probably an emphatic particle = 'truly'².

647. There are several conjunctive particles, some of which are compounded. *ā*³ 'now', 'again', is commonly used deictically and anaphorically after pronouns and verbs. Both *u-ti* and *ca* mean 'and'. *ca* when compounded with the negative particle as *canā* originally meant 'not even', but the negative sense generally disappears and *canā* turns the interrogative pronoun into an indefinite, as *kās canā* 'some one'⁴. *ca* when compounded with *id*, that is *cīd*, means 'if'. *nū* 'now' generally follows the first word of the sentence. The disjunctive particle is *vā* 'or'. *hi* (generally following the first word of a sentence) expresses the reason for an assertion = 'for', 'because'; it is also used with imperatives, when it means 'then'. It occurs once in the RV. (VI. 48-) compounded with the negative *nā*, but without change of meaning: *hinā* 'for'.

648. The negative particle which denies assertions is *nā* 'not'. Its compound *nāid* (= *nā id*) expresses an emphatic 'not'; it is, however, usually employed in the final sense of 'in order that not', 'lest'. Its compound *nā-kis* often means 'never', and *nā-kīm*, in the only two stanzas in which it occurs (VIII. 78¹⁻⁵), has the same sense. The negative also occurs twice (X. 54²; 84³) compounded with *nū* as *nanū*, which expresses a strong negative = 'not at all', 'never'. When it is compounded with *hi* as *nāhi*, the latter word retains the meaning of both particles: 'for not'.

mā 'not' is the prohibitive particle regularly used with the injunctive⁵. It is compounded with the petrified nom. *-kis* and acc. *-kīm* to *mā-kis* and *mā-kīm*. The former frequently and the latter in its only two occurrences mean 'never'.

a. Adverbial words occurring in compounds only.

649. A limited number of words of an adverbial character have either entirely lost or, in a few instances, nearly lost their independent character, being found in combination with half a dozen particular verbs or as the first member of nominal compounds. In two or three examples the original independence of such words can still be traced.

650. A few mostly onomatopoeic reduplicative words appear only compounded with the roots *kr-* 'do' and *bhū-* 'be', the prefixed form generally ending in *-ā*, once in *-ī*: thus *akḥḥhālī-kṛtya*⁶ (VII. 103³) 'croaking', *alalā-*

¹ Another frequent particle of the same meaning, *id*, has already been mentioned among the pronominal accusative adverbs. DELBRÜCK p. 361 (top). In the Khilas it occurs two or three times with the 2. impv.;

² Greek *val*, Lat. *nae*, cp. Lith. *nei* 'as it were' (cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 839); this sense of *nā* is generally explained as derived from the negative = 'not (precisely)': see WHITNEY 1122 h; cp. BB. 22, 194 ff.

³ On the Sandhi of *u*, see above 71, 1 b.

⁴ Cp. DELBRÜCK, op. cit. p. 544.

⁵ It is not used with the ordinary sub-

junctive, nor the imperative, nor the optative except in the form *bhujema*; see DELBRÜCK p. 361 (top). In the Khilas it occurs two or three times with the 2. impv.; *paśya* (III. 15¹⁷), *tiṣṭha* (IV. 5²⁵), and once at least with the subj.: *vādāhi* (I. 9⁵): MS. *vādehi*.

⁶ This is the only instance of the prefix ending in *-ī* instead of *-ā* in the RV. In the AV. *-ī* appears before forms of *kr-* in the nominal compounds *vāṭī-kṛta-* and *vāṭī-kārā-*, designations of a disease.

bhāvant- (IV. 18⁵) 'sounding merrily'; *jañjanā-bhāvant-* (VIII. 43⁸) 'sparkling'; *kikirā kṛṇu* (VI. 53⁷) 'tear to tatters'; *maśmaśā-kāram* (AV. V. 23³) 'I have crushed', *masmaśā kuru* (VS. XI. 80) and *mṛsmṛsā kuru* (MS. II. 7⁷) 'crush', *malmālā-bhāvant-* (MS. II. 13¹⁹; TS. I. 4. 34¹) 'glittering', *bharbharā-bhavat* (MS. II. 2¹: B.) 'became confounded'; *bibibā-bhāvant-* (MS. I. 6⁵: B.) 'crackling'.

651. The adverb *avis* 'openly', 'in view', is found in combination with the verbs *as-*, *bhū-* and *kṛ-* only. With the latter it means 'make visible', e. g. *avis karta* (I. 86²) 'make manifest'. With the two former, which are sometimes omitted, it means 'become visible', 'appear'; e. g. *avis santi* (VIII. 8²³) 'being manifest'; *avir agnir abhavat* (I. 143²) 'Agni became manifest'.

prā-dūr, lit. 'out of doors', begins to appear in the AV. in combination with *√bhū-*, meaning 'become manifest', 'appear'.

652. The word *śrād*, which originally probably meant 'heart'¹, is often found in combination with *dhā-* 'place', in the sense of 'put faith in', 'credit', nearly always, however, separated from the verb by other words, e. g. *śrād asmai dhatta* (II. 12⁵) 'believe in him'; *śrād asmai, naro, vācse dadhātana* (VS. VIII. 5) 'give credence, O men, to this utterance'. It also appears in the substantive *śrād-dhā-* 'faith'. The word is once also found with *√kṛ-* in the sense of 'entrust': *śrād vīsvā vāryā kṛdhi* (VIII. 75²) 'entrust all boons (to us)'.

653. The interjection *hīn* is compounded with *kṛ-* 'make' in the sense of 'utter the sound hīn', 'murmur'; thus *gaur . . hīn akṛnot* (I. 164²⁸) 'the cow lowed'; *hīn-kṛvati* (I. 164²⁷) 'lowing'; *hīn-kṛtāya svāhā* (VS. XXII. 7) 'hail to the sound hīn'; *tāsmā uśā hīn-kṛnoti* (AV. IX. 64⁵) 'for him the dawn utters hīn'.

654. A few substantives, after assuming an adverbial character, are found compounded with participial forms. *astam* 'home', which still appears as a noun in the RV., though commonly used adverbially in the accusative with verbs of motion, is combined like a verbal prefix with participles of *i-* 'go' in the AV.: *astam-yānt-* 'setting', *astam-esyānt-* 'about to set', *astam-ita-* (AV. XVII. 1²³)² 'set'. The noun *nāmas-* 'obeisance' is similarly compounded in the gerund with *kṛ-* 'make' in the AV.: *namas-kṛtā*³. In the RV. itself names of parts of the body, with no tendency otherwise to adverbial use, are thus compounded with the gerund of *grah-* 'seize': *karna-gṛhya* 'seizing by the ear', *pāda-gṛhya* 'seizing by the foot', *hastā-gṛhya* 'grasping the hand'⁴. The transition to this use was probably supplied by nouns compounded with past participles, as *sāhas-kṛta-* 'produced by force'.

655. There are besides a few monosyllabic adverbial particles which occur as prefixes compounded with nominal forms only. By far the most frequent of these is the negative prefix, which appears in the form of *an-* before vowels and *a-* before consonants. It is compounded with innumerable substantives and adjectives, but rarely with adverbs, as *a-kūtrā* 'to the wrong place', *a-punār* ('not again' =) 'once for all'; *an-eva* (AV.¹) 'not so'.

656. *sā-*, as a prefix expressive of accompaniment, is employed as a reduced form of the verbal prefix *sam*⁵, and interchanges with *saha-*; e. g. *sā-cetas-* 'accompanied by wisdom', 'wise', beside *sahā-ccandas-* 'accompanied with songs'.

¹ See UHLENBECK, Kurzgefasstes Etymologisches Wörterbuch der altindischen Sprache, Amsterdam 1888—89, s. v. *śraddhā*.

² For some other later nominal compounds of this kind see WHITNEY 1092 c.

³ This is the regular form in the later

language, but the independent form *namas kṛtvā* is occasionally found; cp. Bṛhaddevatā, I. 1, critical note in my edition.

⁴ Cp. WHITNEY 990 b and above 591 a (p. 413, bottom) and 591 b.

⁵ Cp. above 250.

657. *dus-* (appearing also, according to the euphonic combination, as *dur-*, *dus-*, *dus-*)¹, means 'ill', 'hard to'; e. g. *dur-gā-* '(place) difficult of access', *dur-yij-* 'ill-yoked', *dur-mat-* 'ill-will'; *dus-cyavanā-* 'hard to shake'; *dus-kṛtā-* 'ill-done'; *dus-sāha-* 'irresistible'.

658. *su-* 'well', 'easy to' is compounded with a much larger number of words than *dus-*²; e. g. *su-kāra-* 'easy to accomplish'; *su-kṛt-* 'acting well', *su-gā-* 'easy of access', *su-mat-* 'good-will', *su-yij-* 'well-yoked'. It is, however, still found in a state of transition in the RV., where it occurs independently more than 200 times³, being then connected in sense with the verb only⁴; e. g. *asmān sū jigyaśaḥ kṛtam* (I. 17¹) 'make us well victorious'⁵.

4. Interjections.

659. A certain number of words having the nature of interjections occur in the Saṃhitās. They are of two kinds, being either exclamations or imitative sounds.

a. The exclamations are *būt* (RV.) 'truly', *bata* (RV.) 'alas!', *hanta* 'come' used exhortatively with the subjunctive, and *hayé* 'come', before vocatives, *hīruk* 'away!', *hurik* (RV.) 'away!', *hāi* (AV.) 'ho!'. Perhaps *uvé* (x. 86⁷)⁶.

b. Interjections of the onomatopoeic type are: *kikirā* (RV.) used with *kṛ-* 'make the sound *kikirā*' = 'tear to tatters'; *kikkīṭā* (TS.) used in invocations (TS. III. 4. 2¹); *cicāṭ* (RV.) 'whiz!' (of an arrow) used with *kṛ-* 'make a whizzing sound'; *phāt* (AV. VS.) 'crash!', *phāl* (AV. xx. 135³) 'splash!'; *ḍā* (TS. = AV.) 'dash!'; *ḍhik* (AV. xx. 135¹) 'bang!', *śāl* (AV. xx. 135²) 'clap!'

¹ See GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch, columns 614—619.

² Op. cit., columns 1526—1560.

³ In the AV. it is still used independently, but only 14 times.

⁴ See GRASSMANN, op. cit., s. v. *sū*.

⁵ The Pada text of AV. XIX. 49¹⁰ treats

sv āpīyati 'may he go well away' as a compound: *su-āpāyati*; but this is doubtless an error for *sū | āpa | ayati*. See WHITNEY's note on this passage in his Translation of the AV.

⁶ See NEISSER, BB. 30, 303; cp. above p. 337, note ⁷.

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA.

It should be noted, in addition to what is said at the end of § 1 (p. 2), that when the abbreviations 'VS.' etc. indicate the occurrence of a form in a later Veda, they only mean that the form in question is not found in the RV., while it may occur in parallel passages of one or more of the other Samhitās also. The symbols '+VS.' etc. are intended to draw attention to the fact that the form indicated occurs in a later Samhitā as well as in the RV. — In the enumeration of words, stems, inflected forms, and suffixes, initial alphabetical order is the principle followed. But it is occasionally varied for clearness of grouping. Thus the arrangement, in the case of compounds, is sometimes according to the final member (e. g. 308, 375 A, 591 a) or, in the case of roots, according to the medial or final vowel (e. g. 421, 483). The principle is also departed from when examples only of very frequent forms are given. Thus the nom. forms of present participles are arranged in the order of the conjugational classes (314); the nom. and other cases of the *a*-declension are given according to frequency of occurrence (372). Adverbs are classed according to the alphabetical order of the suffixes (626—640) or the sequence of the cases (641—644). — The principle of giving the meanings of words has been followed throughout the work. But this has been modified in two ways in the enumeration of inflected forms. In declension the meaning is given only with the first occurrence of a case-form of any word found in the same paragraph (e. g. 372). It seemed impossible to follow the same method in lists of inflected verbal forms. For, owing to the modifications of sense due to context and compounding with prepositions, the meaning could not be satisfactorily stated by giving it with the first occurrence of forms from the same root. The meaning has therefore been stated with the root only or when forms from different roots might be confused (e. g. 444, 445). But as the index gives the meaning of every root and enumerates all paragraphs containing forms from that root, the general sense of all such forms may easily be ascertained. — As regards references, figures without an added 'p.' always indicate paragraphs when books are divided into paragraphs; e. g. 'DELBÜCK, Verbum 184 (p. 166—169)'; otherwise they refer to the page. When pages have to be referred to they are for the convenience of the reader often divided into quarters; thus LANMAN 372³ means the third quarter of p. 372 in LANMAN'S Noun-Inflection.

P. 23, line 19 *for* original *read* original. — P. 51, note ², *for* **guṣḍhā* *read* **guṣḍha*. — P. 56, l. 27, *for* AV. *read* Av. and *for* 'weak' *read* weak. — P. 58, l. 4 from below, *for* cak[an]anta *read* cāk[an]antu. — P. 60, l. 2, *for* appears *read* appears as. — P. 61, l. 7, *for* become *read* becomes; l. 34, *for* (*a-yās* *read* *a-yās*; l. 36, *for* fall') *read* 'fall'. — P. 66, § 72, 2 b: cp. OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 63, 298. — P. 67, l. 30, *for* There seems to be no certain instance of this in the RV. *read* This is of regular and, as far as *d* is concerned, of very frequent occurrence in the RV., e. g. *tān* (*for* *tād*) *mitrāsya* (l. 115⁵); l. 31, after *cakrān nā*

(x.95^{12, 13}); for however read too. — P. 70, l. 17, insert often also after But s. — P. 83, l. 27, for Reduplicated stems read Reduplicated present stems; l. 28, after 'invoking' add but perfect *śiriy-īṇā-* 'having resorted to'. — P. 99, l. 2 from below, insert (AV.) after *ma-māḍ-a-t*; note ³, for *ri-hatē* read *rih-atē*. — P. 100, last line: on *dīsa-māna-* cp. p. 373 note ¹². — P. 109, l. 3 from below, for *revij-ī* read *revij-ī-* and for *carā-car-ā* read *carā-car-ā-*. — P. 119, l. 21, for *jigṛṣ-ī* read *jigṛṣ-ī-*. — P. 141, l. 2 from below, for *medh-i-rā-* read *medh-i-rā-*. — P. 146, l. 6, for 204 read 244. — P. 156, l. 20, for *vāruṇas* read *vāruṇas* and l. 22, for *pitirā-* read *pitirā-*. — P. 157, l. 26, for occurs read occur. — P. 169, l. 21, after *puruṣa-vyāghrā-* add (VS.). — P. 192, l. 9 from below, for *maḥintas* read *maḥintas*. — P. 197, note ⁷, for 55 read 66 c β. — P. 199, note ⁸, add Cp. OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 63, 300—302. — P. 202, I. sing.: OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 63, 289, would place the form *rānā* (ix. 77) here. — P. 209, l. 25, for 'width' read width. — P. 215, note ⁵, for Bahuvrīhi read a Bahuvrīhi. — P. 238, note ¹, add Cp. OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 63, 300—302. — P. 255, l. 11, for *āsas* read *-āsas*; § 371, l. 3, for ending read endings. — P. 257, lines 9 and 12: on *krāṇā*, *dāṇā*, and *sakhyā* (as acc. pl.) cp. OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 63, 287—290. — P. 264, l. 3 from below: according to OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 63, 293, also *śatruḥitṛyai*. — P. 279, l. 10, for *i*-declension read *i*-declension. — P. 304, l. 9 from below, for *ātman-* read *ām.in-*. — P. 315 delete 1 after 414. — P. 317, l. 20, for *-yāt* read *-yāt*. — P. 320, sing. 3.: *yāmati* should perhaps be classed as a root aor. subj., though this form seems to have a distinctly indicative sense in the two passages in which it occurs; du. 2. for *sadathas* read *sādathas*, which form should perhaps rather be classed as a root aor. subj.; pl. 1., delete *dāymasi* (AV.). — P. 321, l. 2, delete *gāmanti*: see p. 369 top; l. 12: the shift of accent is insufficient (cp. *hīms-te*) for the treatment of *hīmsanti* as a transfer form (cp. p. 100, l. 13): it should preferably be placed in 464 after *vrīṇanti*. — P. 321, Indicative Middle: Sing. 1., delete *daye* (AV. TS.). — Sing. 3., delete *bhōjate*, *yojate*, *śtārate* (p. 369, top); read *vāhate* before *vāsate*, and *śayate* before *śikṣate*. — Du. 3., add *śobhete*. — Pl. 1., delete *starāmahe* (p. 369, top). — P. 323, § 424, Sing. 1., delete *bhojam*, *yojam* (503). — Sing. 2., delete *yamas*, *vāras* (502). — Sing. 3., delete *yamat*, *rādhāt*, *śakat* (502), *tamat*, *dāsāt*, *śramāt*, *sadat* (510), *minat* (477), *śnāthāt* (452); for *vārat* read *varat* ('cover'): — Pl. 3., delete *yaman* (502), *vaman*, *śāsan* (452), add *śrīṣan*. — Middle. Pl. 3., delete *yavanta* (502). — P. 324, l. 4, for *yōja* read *yōja*; last line, delete *dayasva* (AV.). — P. 325, § 427 a, delete *śāsant-* (455) and *sānant-* (512). — P. 326, l. 1, for *cāyamāna* read *cāyamāna-*; § 428, Sing. 3., delete *asadat* (508). — P. 328, l. 3, : *śrṇa-* read Four; l. 4 add *gr-* 'sing': *grṇā-* (AV.) beside *grṇā-*, and *śr-* 'crush' for Two (AV.) beside *śrṇā-*. — § 430, Sing. 2., read *ṣṇipasi* (AV.) before *tirasī*; Middle. Sing. 1., delete *mrje* and *śuṣe* (451). — P. 329, § 431, Sing. 3., delete *prṇāt*; § 432, delete *guhā*, *rudhāt*, *trpān* (510) and add *bhujāt* (*bhuj-* 'bend'). — P. 330, l. 11, add *medātām*; l. 14, after TS. iv. 6. 5¹ add = AV. VS. MS. — § 435, delete *ksiyānt-*, *mrjānt-* (455), *citānt-* (506), *guhānt-*, *śucānt-* (512), *śuśānt-*, *śvasānt-* (455); insert 'bending' after *bhujānt-*; Middle, delete *guhāmāna-*, *dhṛṣāmāna-*, *mrāmāna-*, *śucāmāna-* (512). — § 436, Sing. 2., add *adyas*. — P. 332, l. 1, add *dayāmasi* (AV.); l. 7, add *daye* (AV. TS.); § 441, add *rīya*. — P. 333, l. 12, delete *cāyamāna-*. — P. 337, lines 6 and 8, delete *bhūthās* and *bhūtās* (502), and (AV.) after *psātās*; Middle. Sing. 1., for *mrje* (AV.) read *mrje*; add *śuṣe* (1st *śvas-* 'blow'). — P. 338, l. 2., delete *parcas*, *śākas* (502); l. 5, add *śnāthāt*; l. 10, add *vāman*, *śāsan*; l. 12, delete *vārjate* (502). — § 454, Act. Sing., add *drāhi* (AV.) and *drātu* (AV.) and after *psāhi* delete (AV.); note ⁴, add Perhaps root aor. subj.; cp. 502 (p. 369). —

P. 339, l. 6, delete *sotana* (*su-* 'press'): cp. 505. — § 455, Act., delete *dhṛṣánt-* (512), add *mṛjánt-*, *śuśánt-*, *śvasánt-*; Middle., delete *dhṛṣāṇá-* (AV.), add *tvakṣāṇá-*. — P. 340, l. 3, delete *svāná-* (*su-* 'press', SV.): cp. 506. — P. 342, l. 11, delete *píprati-*. — P. 343, l. 12, for TS. IV. 6. 1⁵ read TS. IV. 6. 1⁴. — P. 345, § 467, delete *kṛntatí-* and *śumbhāná-*. — P. 350, l. 11, for *pṛṇāt* (AV.) read *pṛṇāt*; l. 16, add *minat* (for *minīt*). — P. 359, l. 23, delete VS. XXXIII. 87; l. 24, after *śr-* 'crush' add AV.; l. 26, after 'bring forth' add AV.; note ¹¹, for *sāsahe* read *sāsahé*. — P. 361, l. 10, add *cākan* before *sasvár*. — P. 362, l. 6: *cākanantu* though sing. in form is pl. in meaning and stands by haplology for *cākananantu*: cp. p. 58, l. 4 from below. — P. 364, l. 12, read *-ran* or *-iran* for *-iran*; l. 9 from below, delete *āvāvacīt* (549). — P. 366, l. 5 from below, delete *ākrān* (*√krand-*): see 522 (*s-aor.*). — P. 367, l. 2, delete *ākrān* (*√krand-*): see 522 (*s-aor.*); l. 22, delete *apṛkta* (*√pṛc-*): see 522 (*s-aor.*). — P. 368, § 502, l. 3, add *śákas*; l. 6, for *yamat* read *yámat*; l. 7, add *śákat*; l. 9, after *pāthās* add 'drink'. — P. 369, l. 5 from below: on *āpyāsam* (AA. v. 3. 2) see KEITH, Aitareya Āraṇyaka, p. 157, note ¹⁰, and Index IV, *√āp-*. — P. 374, l. 22, add *bībhīṣ-athās*. — P. 383, l. 8, delete *ayāsit*. — P. 384, l. 4 from below, add 3. *ayāsit*. — P. 397, l. 2 and l. 24, add *vīlāyāsi* and *vīlāyasya*.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

- AA. = Aitareya-Āraṇyaka.
AB. = Aitareya-Brahmaṇa.
AJPh. = American Journal of Philology.
APr. = Atharva-Prātiśākhya.
ASL. = Ancient Sanskrit Literature.
AV. = Atharva-Veda.
Av. = Avesta.
B. = Brāhmaṇa.
BB. = BEZZENBERGER's Beiträge.
BI. = Bibliotheca Indica.
BR. = BÖHTLINGK and ROTH (St. Petersburg Dictionary).
C. = Classical Sanskrit.
GGA. = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
IE. = Indo-European.
IF. = Indogermanische Forschungen.
IIr. = Indo-Iranian.
IS. = Indische Studien.
JAOS. = Journal of the American Oriental Society.
K. = Kāṭhaka.
KG. = BRUGMANN's Kurze Vergleichende Grammatik.
Kh. = Khila.
KZ. = KUHN's Zeitschrift.
MS. = Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā.
N. = (Proper) Name.
O. u. O. = Orient und Occident.
Pp. = Pada-pāṭha.
pw. = Petersburger Wörterbuch (BÖHTLINGK's Smaller Lexicon).
Paipp. = Paippalāda.
RPr. = Rigveda-Prātiśākhya.
RV. = Rigveda.
S. = Sūtra.
ŚA. = Śāṅkhāyana-Āraṇyaka.
SB. = Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa.
SBE. = Sacred Books of the East.
SV. = Sāma-Veda.
TB. = Taittirīya-Brahmaṇa.
TPr. = Taittirīya-Prātiśākhya.
TS. = Taittirīya-Saṃhitā.
Up. = Upanishad.
V. = Vedic.
VPr. = Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya.
VS. = (1) Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā; (2) Vedische Studien.
Wb. = Wörterbuch.
WZKM. = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.
YV. = Yajur-Veda.
ZDMG. = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
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I. SANSKRIT INDEX.

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ī- 'send', pr. 430, 439, 476, inj. 432, impf. 436, impv. 441, pt. 442, 479; 485; pp. 575 b.

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īṣanya- den., impv. 569 d.

īṣaya- den., opt. 569 c.

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ū- 'up to', prep. with acc. loc. inst. 604.

upā- 'above', prep. with acc. 614.

u- 'force', pr. impv. 434, pt. 435, impf. 436; pp. 575 a 1.

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ur- 'deny', sj. 569 a, opt. 569 c, impv. 569 d, impf. 569 f; pp. 574, 2.

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ū- 'aid', d. s. = inf. 585, 3 contracted dat. s. p. 282; inst. s. = inst. pl. p. 287.

ū- 'deny', aor. 570.

ū- 'remove', pr. 422, impv. 426, impf. 428.

ū- 'consider', pr. 422, 451 (3. pl.), pt. 455; pf. 482 c, 485; s-aor. pt. 527; *ī-* aor. 529.

u- 'go', pr. 430, 458, 470, sj. 431, 471, inj. 471, impv. 434, 460, 472, pt. 473, impf. 474; pf. 482 c, 485, pt. 492, 493; root aor. 500, inj. 503, opt. 504, pt. 506; a-aor. 508, sj. 509, inj. 510, impv. 512; red. aor. 514; intv. 545, 2, 546; cs. 558 a, aor. 560, pp. 575 c, gd. 590 b, 591 a, b.

u- 'direct', pr. 430, 439, 464, impv. 434, pt. 442, 467, impf. 468.

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u- 'stir', pr. 422, impv. 434, impf. 436; cs. 553 c, sj. 559 b.

u- 'thrive', pr. 470, sj. 464, impv. 441, pt. 467, impf. 474; pf. 485; root aor. sj. 502, opt. 504, prec. 504, pt. 506; a-aor. opt. 511; des. 542, pt. 544; ps. 445, impv. 446; gdv. 578, 4.

u- 'injure' (?), s-aor. pt. 527.

u- 'rush', pr. 422, 430, sj. 423, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, 435.

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ū- 'one-footed' 319 a.

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ena- 'he, she, it', inflected 395.

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ī- 'be angry', pr. pt. 442; cs. 553 b; pp. 575 b.

ī- 'hum', pr. pt. 427.

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ī- 'lament', pr. 422, pt. 427, impf. 428; plup. 495; root aor. 500; *ī-* aor. 529; cs. 554.

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ī- 'be adapted', pr. 422, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 482, 485; sj. 487; red. aor. 514, sj. 515; cs. 553 d, 559 (inflected), sj.

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- maḍḍu-* 38 c, 44 a 3 a (p. 36), 62, 4 b note 3 (p. 57).
- ṛmath-* or *manth-* 'stir', pr. 422, 476, sj. 423, impv. 426, 478, pt. 479, impf. 428, 480; pf. 485; root aor. sj. 502; *is*-aor. 529, inj. 531; ps. 445, pt. 447; pp. 575 a, 2.
- ṛmad-* or *mand-* 'exhilarate', pr. 422, 451, 458, sj. 423, inj. 424, opt. 425, impv. 426, 460, pt. 427, impf. 428, 462; pf. 485, sj. 487, opt. 489, impv. 490, pt. 492; root aor. 499, impv. 505, pt. 506; red. aor. 514; *s*-aor. 522, sj. 523, inj. 524, pt. 527; *is*-aor. 529, opt. 532; cs. 555 a, 556 a, sj. 559 b; ps. pt. 447; pp. 573; gdv. 578, 4; inf. 585, 7.
- mādhū-* 'sweet', inflected 389.
- mādhya-* 'in the midst of' 587 b a.
- ṛman-* 'think', pr. 422, 439, 470, sj. 423, 440, 471, inj. 440, 471, opt. 440, 459, 471, impv. 441, 472, pt. 442, 473, impf. 443, 474; pf. 485; root aor. 500, sj. 502, pt. 506; *s*-aor. 522, sj. 523, inj. 524; ft. 537, 539; des. 542, ps. 544 b, pp. 544 h; cs. 555, opt. 559 c; pp. 574, 2; inf. 585, 4, 5.
- manasyā-* den., pr. (inflected) 569, opt. 569 c.
- mantramīya-* gdv. 581 b.
- ṛmā-* 'measure', pr. 451, opt. 459, impv. 460, pt. 461, impf. 462; root aor. impv. 505, pt. 506; *s*-aor. 522; ps. aor. 501; pp. 574, 3; gdv. 578, 3; inf. 584 a; gd. 590 b, 591 a.
- ṛmā-* 'exchange', pr. 439; gd. 591 b.
- ṛmā-* 'bellow', pr. 422, 458; pf. 585; red. aor. 514, inj. 516; inf. 585, 5.
- mā-*, prohibitive particle used with injunctive 648.
- mātār-* 'mother', inflected 360.
- mās-* 'month' 44, 3, 340 (inflected).
- ṛmi-* 'fix', pr. 470, sj. 471, inj. 471, impv. 472, part. 473, impf. 474; pf. 485; ps. 445, pt. 447; gdv. 578, 1.
- ṛmiks-* 'mix', pf. 485 (cp. p. 359 note 8), impv. 490.
- ṛmigh-* 'mingere', pr. pt. 427.
- ṛmith-* 'alternate', pr. 422, pt. 435; pf. 485.
- ṛmis-* 'mix', des. 542, impv. 544.
- ṛmis-* 'wink', pr. 430, pt. 435; inf. 587 a a.
- ṛmih-* 'mingere', pr. 422, impv. 426, pt. 427; ft. 537, 539; cs. 553 a; inf. 584 b.
- ṛmī-* 'damage', pr. 439, 476, subj. 477, inj. 477, opt. 440, pt. 479, impf. 480; pf. 485; *s*-aor. inj. 524;

- intv. 545, 1, pt. 548; inf. 584 a, 586 a.
mīdāms-, pf. pt. 492 b.
ṃmīl- 'wink', gd. 591 a.
ṃmīw- 'push', pr. pt. 427; pp. 573 a.
ṃmuc- 'release', pr. 430, 439, sj. 431, 440, impv. 434, pt. 435, impf. 436; pf. 485, sj. 487, pt. 493; plup. 495; root aor. 499, 500, prec. 504; a-aor. 508, sj. 509, inj. 510, impv. 512; s-aor. 522, inj. 524, opt. 525, des. 542, pt. 544; ps. aor. 501; gd. 591 a.
ṃmud- 'be merry', pr. 422, impv. 426, pt. 427; pf. 485; root aor. opt. 504; *is-* aor. opt. 532; ps. aor. 501; inf. 584 b.
ṃmur- = *mr-* 'crush', pf. sj. 487.
ṃmus- 'steal', pr. 422, 476, pt. 479, impf. 480; *is-* aor. inj. 531; pp. 575 b; inf. 584 b; gd. 591 a.
ṃmuh- 'be dazed', pr. impv. 441; red. aor. 514; cs. 553 b; pp. 573; inf. 584 b.
ṃmūrch- 'thicken', impf. 428.
ṃ1. mr- 'die', pr. 422, sj. 423; pf. 485, pt. 492; root aor. 500, inj. 503, opt. 504; ft. 537, 539; cs. 557 c; ps. 445, impv. 446; pp. 576 e.
ṃ2. mr- 'crush', pr. impv. 478, pt. 479; intv. 547 c.
ṃmrks- 'stroke', pr. sj. 431.
ṃmrj- 'injure', s-aor. opt. 525; cs. 553 c; sj. 559 b; pp. 573.
ṃmrj- 'wipe', pr. 451, impv. 454, pt. 455, impf. 456; pf. 482, 485, opt. 489; sa-aor. 536; intv. 545, 2, 547, pt. 548, impf. 549, 551, gdv. 580; cs. 553 c, opt. 559 c; ps. 445, pt. 447; pp. 573; gdv. 578, 4; gd. 590 b.
ṃmrj- 'be gracious', pr. sj. 431, impv. 434; cs. 554, sj. 559 b.
mrj- 'crush', pr. 430, inj. 432, impv. 434, impf. 436; red. aor. 514.
ṃmrj- 'crush', pf. opt. 489.
ṃmrjdh- 'neglect', pr. 422, sj. 431; root aor. opt. 504; *is-* aor. sj. 530, inj. 531.
ṃmrj- 'touch', pr. 430, sj. 431, impv. 434, pt. 435; impf. 436; pf. 482, 485; sa-aor. 536; intv. 545, 2, 547 a; gd. 591 a.
ṃmrj- 'not heed', pr. 439; pf. 485; root aor. inj. 503; a-aor. inj. 510; red. aor. inj. 516; *is-* aor. inj. 531; inf. 584 b.
ṃmed- 'be fat', pr. impv. 441; cs. 554 a.
ṃmyaks- 'besituated', pr. impv. 426; pf. 485; root aor. 499; ps. aor. 501.
ṃmruc- 'set', pr. pt. 427.
ṃmlā- 'relax', cs. 558; pp. 573.
yā- 'who', rel. pron. 398.
ṃyaks- 'press on'(?), pr. inj. 424, pt. 427; inf. 584 b.
ṃyaj- 'sacrifice', pr. 451, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 482 b 1, 485, pt. 493; root aor. impv. 505; s-aor. 522, sj. 523, inj. 524; sa-aor. impv. 536; ft. 537; des. 542, sj. 544; pp. 574; inf. 585, 4, 7; gd. 590 b.
yajñabhi-, inflected 376.
ṃyat- 'stretch', pr. 422, sj. 423, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427; pf. 485; root aor. pt. 506; cs. 555, sj. 559 b, pt. 559 e.
ṃyabh- 'futuere', pr. 422, impv. 426.
ṃyam- 'reach', pr. 422, 451, sj. 423, inj. 424, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 482 b 1, 485, pt. 493; root aor. 499, sj. 502, opt. 504, prec. 504, impv. 505; a-aor. opt. 511; s-aor. 522, sj. 523, inj. 524, pt. 527; *is-* aor. 529; intv. 545, 2, 546; cs. 555; ps. pt. 447, aor. 501; pp. 574, 2; aor. gdv. 580; inf. 585, 4, 586 a; gd. 591 b.
ṃyas- 'be heated', pr. impv. 460, pt. 442.
ṃyā- 'go', pr. 451, opt. 453, impv. 454, pt. 455, impf. 456; pf. 485, pt. 492; s-aor. 522, sj. 523, inj. 524; *is-* aor. 534, sj., opt., impv. 534; ft. 537, pt. 538; pp. 573; inf. 584 a, 585, 4.
ṃyāc- 'ask', pr. 422, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; *is-* aor. sj. 530; cs. 556 a; pp. 575 b; inf. 586 b.
ṃyād- 'unite'(?), pr. pt. 427.
ṃ1. yu- 'unite', pr. 430, 451, sj. 431, 452, inj. 432, impv. 434, 454, pt. 435, 455, impf. 436; pf. 485; des. 542, pt. 544; intv. 545, 1, 546, pt. 548; pp. 573; gd. 591 a.
ṃ2. yu- 'separate', pr. 422, 453; sj. 459, inj. 459, opt. 459, impv. 426, 460, pt. 427; root aor. sj. 502, prec. 504; red. aor. inj. 516; s-aor. sj. 523, inj. 524; *is-* aor. inj. 531; intv. 545, 1, pt. 548, impf. 549; cs. 557 b, sj. 559 b; ps. aor. 501; pp. 573; inf. 585, 4, 587 b.
ṃyuj- 'join', pr. 451, 464 (inflected), sj. 465, inj. 465, impv. 426, 466, pt. 467, impf. 468; pf. 485, sj. 487, pt. 493; root aor. 500, sj. 502, inj. 503, opt. 504, impv. 505, pt. 506; s-aor. 522; ft. 537, 539; ps. 445, impv. 446, aor. 501; pp. 573; inf. 584 b; gd. 589 b, c.
ṃyudh- 'fight', pr. 422, 439, 451, sj. 440, impv. 441, pt. 442, 455, impf. 443; pf. 485; root aor. sj. 502, impv. 505; s-aor. inj. 524; *is-* aor. 529, sj. 530, inj. 531, impv. 533; des. 542, pt. 544; cs. 553 b, sj. 559 b; gdv. 578, 4, 580; inf. 584 b, 585, 2, 586 a.
ṃyup- 'obstruct', pf. 485; cs. 553 b; pp. 575 b.
yusmāka 'of you' 391, 2.
yūyām 'you', pron. 49 a, 391, 2.
ṃyēs- 'be heated', pr. pt. 427.
ṃranḥ- 'hasten', pr. 422, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. pt. 493; cs. 556 a; gdv. 578, 4.
ṃraks- 'protect', pr. 422, sj. 423, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485, pt. 493; *is-* aor. 530; pp. 575 a 1.
ṃraj- or *ranj-* 'colour', impf. 443; intv. 545, 1 b, 546; cs. 556.
rahit- m.f. 'charioteer', inflected 376.
ṃrad- 'dig', pr. 422, 451, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485; pp. 575 b.
ṃradh- or *randh-* 'make subject', pr. impv. 441; pf. 482; root aor. impv. 505, a-aor. sj. 509, inj. 510; red. aor. sj. 515, inj. 516; *is-* aor. inj. 531; intv. 545, 1 b; cs. 556 a, sj. 559 b.
ṃran- 'rejoice', pr. 422, 439, inj. 424, impv. 426; pf. 482, 485, sj. 487, impv. 490; plup. 495; *is-* aor. 529, inj. 531; cs. 556.
randhanāya den., impf. 569 f.
ṃrap- 'chatter', pr. 422, inj.

- 424, opt. 425, pt. 427, impf. 428; intr. 545, 1 b, 546.
 [vāṭs- 'be full', pr. 422; pf. 485.
 [vāṭh- or vāṭhā- 'grasp', pr. 422, sj. 423, inj. 424, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 482, 483, pt. 493; s-aor. 522, pt. 527; inf. 584 b, 586 a; gd. 591 a.
 [vān- 'rejoice', pr. 422, inj. 424, impv. 426, impf. 428, 480; red. aor. 514, sj. 515, inj. 516; s-aor. 522, inj. 524; s-aor. inj. 534; cs. 555 a.
 [vānā- 'hang down', pr. 422, pt. 427.
 [vā- 'give', pr. 451, impv. 460, pt. 461, impf. 456; pf. 485, impv. 460, pt. 492, 493; root aor. impv. 505; s-aor. 522, sj. 523, opt. 525, impv. 526; pp. 573.
 [vā- 'bark', pr. 439, pt. 442.
 [vās- 'give', pr. pt. 427.
 [vā- 'be kingly', pr. 422, 451, sj. 423, inj. 424, 452, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; s-aor. 529; cs. 556 a, sj. 559 b; inf. 585, 1.
 [vāth- 'succeed', pr. 422, sj. 423, impv. 441, pt. 442; pf. 485; root aor. sj. 502, prec. 504; s-aor. 522; s-aor. inj. 531; ft. 537, 539; cs. 556 a; ps. aor. 501; gdv. 578, 4; inf. 585, 7.
 [vā- or vā- 'flow', pr. 439, 476, inj. 477, pt. 479; impf. 480.
 [vāṭh- 'scratch', pr. impv. 434.
 [vā- 'leave', pr. 464, sj. 425, inj. 465, impf. 468; pf. 485, opt. 489, pt. 492, 493; plup. 495; root aor. inj. 503, impv. 505; s-aor. 522; ps. 445, impf. 448, aor. 501.
 [vā- 'smear', pf. 485; pp. 573.
 [vāṭh- 'sing', pr. 422, pt. 427, impf. 428; ps. 445; pf. 485.
 [vāṭh- 'tear', pr. 430, impv. 434, pt. 435.
 [vāṭh- 'be hurt', pr. 439, sj. 423, 440, inj. 424, opt. 440; s-aor. sj. 509, inj. 510, pt. 512; red. aor. inj. 516, opt. 517, prec. 517; des. 542, pt. 544; cs. 553, 554; inf. 585, 7.
 [vāṭh- den., inj., impv. 569 b, d.
 [vāṭh- 'lick', pr. 451, pt. 455; pf. pt. 492; intv. 545, 1 a, pt. 548, 551; pp. 573.
 [vā- 'cry', pr. 430, inj. 432, impv. 434, pt. 435; s-aor. 529; intv. 545, 1 a, pt. 548, impf. 549.
 [vā- 'break', s-aor. 529; intv. 545, 1, 546, pt. 548.
 [vā- 'shine', pr. 422, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485, inj. 488, opt. 489, pt. 492, 493; root aor. pt. 506; red. aor. 514; s-aor. 529, opt. 532; intv. pt. 548; cs. 553 b, 554; inf. 584 b.
 [vāṭh- den., inj. 569 b.
 [vā- 'break', pr. 430, sj. 431, inj. 432, opt. 433, impv. 434, pt. 435, impf. 436; pf. 485; root aor. inj. 503; red. aor. 514; pp. 576 b; inf. 584 b.
 [vāṭh- 'weep', pr. 451, sj. 452, pt. 455; s-aor. 508; cs. 553 b.
 [vāṭh- 'grow', pr. 422, inj. 424, pt. 433, impf. 428.
 [vāṭh- 'obstruct', pr. 451, 464, sj. 465, impv. 466, pt. 467, impf. 468; pf. 485; root aor. 499; s-aor. 508, inj. 510; s-aor. 522; ps. 445; gd. 591 a.
 [vā- 'break', red-aor. 514; pp. 575 b.
 [vāṭh- den., inj. 569 b.
 [vā- 'be vexed', pr. 422.
 [vāṭh- 'ascend', pr. 422, sj. 423, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485; root aor. pt. 506; s-aor. 508, sj. 509, inj. 510, opt. 511; s-aor. 536; des. 542, pt. 544; cs. 553 b; pp. 573; inf. 586 a; gd. 590 b, 591 a.
 [vā- 'tremble', pr. 422, inj. 424, pt. 427, impf. 428; cs. 554 a.
 [vā- 'prate', pr. impv. 426, pt. 427; intv. 545, 1 b, 546; cs. 555; pp. 575 b.
 [vāṭh- 'take', pr. 422, opt. 425; pf. 485, pt. 493; des. 542, pt. 544; gd. 590 b.
 [vāṭh- 'scratch', impf. 436; s-aor. inj. 531; pp. 575 a, 2.
 [vā- 'smear', pr. 430; s-aor. 522.
 [vā- 'cling', pr. 422, impv. 426; pp. 576 d; gdv. 578, 2.
 [vā- 'break', pr. opt. 433; ps. 445; gd. 591 a.
 [vāṭh- 'desire', pr. pt. 442; cs. 533 b.
 [vāṭh- 'increase', pr. 430, impv. 434, pt. 435, impf. 436; pf. 485; cs. 556 a.
 [vā- 'speak', pr. 458, impv. 460; pf. 482 b, 1, 485, pt. 493; red. aor. 514, sj. 515, inj. 516, opt. 517, impv. 518; ft. 537, 539, pt. 538; intv. 545, 1 b, impf. 549; ps. 445, aor. 501; pp. 574, 1; gdv. 578, 4, 581; inf. 584 b, 585, 4.
 [vāṭh- 'move crookedly', pr. 422; pf. 482, 485; ps. 445, impv. 446, pt. 447.
 [vāṭh- 'apprehend', pr. opt. 425, pt. 427; red. aor. 514; cs. 555.
 [vāṭh- 'speak', pr. 422, sj. 423, inj. 424, opt. 425, 433, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485; s-aor. 529, sj. 530, inj. 531; ft. 537, 539; intv. 545, 1 b, 546, 547 c, opt. 559 c; ps. pt. 447, pp. 575 b.
 [vāṭh- 'slay', pr. opt. 425, impv. 426; root aor. prec. 504; s-aor. 529, sj. 530, inj. 531, impv. 533.
 [vā- 'win', pr. 422, 470; sj. 423, 431, 471, inj. 424, 471, opt. 425, 433, 471, impv. 426, 472, pt. 473, impf. 474; pf. 482, 485, sj. 487, pt. 492; root aor. impv. 505; s-aor. sj. 523, inj. 524, opt. 525; s-aor. sj. 530, opt. 532; s-aor. opt. 534; des. 542, 543 (inflected), sj. 544; cs. 555; pp. 574, 2 a; inf. 585, 4.
 [vāṭh- den., inj. 569 b.
 [vāṭh- den., sj. 569 a.
 [vāṭh- 'greet', pr. 422, impv. 426, pt. 427; pf. 485; s-aor. opt. 532; ps. aor. 501; gdv. 578, 4; inf. 585, 7.
 [vā- 'strew', pr. 422, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 482 b, 1, 485; ps. 445, pt. 447; pp. 574, 1; gd. 591 a.
 [vā- 'shear', pr. (2. s., 3 pl. act.) 422.
 [vāṭh- den., impf. 569 f.
 [vāṭh- den., 1. s. aor. of vā- 'cover' 66 c β 2, 499.
 [vāṭh- 'vomit', pr. sj. 452, impf. 456.
 [vāṭh- den., sj. 569 a, impv.
 [vāṭh- den., sj. 569 a.
 [vāṭh- s-aor. sj. 523.
 [vāṭh- 'bound', pr. 422, impf. 428.
 [vāṭh- den., anom. pf. pt., p. 363 note 7.

1. *vai-* 'desire', pr. 422, 451, 458, sj. 423, inj. 424, opt. 425, impv. 426, 454, pt. 455, impf. 428, pt. 435; pf. 482, 485; intv. 545, 1.
 1. *vas-* 'shine', pr. 430, sj. 431, inj. 432, opt. 433, impv. 434, pt. 435, impf. 436; pf. 485, pt. 492, 493; plup. 495; root aor. 500; s-aor. 522; cs. 555; pp. 574; inf. 585, 4, 588 a.
 1. *vas-* 'wear', pr. 451, inj. 452, opt. 453, pt. 435, impv. 454, pt. 455, impf. 456; pf. 482, 485, pt. 493; is-aor. 529; cs. 555, ft. 537, 560.
 1. *vas-* 'dwell', pr. 422, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485, pt. 492, 493; root aor. pt. 506; s-aor. 522; cs. 555, sj. 559 b.
 1. *vah-* 'carry', pr. 422, 451, sj. 423, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 482 b 1, 485; root aor. opt. 504, impv. 505, pt. 506; s-aor. 522, sj. 523, inj. 524; ft. 537, 539; ps. 445, sj. 446, pt. 447; pp. 574; inf. 585, 4, 7, 586 b; gd. 591 a.
 1. *vā-* 'blow', pr. 439, 451, impv. 454, pt. 455, impf. 456; cs. 558.
 1. *vā-* 'weave', pr. 439, impv. 441, pt. 442, impf. 443; pf. 485; ft. 537, pt. 538; pp. 574, 1 a; inf. 585, 4, 5, 586 b.
 -*vāms*, pf. pt. suffix, 181, 347, 491.
vāc-, inflected, p. 180.
vājaya- den., impv. 569 d; inf. 585, 7.
vāñch- 'desire', pr. impv. 426.
vām 'we two' 391, 1.
vāś- 'bellow', pt. 442; pf. 482, 485, pt. 493; plup. 495; red. aor. 514; intv. 545, 1 b, pt. 548, impf. 549.
vās = 3. *vas-* (?) pr. 422.
vi- 'bird' 381 a.
vic- 'sift', pr. 464, impv. 466, pt. 467, impf. 468; pf. pt. 492; ps. impv. 446.
vij- 'tremble', pr. 430, impv. 434, pt. 435, impf. 436; pf. 485; root aor. inj. 503; red. aor. inj. 516; intv. 545, 1 a, 551.
 1. *vid-* 'know', pr. 451, sj. 452, opt. 453, impv. 454, impf. 456; pf. 485, pt. 492 b; cs. 553; pp. 575 b; inf. 585, 8; gd. 590 b.
 2. *vid-* 'find', pr. 430, 451, inj. 432, opt. 433, impv. 434, 454, pt. 455, impf. 436; pf. 485, sj. 487, pt. 492; a-aor. (inflected) 508, sj. 509, inj. 510, opt. 511, prec. 511, impv. 512, pt. 512; s-aor. 522; intv. 547 a; ps. 445, aor. 501; pp. 576 a; gdv. 579; inf. 584 b, 585, 4; gd. 590 b.
vid- 'finding', inflected, 319.
vidh- 'worship', pr. sj. 431, inj. 432, opt. 433, pt. 435, impf. 436.
vinde- 'lack', pr. 430.
varūya- den., sj. 569 a.
vip- 'tremble', pr. 422, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485; root aor. pt. 506; red. aor. 514; cs. 553 a, 554.
vibhū-, inflected, 383.
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vis- 'enter', pr. 430, sj. 431, inj. 432, opt. 433, impv. 434, pt. 435, impf. 436; pf. 483, 485, opt. 489, pt. 492, 492 b; plup. 495; root aor. 500, impv. 505; s-aor. 522; is-aor. 531; cs. 553 a, opt. 559 c, pp. 561 a; inf. 586 a; gd. 591 a.
viśvataspad- 'having feet on every side', 319 a.
vis- 'be active', pr. 458, sj. 459, impv. 460, pt. 427, impf. 428, 462; pf. 485; is-aor. sj. 530; intv. 545, 1 a, 546, 547 b, pt. 548; inf. 584 b.
vis- or *vest-* 'wrap', pr. impv. 426; cs. 553.
vi- 'enjoy', pr. 451, sj. 452, inj. 452, impv. 454, pt. 455; impf. 456; pf. 485; s-aor. sj. 523; intv. 545, 1 a, 551; ps. 445, pt. 447, inf. 585, 3.
viś- 'make strong', cs. 554 a.
vīra- den., impv. 569 d, impf. 569 f.
vīlāya-, sj. 559 b, impv. 559 d, pp. 575 c.
 1. *vr-* 'cover', pr. 422, 470, inj. 424, 471, impv. 472, pt. 473, impf. 474; pf. 485, pt. 492; plup. 495; root aor. 499, 500, inj. 503, impv. 505, pt. 506; red. aor. 514; s-aor. sj. 523; intv. 545, 3; cs. 557 c, sj. 559 b; ft. 537, 560; ps. aor. 501, pp. 573; inf. 585, 4; gl. 590 a, b, c, 591 b.
 2. *vr-* 'chcose', pr. 470, 476, inj. 477, opt. 477, impv. 478, pt. 479, impf. 480; pf. 485; root aor. 500, sj. 502, inj. 503, opt. 504, pt. 506; s-aor. 522; pp. 573; gdv. 578, 2, 580.
 1. *vrj-* 'twist', pr. 422, 464, sj. 465, impv. 466, impf. 468; pf. 482, 485, opt. 489, impv. 490, pt. 492, 492 b; root aor. 499, 500, sj. 502, inj. 503, opt. 504, prec. 504, impv. 505; a-aor. 508; s-aor. 522, inj. 524; intv. 545, 3, cs. 550 c; cs. 553 c; inf. 584 b, 585, 1, 7; gd. 590 a.
 1. *vr-* 'turn', pr. 422, 458, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 482, 485, sj. 487, opt. 489, impv. 490, pt. 492; plup. 495; root aor. 499, 500, sj. 502, impv. 505; a-aor. 508; red. aor. 514; s-aor. 522; ft. 537, 539; des. 542; intv. 545, 2, 3, 546; cs. 553 c, sj. 559 b; pp. 573; inf. 584 b, cs. 585, 7; gd. 591 a.
 1. *vr-* 'grow', pr. 422, sj. 423, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 482, 485, sj. 487, inj. 488, opt. 489, impv. 490, pt. 492, 493; a-aor. 508, pt. 512 a; red. aor. 514; s-aor. pt. 527; is-aor. opt. 532; cs. 553 c, sj. 559 b, pt. 559 e; intv. gdv. 580; inf. 584 b, 585, 1, 7.
 1. *vr-* 'rain', pr. 422, impv. 426, 434, pt. 427; pf. 482, impv. 490, pt. 493; is-aor. 529; cs. 553 c; gd. 590 a.
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Vyac- 'extend', pr. 458, inj. 459, impf. 462; pf. 482 b 1, 485, inj. 488.
Vyath- 'waver', pr. 422, pt. 427; is-aor. sj. 530, inj. 531; cs. 556, aor. 560 a.
Vyadh- 'pierce', pr. 439, inj. 440, impv. 441, pt. 442, impf. 443; pf. pt. 492; pp. 574, 1; inf. 584 b.
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- Vraṭi-* 'proceed', pr. impv. 426, pt. 427; pf. 485.
- Vraṭi-* 'weaken', impf. 428, pt. 430, sj. 431, inj. 432, impv. 434, pt. 435, impf. 436; ps. impv. 446; pp. 576 b; gd. 590 b.
- Vraṭi-* 'stir up', pr. inj. 424, pt. 427.
- Vraṭi-* 'pursue(?)', gd. 591 a.
- Vra-* 'crush' = *ṛā-*.
- Vraṃs-* 'praise', 422, sj. 423, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; root aor. impv. 505; *a*-aor. 529, sj. 530, inj. 531; cs. 556 a; ps. 445, pt. 447, aor. 501; gdv. 578, 4; inf. 584 b.
- Vra-* 'be able', pr. 470, sj. 471, impf. 474; pf. 485; root aor. sj. 502, opt. 504, impv. 505; *a*-aor. 508, inj. 510, opt. 511; des. 542, 2, pt. 544; inf. 585, 4.
- Vra-* 'cut in pieces', cs. 555.
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- Vra-* 'fall', ft. 537, 539.
- Vra-* 'curse', pr. 422, sj. 423, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485; *a*-aor. inj. 524.
- Vra-* 'labour', pr. 439, impv. 441, pt. 442; pf. 485, sj. 487, pt. 493; *a*-aor. 529.
- Vra-* 'be quiet', impf. 428; red. aor. 514; cs. 556; pp. 574, 2 a.
- Vra-* 'cut', pr. impv. 454.
- Vra-* 'sharpen', pr. 458, impv. 460, pt. 461, impf. 436, 462; pf. pt. 493; pp. 574, 3; gd. 591 a.
- Vra-* 'order', pr. 422, 451, sj. 452, impv. 454, pt. 455, impf. 428, 456; pt. 485, inj. 488, impv. 490; root aor. sj. 502; *a*-aor. 508, sj. 509, inj. 510, pt. 512 a; pp. 574, 3 a.
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- Vra-* 'leave', *a*-aor. sj. 509, inj. 510; ps. 445, sj. 446, aor. 501.
- Vra-* 'lie', pr. 422, 451, opt. 453, impf. 428, 456, impv. 441, 454, pt. 455; pf. 482 b 1 a, pt. 493; *a*-aor. sj. 523; *a*-aor. 529; inf. 585, 7.
- Vra-* 'sharpen' = *Vra-*, root aor. 500.
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- Vra-* 'gleam', pr. 422, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485, pt. 492, 493, opt. 489, impv. 490; *a*-aor. 508, pt. 512 a; red. aor. 514, inj. 516; *a*-aor. inj. 531; intv. 545, 1 a, 547 a, pt. 548; cs. 553 b, 554; ps. aor. 501; inf. 585, 7.
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- Vra-* pf. pt. 493 (p. 361 note 2).
- Vra-* 'purity', pr. 422, impv. 426, 454; cs. 554 a; pp. 574, 2.
- Vra-* or *Vra-* 'beautify', 422, 430, sj. 423, impv. 426, pt. 427, 435; root aor. pt. 506; red. aor. 514; cs. 553 b, 554; pp. 575 a 1; inf. 584 b, 585, 1, 586 a.
- Vra-* 'dry', pr. 439, impv. 441; cs. 553 b.
- Vra-* or *Vra-* 'swell', pr. pt. 427; pf. 482, 485, sj. 487, opt. 489, pt. 492, 493 (p. 361 note 2; *a*-aor. pt. 527; inf. 588 c).
- Vra-* = *Vra-* 'crush', pr. impv. 434.
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- Vra-* 'crush', 476, impv. 478; pt. 479, impf. 480; pf. 485; *a*-aor. 529, inj. 531; ps. 445, aor. 501; pp. 573 a, 576 e; inf. 587 b; gd. 591 a.
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- Vra-* 'resort', pr. 422, sj. 423, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485, opt. 489, pt. 493; plup. 495; root aor. 499; red. aor. 514; *a*-aor. 522; ps. aor. 501; cs. 558 a; pp. 573.
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śad- 'sit', pr. 422, 451, sj. 423, inj. 424, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485; opt. 487, pt. 493; *a-aor.* 508, inj. 510, opt. 511, impv. 512, pt. 512; red. aor. 514; *s-aor.* sj. 523; cs. sj. 559 b; ps. aor. 501; pp. 576 a; gdv. 578, 4; inf. 584 b, 586 a; gd. 591 a.

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sadhamāś, nom. of *sadhamā-* 66 c β, 319 a.

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śantir 'apart from', prep. with acc. 620.

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śi- 'bind', 476, impv. 478; pf. 485, sj. 487; root aor. impv. 505; inf. 585, 4.

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śi- *śiḥ-* 'repel', pr. 422, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485; intv. 545, 1, pt. 548; gd. 591 a.

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śumad 'with', prep. with. inst. 624.

śuvāya- den., inj. 569 b.

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śp- 'creep', pr. 422, sj. 423, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; *a-aor.* 508, inj. 510; des. 542, pt. 544; gd. 591 a.

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śkand- 'leap', pr. 422, sj. 423, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485; root aor. 499, inj. 503; intv. 545, 3, 547, impf. 549; pp. 576 a; inf. 584 b, 587 a.

śkabh- or *skambh-* 'prop', pr. 476, pt. 479; pf. 482, 485, pt. 493; pp. 575 b; inf. 584 b; gd. 590 a.

śkabhīya- den., impf. 569 f.

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śkr- = *kr-* 'make', p. 55 note 10.

śtan- 'thunder', pr. impv. 426, 454; root aor. inj. 503 (or. pr. inj. 452); *ś-aor.* 529; intv. 545, 2, 547; cs. 556.

śtabh- or *stambh-* 'prop', pr. 476, impv. 478, impf. 480; pf. 485, pt. 492, 493; plup. 495; pp. 575 b; gd. 590 b.

śtu- 'praise', pr. 422, 451, sj. 423, 452, inj. 424, 452, opt. 425, 453, impv. 454, pt. 427, 455; impf. 456; pf. 485, sj. 487, pt. 492, 493; plup. 495; *s-aor.* 522 (inflected), sj. 523, inj. 524; ft. 537, 339; ps. 445, pt. 447, pp. 573; gdv. 579; inf. 585, 1 a, 4, 7; gd. 590 b, 591 b.

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śt- 'strew', pr. 470, 476, sj. 471, inj. 477, impv. 478, pt. 479, impf. 480; pf. 485, pt. 493; root aor. 499, sj. 502, inj. 503; *s-aor.* opt. 525; *ś-aor.* 529; ps. aor. 501; pp. 576 e; inf. 584 a, 585, 4, 588 c.

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